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Der anmutreichen, unschuldsvollen Herrin:

Clara Schumann's Public Personas

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Der anmutreichen, unschuldsvollen Herrin:

Clara Schumann's Public Personas

by

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Dedication

In loving memory of my Daddy,

Robbie R. Prince

Who always taught us that Prince girls can do anything.

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Clara Wieck Schumann sits at a particularly thorny juncture in musicological scholarship, as her career mirrors a period of nineteenth-century transformative social and musical change. The concept of public and private spaces came to be codified, and women's musical interactions, somewhat unsurprisingly, followed suit. In accordance with the now bourgeois concerns for social cultivation and primacy, concert structures were destabilized, programs moved away from an emphasis on miscellany, virtuosity was soundly rejected, and serious musical efforts came to dominate critical inquiry and commentary. The philosophy of Romantic listening hinged on the primacy of absolute, "serious" musics and, similar to the morals of the public bourgeoisie, privileged "masculine" expression. Within these strictures, a *female* pianist developed into the preeminent symbol for all that was ideal in the public piano recital. Clara Schumann has, for scholars of nineteenth-century music, come to embody the serious music aesthetic: whether it be through her role as interpreter, more homogeneous recital structuring, or allegiance to the goals of transcendental listening, she

remains a figure who performed out of duty to her higher, artistic "calling." Nevertheless, scholars have rarely attempted to consider how, in a restrictive gender society, Clara was able to maintain such a successful and highly respected public career.

My dissertation seeks to tease out the dynamics of Clara Schumann's reception, in order to elucidate ways she, as a woman, was able to perform in this preeminent public space, and, in fact, embolden (rather than degrade) the ascendancy of the masculine. With a career spanning some 60 years, Clara's 794 German concerts allow us a window into the complex negotiations that permeated her public performances and celebrated personality. For the first time in English translation, Appendix I gives a complete listing of Clara's programming in Germany and Vienna. By considering a wide range of sources—visual images, concert reviews, and programs—I hope to unearth ways that Clara, while challenging the hegemony of the male pianist, nonetheless continued to entrench the mores of the musical masculine to an even greater degree.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Clara Wieck und Beethoven
Franz Grillparzer

Ein Wundermann, der Welt, des Lebens satt,
Schloß seine Zauber grollend ein
In festverwahrten, demantharten Schrein,
Und warf den Schlüssel in das Meer und starb.
Die Menschlein mühen sich geschäftig ab,
Umsonst! kein Sperrzeug löst das harte Schloß,
Und seine Zauber schlafen wie ihr Meister.
Ein Schäferkind, am Strand des Meeres spielend,
Sieht zu der hastig unberufnen Jagd.
Sinnvoll gedankenlos, wie Mädchen sind,
Senkt sie die weißen Finger in die Flut
Und faßt, und hebt, und hats. – Es ist der Schlüssel!
Auf springt sie, auf, mit höhern Herzensschlägen,
Der Schrein blinkt wie aus Augen ihr entgegen,
Der Schlüssel paßt. Der Deckel fliegt. Die Geister,
Sie steigen auf und senken dienend sich
Der anmutreichen, unschuldsvollen Herrin,
Die sie mit weißen Fingern, spielend, lenkt.

A great magician, tired of world and life,
Locked his murmuring genii
In a casket, diamond-hard, secure from all,
Then casting key into the sea, he died.
A horde of little men strove hard
In vain! No lever loos'd the rigid bolt
Its magic, like the master, slept.
A shepherd child in play upon the shore
Watching the hasty, uncommanded search
Thoughtful yet unthinking as girls are
Sinks her white fingers in the flood
And seizes, raises, holds. – It is the key!
She hastens with a quickened, beating heart
The shrine gleams toward her as if it has eyes,
The key fits. The lid flies back. The spirits
Rise, and bow submissive heads
Before this gracious, innocent mistress
Who leads them with white fingers as she plays.[1]

Inspired by Clara Wieck's Viennese performance of Beethoven's *Appassionata*, Franz Grillparzer, the city's renowned poet, published the foregoing piece on January 9, 1838 in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst.*[2] Friedrich Wieck quickly contacted Robert Schumann and requested that he republish the poem in Leipzig and print copies for distribution on concert tours.[3] This interpretation of Clara, although written relatively early in her career, makes use of several romanticized tropes, all of which primarily hinged on her relationship with the

[1] Joan Chissel, *Clara Schumann: A Dedicated Spirit* (New York: A Crescendo Book, 1983), 54. I have only slightly amended Chissel's translations, changing "she has the key" to "it is the key;" "the casket gleams all-seeing, as she comes" to "the shrine gleams toward her as if it has eyes;" "takes hold" with "fits;" and "guileless" with "innocent."
[2] Nancy Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 25.
[3] Ibid., 80.

composer and work. Through these suggestions, Grillparzer (further) entrenched Clara Wieck into a performative ideal from which she would never escape and, for that matter, one within which she continues to be embroiled today. Above all, Grillparzer emphasizes her intimate (pseudo-romantic) relationship with the composer and, complementarily, her status as interpreter. Both of these characteristics, in turn, ultimately facilitate an act of domestication upon her person and musical expression, and thereby allow her to cultivate a community of eager listeners.

This ode begins with a discussion of the "magician," Beethoven, who has grown "tired" of his reality and prepares for his self-elected departure by burying his "genii" at the depths of the sea. There, his "murmuring[s]" remain untouched, even though "hordes" of men vainly attempt entry. Beethoven's magical thoughts stay locked, and "the master" continues his slumber. These early lines immediately position the musical work as a cipher that demands decoding or, in this case, "unlocking;" in this suggestion, the composer becomes the *only* entity that can grant access to his created "magical" and musical output. Even in death it is the creator that chooses *who* can interpret successfully and *who* cannot. This *Wundermann*, however, eventually reveals the key to none other than to the young, feminine, and innocent Clara Wieck. By beginning his poem this way, Grillparzer brings attention to one of the central concerns of the nineteenth-century concert experience: the status of the musical work. The "work," as we all know, would lead critics and performers to call for a *particular* kind of understanding and performance in public venues. In this case, Grillparzer makes this point quite clearly (who can perform and who cannot) by positioning Clara in stark contrast with the ever failing "horde of little men."

Described as a "shepherd child in play," she "unthinking[ly]" identifies what the others so desperately attempt to access, and somewhat inadvertently, she "seizes" the coveted key. In this poetic move, Clara seemingly secures the key for all, as she discovers it

during this wild, "hasty, uncommanded search." She is the only one that can actually "unlock" Beethoven's genius; in so doing, she creates order out of this seeming chaos and an experience for all of those who are exposed to Beethoven's genius. In essence, Clara brings to the "hordes" or masses something they are desperately searching for but cannot find—cultivation via the musical. Clara thus presents to those that want it (the bourgeoisie) an experience in the public sphere that creates an organized "community" of cultivated listeners. She becomes *the* preeminent model of public performers.

Even in Clara's powerful position in the poem, the use of the phrase "shepherd child" for the first descriptor of the eighteen-year-old performer, however, seems to situate her as non-threatening and almost naïve.[4] Images of the pastoral become particularly complex to decode when considering the plethora of nineteenth-century landscape painting and the widening cultural and social distinctions between the upper, middle, and lower classes. While Clara frolics on the Arcadian shore, these idyllic suggestions perhaps underscore her inherent social inferiority and sexual availability. These problematic characteristics, nonetheless, eventually find the proper cultivation and pairing: Beethoven's music. In this union, Clara becomes an idealized figure who re-enacts the social transformation and education that arises from experiencing the Germanic musical masters, and an innocent, sexually available shepherdess ready for domestication at the hands of a "gentleman:"

> The contrast between the peasant as noble savage and as human animal in general is equally apparent in the rather contradictory portraits of the peasant woman as either an enticing beauty or beast of burden. In the first case, one has to wonder about the extent to which the descriptions are idealized images of the country girl or country "milkmaid," innocent and available to fulfill the fantasies of the Victorian gentleman traveler.[5]

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[4] The correlation between women and children is well documented throughout the nineteenth century and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Two.

[5] Caroline B. Bretteil, *Nineteenth Century Travelers' Accounts of the Mediterranean Peasant* 22 (Spring, 1986), 163.

While explicitly linking Clara with the rural seems somewhat problematic, it is in this romanticized form that she becomes an almost passive, isolated symbol waiting to be filled (or followed) by the spirit of the great composer. More specifically, this imagery perhaps suggests that the young performer does have the *potential* to be a threat—to the bourgeois classes and to the men who, in her presence become "little"—but instead, she becomes the "mistress" to the "master," the perfect German wife. Any threat of the rural or lower classes inevitably serves to reinforce her femininity, which is quickly educated and domesticated.

The intricate depiction and interplay with her problematic gender continues as the poet consistently mitigates all of Clara's activity with reminders of her (arguably feminine) passivity and ignorance, appearing most clearly at the climax of the poem by means of the discovery and possession of the key. Grillparzer tempers this dynamic and exciting moment by first highlighting the absent-minded and preoccupied temperament of young girls; Clara does not (or cannot) actively seek out the key. She can, however, unintentionally find it. Her innocence is again further tempered through the use of the pastoral. Just as Grillparzer perhaps hopes to stress her child-like nature, he might also want to establish her as unnaturally mature and, in fact, one of the only performers worthy (or even capable) of playing Beethoven. Again, by using the Arcadian imagery of the beach and the symbol of the *Schäferkind*, Clara becomes intrinsically connected to an earlier, ancient time. She is, thus, even in her purity and naïveté, able to understand that which exists outside of her humanity:

> It seems best to start with the recognition that pastoral is a narrative form seeking to project within certain arbitrary limits a vision of the good life. While as a form pastoral reaches back to classical antecedents in Theocritus and Virgil…Put differently, pastoral as a form involves a recognition of limits—of space and time—within which that ideal of limited contentment which pastoral knows as the happy mean can be practically realized. Thus while it is one of the cardinal aims of pastoral to give value to the past (antiquity, old age) it does this through the medium of the

> constantly changing present seen as a last lingering of an infinitely distant Golden age.[6]

In this interpretive move, Clara becomes an essential component of the "Golden Age" of romantic music (Beethoven). Consequently, just as she becomes subsumed within bourgeois musical goals, her isolation on the shores and inherently "old" spirit associates her with a romantic ideal. This musical hope hinged upon the inferiority of the performers, who were now positioned primarily as interpreters, or as merely outlets for the (magnanimous) genius of the composer. Grillparzer is conceivably able to reveal the disparity between the self and the higher power via the symbol of the "sheltered" or innocent *Schäferkind*.

> It is the presence of the sheltered shepherd with his sheep, however, that most definitively marks the transition to cultural optimism, qualified by the Romantic premises of human isolation and insignificance.[7]

Notably, it is only in the unassuming, mysteriously inexperienced, and inferior Clara that the moralizing, "serious" music of Beethoven can be correctly realized.

Scholars often reference Grillparzer's poem as a testament to the "wild enthusiasm" Clara Wieck incited in her audiences, and do little in way of questioning how this piece (and later critical commentary) positioned and understood the young performer.[8] While I am not denying the fact that Clara inspired this reaction in her listeners (indeed she did), I am interested in how social agents mapped differing constructs—gendered and otherwise—onto a woman performer, in a complicated attempt to manage the public fervor resulting from her performances. By examining negotiations of gender between the performer and the

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[6] Robin Magowan, "Fromentin and Jewett: Pastoral Narrative in the Nineteenth Century," *Comparative Literature* 16 (Autumn, 1964), 333.

[7] Annabel Patterson, *Pastoral and Ideology: Virgil to Valéry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 57.

[8] Reich, *Clara Schumann*, 25. Reich begins her entire biography with this paragraph from Chapter One, *Prelude: The Wiecks of Leipzig*: "On January 8, 1838, a poem, 'Clara Wieck und Beethoven,' appeared in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst*. Written by Franz Grillparzer, Austria's leading dramatic poet, the verse linked the name of the great composer with that of a young woman who had just given her third Viennese recital at the age of eighteen. Grillparzer's response to her performance of Beethoven's Piano Sonata Op. 57, the 'Appasionata,' reflected the wild enthusiasm the young pianist aroused in Vienna."

public at large, it is possible to consider further how Clara was so fervently embraced, even as she posed an inherent threat to the bourgeois public sphere within which she performed.

In *Gender Trouble*, Judith Butler questions how societies construct and map gender onto bodies, while simultaneously challenging the seemingly inherent relationship between gender and sex. More specifically, Butler reconsiders ideas of representation, politics, and identity:

> When the constructed status of gender is theorized as radically independent of sex, gender itself becomes a free-floating artifice, with the consequence that *man* and *masculine* might just as easily signify a female body as a male one, and *woman* and *feminine* a male body as easily as a female one.[9]

For Butler, cultural discourse establishes the relationship between sex and gender and the ability of these entities to detach from or conflate with the other.[10] Her argument becomes particularly relevant when considering the nineteenth century, given that society came to construct and control normative ideas of masculinity and femininity in ways that managed almost every aspect of the person's life.[11] In effect, the body was something upon which

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[9] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 6.

[10] Ibid., 9.

[11] While I will discuss public and private spheres in detail in the next chapter, the establishment of their existence early on helps fortify this particular discussion. Linda McDowell, "Place and Space," in *A Concise Companion to Feminist Theory* ed., Mary Eagleton (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 12-13. As McDowell argues, within this construct there were great variances—particularly in regards to class and race—but also constants: "Whereas men were the idealized rational, civilized Enlightenment subject, full participants as workers and citizens in the public arena of the economy on politics, women were dependants, to be protected and kept close. They were to provide sustenance and nurture to their menfolk and children through the construction of a place of leisured and domestic calm…That this division was never complete, that it took a class and racialized form, that it varied across space and over time is indisputable but the ideology of separate spheres has cast a long shadow over Western industrial societies in innumerable ways. Social practices, state institutions, symbolic representations and cultural artefacts are all marked by ideas about gender distinctions, and the binary division between men and women, in which women are assumed to be naturally inferior, has perhaps been the most resistant to abolition." While McDowell suggests how time, space, class, and racial distinctions obviously influence gender distinctions, Rosemary Hennessy later makes this point quite explicitly in her discussion of the intersections between Marxism and feminism. In particular, Hennessy claims that by excluding socio-economic discussions of class from the discussion, we ignore one of the most formative elements of its creation: "Marxist feminists contend that a full understanding of gender inequality requires a close examination of the objective characteristics of social systems and of the functioning of power within them. They see historical materialism as providing the most powerful explanation of the social relations in which gender is situated and the most incisive critique of capital. Historical materialism's first premise is that history and society require the presence of real living individuals. The fundamental material reality of human

one's entire social purpose was erected. Within the definitions of male and female, music itself came to be one of the most obvious exemplars upon which arbitrary, gendered constructs were mapped. As Marcia Citron argues

> The musical composition does important cultural work. Through the author-function it circulates the reputation of the composer. But more importantly for society as a whole it can function as a discourse that reproduces societal values and ideologies….Important social variables such as power, class, and gender can be inscribed in a work. A likely possibility is that they will be mapped to function as a means of representation: to represent social ideologies of desirable status and behavior. Inscriptions of gender typically function as strategies of representation and often aim to expose in some way the ideological paradigms concerning socialized women and men.[12]

Underscoring Citron's argument, Daniel Chua posits that the decades immediately preceding the turn of the century witnessed the capturing and coding of sexual differentiation in ways not seen before. As bodies came to be marked with signifiers of their gender, so too did the musical follow suit. The consequences of this now musically gendered discourse reverberated throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, particularly in regard to instrumental music.

> This [gendered] discourse was not peculiar to music alone. In fact, the gendering of music was more of a repercussion of the sexual politics in a century where the configurations of men and women were open to debate. As the century progressed the old dogmas of sexual power reasserted their control, but in the more insidious guise of Enlightenment reason; myth became fact as biology imposed its pronouncements upon humanity. The eighteenth century created such a divergence between male and female bodies it rattled their very bones…And since instrumental music resided in the body, it found itself caught up in the structures of sexual politics.[13]

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life is the requirement that humans produce the means to meet their survival needs. Capitalism is one way this production has been organized and like other modes of production it encompasses a whole way of life." Rosemary Hennessy, "Class" in *A Concise Companion*, 61. Within this new framework, rooted in class and gender distinctions, the musical continued to shape and reshape acceptable notions of feminine behavior, in order to create cohesive and exclusive societal sectors; the marked delineation between the public and private has continued (and continues) to ripple throughout these binary constructions.

[12] Marcia Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 121.

[13] Daniel Chua, *Absolute Music and the Construction of Meaning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 127.

The "sexual politics" to which Chua speaks extended into almost every aspect of the public and private musical experiences. Most blatantly, the public concert was completely restructured to undermine the performer's body, privilege the composer and work, create a religious experience for the listener, and cultivate a discourse promoting certain repertoire. Privately, women's musical experiences largely revolved around their now domesticated bodies and became a means to highlight their marriageable assets and control their ever-deviant sexuality. So it is as Susan McClary has so famously written in *Feminine Endings*—an ideological battlefield between social and political entities vying for prominence and power: "Struggles over musical propriety are themselves political struggles over whose music, whose image of pleasure or beauty, whose rules of order shall prevail."[14]

At this complicated juncture we begin our assessment of Clara Wieck Schumann's career. Following the insights of cultural history, feminist studies, and reception history, my dissertation seeks to tease out hints of social tension and successes via three specific kinds of historical texts: visual sources, critical reviews, and musical repertory. These differing primary sources facilitate a wide-ranging consideration of the public's perception and reaction to Clara's public achievements, and perhaps also demonstrate how diverse information held similar, yet diverging, positions regarding her reception. Somehow, inside this festering, unsettled musical landscape suggested above, musicologists have created a very clear-cut, indisputable image of this performer. Clara sits pristinely at the center of nineteenth-century piano music, with little, it seems, left for historians to unravel. More specifically, American sources concern themselves primarily with biographical study, or with the stylistic and theoretical elements of her compositions. Few inquiries have looked into the complexities of Clara's performing life and consequent public reception in effort to

[14] Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 28.

realize what aspects of her performative persona helped to absorb her safely into the public musical fold—even though her public, feminine, inherently hysterical presence could have effectively destroyed the carefully crafted goals of the public concert.

This project hopes to move beyond the more normative language we use to discuss Clara in order to ascertain not only *what* aspects of her career support this characterization with which we have grown so comfortable but also to challenge perhaps what it is about this understanding that continues to satisfy our historical inquiry. By way of introduction, I would like to focus upon two interrelated aspects of Clara's reception, which we have not yet managed to challenge fully or explore, and it is questionable whether these dominant perceptions will ever shift. Foremost, her status as interpreter was established very early in her career and continues to color almost every component of her career; secondly, her seemingly "gender-less" public presence gives historians an easy way out of ever having to really address the problematic (obvious) presence of the feminine. By so desperately clinging to these perceptions of Clara, we fail to explore adequately the nuances that this knowledge provides, and we are generally unwilling to seek out other ways to position her within the canon. All roads, it seems, lead us here: she is foremost an interpreter and, given this stature, never *really* a woman when she performs.

Nancy Reich's meticulous research and biographical narrative confidently discusses aspects and nuances of Clara Schumann's life undisclosed in Berthold Liztmann's two-volume biography, yet Reich's prefatory hope to speak "the truth" reveals her reticence to speculate on or interpret numerous aspects of Clara's career that still remain obscured and unexplored by musicologists today.[15] Accordingly, the author attempts to allow Clara her *own* voice, instead of relying on a nexus of biographies dominated by second-hand accounts. In her preface, Reich argues that historians and musicologists have understood Clara

[15] Reich, *Clara Schumann,* 9.

primarily through secondary information, rather than strictly on her own terms.[16] Consequently, scholars continue to reiterate a certain idealized image.

> Though much has been written about Clara Schumann, she is still, more than 165 years after her birth, known to us only through the eyes and minds of her own era. She is viewed even today as her nineteenth-century contemporaries saw her—as a saint or "priestess," as a dedicated wife, mother, and musician.[17]

Even as Reich possibly wants to confront the dominant paradigm surrounding Clara, she almost immediately re-inscribes more romanticized notions of Clara's career some four pages later; "Clara Schumann was always her own person, perceiving herself as an artist who was a woman, and eternally grateful for the art that was to sustain her through a lifetime of tragedy and triumph."[18] Quite immediatley in this case, Clara is resituated as *foremost* an artist, and secondarily a woman. For that matter, Clara's gratitude is directed towards none other than the work of art. It is thus at the very outset of her biography that we are directed to think of this performer as primarily an interpreter who existed only to bring to life the works of the great masters. This unwavering "interpreter" classification is perhaps most apparent in Reich's discussion of Clara's German reception:

> In German discussions of her artistry, the term *werktreu* (true to the text) was invariably used. Because of her personal severity, her loyalty to Schumann, and her reputation for integrity, it is natural to assume that she never tampered with the music, as so many other respected nineteenth-century pianists did. Yet even the "priestess" was known to play too fast, double an octave, or add an occasional embellishment. Unlike Liszt, however, she was never guilty of adding effects to gain attention. Reviewers universally remarked on her masterful technique and her deep respect for and understanding of the music. [19]

So even as Reich argues that we continue to place Clara in the box within which she was locked at the outset of her career, she does little to actually challenge or reverse this position.

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[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid., 9.
[18] Ibid., 13.
[19] Reich, *Clara Schumann*, 281. Reich examined approximately 200 reviews and only found ten unfavorable responses.

Ultimately, we must begin wondering *why* it is so "natural to assume she never tampered with the music," and what is at stake if we do not.

Reich carefully navigates between wanting to rescue Clara Schumann from masculine-dominated musicological structures—those that have muted or undermined her narrative perspective—and wanting to release or isolate her from the complex gender delimiters that permeated nineteenth-century life. The most obvious tool to achieve this goal is to situate this performer completely outside gendered categories, and "almost above gender."[20] This alluring argument, a woman declared genderless, seems, however, to oversimplify and somewhat undermine Clara Schumann's agency both in and out of the public eye. It is within this black hole of sorts that Clara remains. We continue to argue that Clara was virtually excused from almost any ramification caused by her feminine self, and that she was, instead, a *true* "artist." This label in itself, however, seems to bolster and further her exemption. Although I agree she achieved a unique and almost unprecedented prestige, by claiming she maintained this status because of her exceptionality seems counterintuitive, especially given the fact that her gender was the most inimitable aspect of her career.

Both Katharine Ellis and Jennifer Caines highlight Clara's gender in their discussions of female pianists, and each deviates somewhat from Reich's positioning. In her 2002 article, Caines discusses tropes of masculinity in two writings on Clara's performances: the well-known Hanslick review translated by Henry Pleasants, and a letter written by Franz

[20] Ibid., 177. "There was no question of a 'weaker sex' as far as Clara Schumann's musicianship was concerned. She had been trained as a professional, she was a figure of power and authority in the musical world before she was forty, and as an artist was either extravagantly admired or fiercely criticized by both men and women. Cosima Wagner and Anton Schindler, for example, were exceedingly hostile, but not because she was a woman. She was generally regarded as unique, almost above gender."

Liszt.[21] Ultimately, Caines maintains that the performer created a "hybridity" of genders that simultaneously fit within and defied the feminine ideal.

> Clara's way of cracking the masculine world's gender barrier was by discrete assimilation. She fused biological gender with characteristics from the "dominant" sex to create a hybridity that at once challenged and conformed to society's ideal of a female musician.[22]

This conclusion holds credence most pointedly in the idea of "discreteness." The idea of multifarious meanings of gender is more thoroughly explored in Ellis's 1997 article. Although focused outside Germany, this author offers a useful methodological approach for examining factors inhibiting or allowing female pianism. In particular, Ellis argues that women could *almost* achieve something like masculinity on the public stage, especially if they garnered the respect of their critic.

> For critics who tried to raise the profile of particular women pianists, a common tactic was to minimize the impact of their femaleness or, indeed, to elevate them to the status of honorary men as a mark of professional respect.[23]

Ellis notes, however, that the achievement of the label "honorary man" was continually mitigated by the feminine disposition toward interpretation (versus composition/creation).[24] Even as women could escape the damning of their gender, it was nonetheless their gender that inherently marked them as the fundamental conduit for the compositional, masculine genius.[25] As writers emphasized internal emptiness, they did so perhaps to further entrench the disparities between the male and female musical experience. It is within this "distinction" that Clara remains today. Even though it would be virtually

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[21] Henry Pleasants translation of Hanslick's 1856 review of Clara Schumann's Viennese concerts seems to be one most frequently used, especially since so few reviews exist in English translation today. See Henry Pleasants trans., *Vienna's Golden Years of Music: 1850-1900* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1950), 39.

[22] Jennifer Caines, "Clara Schumann: The Man and Her Music, Gender Subversion in Nineteenth-Century Concert Reviews," *Fermata* 4 (January 2002), 45.

[23] Katharine Ellis, "Female Pianists and Their Male Critics in Nineteenth-Century Paris" *Journal of the American Musicological Association* 50 (1997), 371-372.

[24] Ibid., 355.

[25] Ibid.,355.

impossible to destabilize completely Clara's status as interpreter—especially considering that she herself has declared it, and such a vast amount critical reception calls attention to her ability to elevate the work of art and undermine her "self"—if we are going to continue to discuss Clara in terms used since her early career, we at least need to quantify this understanding or explore the *purposes* behind this value system. All the while, we can explore alternative ways or language to consider her career. What was it that this comprehension facilitated, how was this ideal constructed, and finally, what is at stake if Clara falls (or is pushed) from her high "priestess," *artist* throne?

Chapter Summaries

In the next chapter, "The Social Milieu," I lay the historical and theoretical groundwork for the entire project. Here, I discuss the feminine position within German society—both generally and musically—by considering arguments related to female physiognomy, education, and positioning within familial and social life. Chua's *Absolute Music and the Construction of Meaning* offers useful theoretical discourses to begin exploring the constant flux of gendered identities within the nineteenth-century cultural world, and how women positioned themselves or were positioned within the varying structural levels of society. Chapter Two also makes generalization about the reception and negotiation of the "typical" female public performers—singers. Within this framework of normative female behavior, we can begin assessing how Clara Schumann either subverted or complied with these carefully structured societal standards.

Literally *looking* at how Clara's career and public image were presented visually, "Stirring Quite a Peculiar Feeling: Ciphers in the Portraits of Clara Schumann," analyzes a wide range of portraits and photographs. Visual images provide new interpretations and explanations for how the cultural and social discourses reacted to and negotiated her precarious situation. These portraits have remained an untapped source of real analysis for

Clara Schumann, possibly because her visual representation differs so markedly from other prominent performers; notably, there is only one image of her performing and no caricatures.[26] I hope to use the visual as a way to clarify our understanding of Clara's performing personas and how she might have sounded to her listeners.[27] As Richard Leppert argues in his introduction to *Sight of Sound*

> Music's effects and meanings, which in performance are produced both aurally *and* visually, in painting must be rendered visually only. The way of seeing hence incorporates the way of hearing: the artist must produce images in such a way that their meanings will be congruent with those produced by sight and sound together in the lived experiences of the original and intended viewer.[28]

Although only one painting exists of Clara in performance, portraits offer interesting glimpses into how audiences might have understood her musicality, and also how they reconciled what they were hearing with the abnormalities of her public performance.

The subsequent chapter, "Constructing a Bourgeois Model: Themes in the Reviews of Clara Schumann," considers the language, positioning, and interpretation of Clara's concerts through written reviews.[29] Drawing on reviews from music journals from her most frequently visited German cities—Berlin, Leipzig, and Vienna—this section uses the interpretive strategies offered by Ellis and Dana Gooley in order to begin discerning how Schumann's critics negotiated her public presence, what language they employed to discuss the performer, and how this language compared with Liszt, the most obvious foil to Clara.

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[26] Christine Battersby, *Gender and Genius: Towards a Feminist Aesthetics* (Bloomington: Indiana Press, 1989), 103. Battersby argues that this type of visual portrayal was necessary because "Who gets counted as a poet depends in part on obtaining the audience's trust that what you are doing is art. The stance of the stereotypical poet is, however, awkward for women. Emotion and sensitivity are expected of women, and therefore not generally valued in them except in controlled circumstances."

[27] We might also say: how her listeners wanted her to sound and how the visual represents this desire.

[28] Richard Leppert, *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), xxi.

[29] I would like to immediately note that the reviews I have are focused primarily on music journals, with the exception of a handful from the *Neue Preußische Zeitung*. This does create some problematic restrictions for my analyses. I hope in the future to expand this collection to include sources outside of those directly related to the musical.

In particular, I outline three main categories of discussion: Clara as evidence of the burgeoning economic ideal, as a community-building "warrior" who (somewhat problematically) only rarely enacts any violence, and as the impetus in creating supernatural, dream worlds for her listeners.

"Programming the Woman and the Woman in the Programming: A Closer Look at Clara Schumann's Programmatic Choices," moves beyond more general historical discussions to specifically musical ones, as I examine how certain repertoires become gendered and how this gendering affected or altered the positioning of Clara. Chapter Five looks comprehensively at her 794 concerts given within German-speaking lands and ascertains certain trends regarding the types of repertoire Clara performed throughout her career—an analysis which provides useful ways of undertaking and explaining societal responses. I also consider further (and reconsider) the concept of virtuosity—which becomes even more convoluted with the inclusion of a female virtuoso—as put forward by the recent works of Gooley, Jim Samson, and William Weber. Divergently, however, this analysis uses some of the most dominant binaries of the era to identify how Clara's repertoire resonated with or diverged from these prescribed constructs: virtuosic-interpretive, public-private, old-new, and trivial-serious.

These approaches attempt to uncover ways of understanding Clara's performative personalities, and how critics, listeners, composers, and the performer might have created and controlled the concept of female virtuosity and public piano performance. By studying these primary sources with an interpretive bent, it might be possible to ascertain or elucidate the methods that artists, critics, and repertory used to position this performer and, in this careful placement, managed to absorb her into the safe fold of upstanding, cultivating, and acceptable ideals of bourgeois morality.

Chapter Two

The Woman's Place

"It is sad to see how few really liberal minded people there are in the educated classes….I went to see Madame Hübner, but I had a regular quarrel with her—and (is it credible?) over politics!"[1]

~ Clara Schumann, April 1848

Born in 1819 during the oppressive Metternich regime of "Restoration" and dying in 1896, engulfed in the anxiety of swiftly encroaching modernity, Clara Schumann's prolific performing career potentially traced the nineteenth-century formation, concerns, and anxieties of the upper middle classes. With music often at the nucleus of debates regarding bourgeois taste, nation-building, discipline, education, and sexual categories, this performer (unconventionally because of her gender) came to be positively associated with bourgeois musical goals and was, in turn, repeatedly embraced as a musical professional. Inside of this context, how Clara aligned herself socially and musically gives historians glimpses into the complex relations between these interconnected societal structures, her professional choices, and how her most obvious social marker—that of gender—affected her daily life and professional activity. With the shadow of the bourgeois character ever influencing our analyses (from which we cannot separate Clara Schumann's career, successes, or life), this chapter considers how social spaces and constructs were gendered, how music came to be entwined with these gendered social frameworks, and how Clara potentially understood these situations. Ultimately, social conventions would carefully prescribe the bourgeois woman's role and relationship to musical activity; how this interaction was created, defined,

[1] Berthold Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: An Artist's Life Based on Material Found in Diaries and Letters*, trans. Grace E. Hadow (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1913), I: 443.

normalized, and upheld help us consider Clara's professional life and, more specifically, illuminate moments of social negotiation or slippage within these regulated standards.

This century witnessed profound changes in social, economic, political, and musical life, and these transformations occurred across Europe at differing rates—with Germany often lagging behind. The reorganization of the middle classes, however, came to be one of the most important, and most conspicuous, social changes. While Clara was obviously a member of this educated population, her bourgeois position would not be fully stabilized until after the revolutions of 1848 and 1849. Even if the *Biedermeier* home of the early century embodied the "typical" values of the middle classes, during this time "the bourgeoisie proper existed only in embryonic form."[2] Rapid industrial change and economic development ensued and, coupled with urban growth, markets began to swell with improved means of production and consumerism.[3] By 1850, the German *Bürgertum*, although inevitably failing at their revolutions, were able to challenge other societal structures economically, culturally, and legally.[4] The bourgeoisie sought to define itself by means of financial successes, educational achievements, familial values, work ethics, fashion choices, hygiene codes, and industrial timetables.[5] Within these constructs, education and taste were critical components that allowed certain classes, and especially the bourgeoisie, to distinguish

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[2] David Blackbourn, *History of Germany 1780-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 90.

[3] Ibid., 140-145.

[4] James Sheehan, *German History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 794.

[5] Blackbourn, *History of Germany*, 161: "In fact, it was in the realm of cultural and social identity that the propertied and educated were probably most united. This bourgeois identity included a shared belief in property, hard work, competition, achievement, and the rewards and recognition that were expected to flow from them; in rationality, the rule of law, and the importance of living life by the rules. Correct table manners, sartorial codes, the emphasis placed on cleanliness and hygiene, the importance attached to timetables, whether in the school, on the railway, or at mealtimes—all are instances of the way in which these bourgeois values informed everyday life. Underlying many of these aspects of bourgeois self-understanding was a shared idea of independence that rested on economic security, the possession of sufficient time and money to plan ahead, and certain standards of education and literacy. A general respect for literary, artistic and musical culture—for the *idea* of it anyway—was a further common denominator."

their members from other social groups. As Pierre Bourdieu has theorized, almost every facet of life comes to determine or distinguish a class' place within society:

> Nothing more rigorously distinguishes the different classes than the disposition objectively demanded by the legitimate consumption of legitimate works, the aptitude for taking a specifically aesthetic point of view on objects already constituted aesthetically—and therefore put forward for the admiration of those who have learned to recognize the signs of the admirable—and the even rarer capacity to constitute aesthetically objects that are ordinary or even 'common' (because they are appropriated, aesthetically or otherwise, by the 'common people') or to apply the principles of pure aesthetic in the most everyday choice of everyday life, in cooking, dress or decoration, for example.[6]

Within this context, it is no surprise that anti-aristocratic tendencies bubbled to the surface for a time by looking at what the aristocracy *was* and what the bourgeoisie *was not.* The close correlation between these two groups makes this reaction even more likely considering that "explicit aesthetic choices are in fact often constituted in opposition to the choices of the groups closest in social space, with whom the competition is most direct and most immediate."[7] Clara offers an example of the middle-classes' disdain for the noble elite, here during revolutionary upheaval:

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[6] Pierre Bourdieu, *The Aristocracy of Culture*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 40. Earlier, Bourdieu argues: "In fact, the generalizing tendency of the cultivated disposition is only a necessary, not a sufficient, condition for the enterprise of cultural appropriation, which is inscribed, as an objective demand, in membership of the bourgeoisie and in the qualifications giving access to its rights and duties. This is why we must first stop to consider what is perhaps the best-hidden effect of the educational system, the one it produces by imposing 'titles', a particular case of the attribution by status, whether positive (ennobling) or negative (stigmatizing), which every group produces by assigning individuals to hierarchically ordered classes. Whereas the holders of educationally uncertified cultural capital can always be required to prove themselves, because they *are* only what they *do*, merely a by-product of their own cultural production, the holders of titles of cultural nobility—like the titular members of an aristocracy, whose 'being', defined by their fidelity to a lineage, an estate, a race, a past, a fatherland, or a tradition, is irreducible to any 'doing', to any know-how or function—only have to be what they are, because all their practices derive from their value from their authors, being the affirmation and perpetuation of the essence by virtue of what they are performed." For that matter, this author claims that "The family and the school function as sites in which the competences deemed necessary at a given time are constituted by usage itself, and, simultaneously, as sites in which the *price* of those competences are determined, i.e., as markets which, by their positive or negative sanctions, evaluate performance, reinforcing what is acceptable, discouraging what is not, condemning valueless dispositions to extinction." Ibid., 23-24; 85.

[7] Ibid., 60.

> All these were the aristocrats who spoke of the people merely as *canaille* and rabble, till it made one quite uncomfortable—the Major [Serre] is the only liberal minded person in the whole house, and he sometimes tells the aristocrats roundly just what he thinks!….When will the time come when all men will have equal justice? How is it possible that the belief can so long have been so deeply rooted among the nobles that they are a different species from the bourgeoisie![8]

The bourgeois presence was changing the social landscape of the nineteenth century, and, especially in Germany, their climb was tenuous and contentious. Nonetheless, as Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl observed in his 1851 book, *Die bürgerliche Gesellschaft* (*Bourgeois Society*): "In our day, the *Bürgertum* unquestionably possesses overwhelming moral and material power. Our entire era has a *bürgerlich* character."[9] This "character" came to be most clearly encapsulated and exemplified within the framework of the bourgeois family.

Part One
Women in (Bourgeois) Society

What will become of my work? Yet Robert says "children are blessings" and he is right, because without children there is indeed no happiness, and so I have decided to face the difficult time that is coming as cheerfully as possible. Whether it will always be like this, I don't know.[10]

~Clara Schumann, May 1847

The familial home epitomized the wealth of the bourgeoisie, embodied the ambitions and goals of its members, and became a sanctuary for its hardworking men.[11] According to the new *bürgerlich* class, female "activities" both within and outside of the private spaces had considerable effects upon its continued social success and ascent. In contrast with the public sphere—where the male experience reigned—in the home, women's leisure and containment surpassed the importance of men's occupations: private space became

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[8] Litzmann, *Clara Schumann*, I: 452-453.

[9] Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, *Die bürgerliche Gesellschaft* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1861), 153-154, quoted in Sheehan, *German History*, 793.

[10] Litzmann, *Clara Schumann*, 1: 398.

[11] Blackbourn, *History of Germany*, 162. Similarly, Karin Hausen argues: "Quite clearly the polarization of the sexes only coincided with real social phenomena in the educated bourgeoisie—the group responsible for the appearance of this code of values at the turn of the nineteenth century." Karin Hausen, "Family and Role-Division: The Polarisation of Sexual Stereotypes of the Nineteenth Century—An Aspect of the Dissociation of Work and Family Life," in *The German Family: Essays on the Social History of the Family in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Germany*, ed. Richard J. Evans and W. R. Lee (New Jersey: Barnes & Noble Books, 1981), 68.

designated as familial, domestic, and associated exclusively with women.[12] The importance of the home for the bourgeoisie was established early on in *Biedermeier* Germany and continued to be a crucial component for the upper middle classes well into the latter decades of the nineteenth century.

> The centrality of the *Wohnzimmer* [in the Biedermeier home] reminds us that for more *bürgerlich* families the household was now primarily an emotional and reproductive unit, rather than an economic and productive one. Although family members still lived and worked side by side with apprentices and servants on farms and in many artisanal enterprises and small shops, this blend of family and labour, life and work, was no longer the norm for many businessmen and most of the educated élite—civil servants, teachers, lawyers—who worked away from home….In theory, the *Biedermeier* household was dominated by the eldest male. As husband and father, the man of the house continued to have special legal rights over his dependants' persons and properties. Furthermore, since the man was frequently the family's only participant in the public realm, he was its link to the world of politics and economics. [13]

This space sought to position women subserviently to her male counterparts and at the mercy of social connections created by marriage; generally, women could not create their own space in society—their positions had to be (and were) designated for them. The husband's authorial presence and the wife's subservience were two aspects of life well understood by German women. In fact, marriage relationships following the Enlightenment not only reified the women's social status, but it also codified her "natural" role as woman. Writing in 1847, Louise Otto-Peters captures the ever-subservient nature of a middle-class woman's position in the family and thus, society:

> Throughout their entire lives most women remain—children. First they live under constant, indeed hourly supervision in the parental home and dare to have no other opinions than those that rule in the family; then they become wives, and if they love

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[12] Marilyn J. Boxer and Jean H. Quataert, *Connecting Spheres: European Women in a Globalizing World, 1500 to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 145.

[13] Sheehan, *German History*, 538-539. Blackbourn also emphasizes this point: "Women, in short, represented the 'better half'—and therefore, the 'weaker sex.' This amounted to a full flowering of a tendency to 'feminize' women and sentimentalize the family, already apparent in the Biedermeier period before mid-century." Blackbourn, *History of Germany*, 162.

> their husbands, the transformation of their earlier opinion into those held by him easily takes place, regardless of whether they are completely opposite or not.[14]

While the roles of middle-class women had long been demarcated as distinct from and inferior to the man, the nineteenth century saw the redefinition and normalization of the 'character of the sexes.' In her renowned essay, Karin Hausen argues the polarization of sex roles in Germany was a consequence unique to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

> From the end of the eighteenth century, character definitions took the place of status definitions. Thus a particularistic classificatory principle was replaced by a universal one; instead of the head of the household and his wife the entire male and female sexes were included, and instead of duties deriving from the household, it was the general nature of each that was described…There are many indications that in Germany at the end of the eighteenth century this transition was experienced as a profound change in the social institution of the family.[15]

Possibly, this drastic call for new sex delineation resulted directly from the tumultuous time frame arguing for social equality,[16] individual autonomy, fundamental natural rights, and marriage practices grounded in love and spiritual unification (rather than for more socially pragmatic reasons: procreation, civil and economic duty, etc.).[17] One of the most potent

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[14] Partricia Herminghouse and Magda Mueller, *German Feminist Writings* (The Continuum International Publishers Group Inc.: New York, 2001), 19-20.

[15] Karin Hausen, "Family and Role-Division," 57-58.

[16] Ibid., 58: "At first this interest was directed solely at the man, the paterfamilias: human and man in the discussion of fundamental rights were self-evidently synonymous and the demand for human rights for the man did not at first affect the woman or wife, traditionally subject to male authority, a state of affairs sanctioned by the Bible. This only changed when the model of the social contract, introduced to counter the theological legitimation of State power, was applied to the domestic structure as well, which, as a result of the traditional 'structural analogy of state and family,' was a logical next step. The application of contractual principles to the family however was no longer meant, as in Catholic and Protestant traditions, to refer solely to the marriage ceremony. It implied that marriage itself should be conceived of as a contract. This interpretation meant that the prevailing institutional framework of the family, the rule of the paterfamilias, and even the sexual monopoly and the indissolubility in principle of marriage, came under fire and demanded justification."

[17] Ibid., 58-59 These societal trends and ideas "clearly no longer dictated by the system of values pertaining to the *ganzes Haus* ('household') had far-reaching consequences, particularly with respect to the reinterpretation of the social and domestic role of women. One result was the demand for female emancipation from conjugal or paternal authority and integration on equal terms with men into bourgeois society. This demand was raised in the wake of the French Revolution and was immediately regarded as a threat both to the established order and to the family in particular. The other result, which was a component of the new view of love and at the same time a reaction against socially unacceptable demands for emancipation, was the search for a new form of legitimation for the traditional subjection of the woman to her husband and her limitation to the domestic

symbols of this change was the call for universal character descriptors of each gender. The (re)classification and application of these labels took place most obviously and fervently within the familial and domestic space, which had come to be overtly conflated with a woman's social role and presence.

> In contrast to the previous generations however it was *only* the woman, and no longer the man, who was defined by the family; and also in contrast to earlier times it was the laws of nature, history and morality that set the boundaries within which the female sex had to develop, under the penalty of 'going against nature' if they were transgressed.[18]

Women's "removal" from public society was increasingly normalized and codified throughout the nineteenth century, and this group was charged to work within an environment that "provided a model through which the German bourgeoisie were able to generalize its outlooks and values within the larger society."[19] This repositioning of women in society was achieved by marking women's character as inferior and overly emotional, and these classifications subsequently influenced a woman's ability to make inroads into public professional vocations.

During a time of tumultuous and dynamic social change, which was in part more "possible" because of these pronounced gender divisions; women's compliance with these social expectations (and the opinions of their male counterparts) affected their perceived agency in all aspects of social purpose and activity. At the heart of their social positioning were both stasis and the preservation of the status quo. Women could not (and should not)

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sphere. It attempted to reconcile for women the postulated development of a rational personality with marriage and family affairs. The interest in the 'character of the sexes' developed in connection with these efforts. It is not necessary to describe in detail this process of ideological renovation, which was successfully completed by the turn of the century. it is sufficient to point out that in this period everything pertaining to the sexes, marriage and the family was subjected to careful scrutiny and all the attempted interpretations sprang from the general desire to decode the rational plan and purpose of Nature. The aim was to work out the different natural destinies and the corresponding different natural gifts and talents of man and woman according to the God-given order of the world."

[18] Ibid., 61.

[19] David Blackbourn and Richard J. Evans, eds. *The German Bourgeoisie: Essays on the Social History of the German Middle Class from the Late Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Century* (London: Routledge, 1991), 11.

aspire to initiate any form of *real* social change. Their placement within a home—and thus a socially "safe" environment—further restricted their abilities to shape society at large.

> As the primary residents in, as well as the representatives of, the world of the home, middle-class German women in particular were…expected to represent that home in conserving ways, to protect it as a location of the status quo, and to see to it that change, if it was to come about, would be evolutionary, certainly not revolutionary. Certainly not rebellious.[20]

Any sort of "evolutionary" change and crucial protection of social normalcy was further confirmed in the educational outlets for German middle-class girls.[21]

The inferior position of women and children within the home and familial structure insured that the educational opportunities afforded to women were tailored to a girl's natural destiny, her *Bestimmung*. Although girls' schools between 1800 and 1870 saw the rapid expansion and refinement of female education,[22]

> For most pupils, education in what were known in nineteenth-century Germany as higher girls' schools constituted an important element in the shaping of their class and gender consciousness. Along with the influence of family, church, and community, such schools socialized middle-class girls to their expected roles and contributed both to the growth of "separate spheres" for men and women in the bourgeoisie and to the gradual isolation of this class from the lower orders.[23]

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[20] Ruth Ellen Boetcher-Joeres, *Respectability and Deviance: Nineteenth-Century German Women Writers and the Ambiguity of Representation* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 81.

[21] James C. Albisetti, *Schooling German Girls and Women: Secondary and Higher Education in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 10. Albistetti, however, makes the excellent point that education of women was an important topic of many late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century writers, which proves that "male writers in this era did not have complete confidence in the ability of 'nature' or 'natural law' to steer women toward their proper place in society. Assistance from human institutions was often seen as necessary to ensure the desired result."

[22] Ibid., 23.

[23] Albisetti, *Schooling German Girls and Women*, xiii. As Albistetti argues, the nineteenth century saw profound changes in the education system, and by 1914, German women "came close to achieving equality of educational and employment opportunities with their brothers." More specifically, he argues that there was a "tremendous difference between the prospects of the girl of 1815, who was lucky to find a two- or three-class school offering anything remotely worthy of the name of secondary education, and those of her successor in 1914, who knew not only that she was allowed to pursue higher education and a professional career but also that thousands of German women were already doing so." Ibid., xv.

Thus, the cultivation of women's natural character and innate disposition sat at the core of Germanic education developments, and underneath these goals rested the ever-present delimiter: a woman's biology.

The Biology

> Women are of course weaker than men, but their love is strong.[24]
>
> ~Clara Wieck, January 27, 1838

Women's removal from the public sphere and the re-assessment of their character was inextricably linked to a reconsideration and new understanding of their biological substances.

> By the dawn of the nineteenth century the body was the root of understandings of gender in European society. The scientific and medical discoveries of anatomy and bodily function began to displace earlier metaphysical thinking which disaggregated sex from gender. The body was the foundation for this new etymology, and physiological or sexual difference came to be used to legitimise an essentialist understanding of masculine and feminine character and roles. Biology was destiny and thus the female destiny was determined by her reproductive capacity.[25]

Just as the mind defined male middle class man—for his political conversation, artistic interpretation, and economic aptitude, the body defined the woman—for her sexual, reproductive, and domestic capabilities within marriage. As Bourdieu has conjectured, the female body becomes the ideological battleground for mapping gender differences:

> Everything in the genesis of the female habitus and in the social conditions of its actualization combines to make the female experience of the body the limiting case of the universal experience of the body-for-others, constantly exposed to the objectification performed by the gaze and the discourse of others….These schemes, in which a group embeds its fundamental structures (as big/small, strong/weak, coarse/fine, etc.) are interposed from the outset between every agent and his or her body, because the reactions or representations that one's body gives rise to in others and one's own perception of those reactions are themselves constructed according to those schemes.[26]

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[24] Clara and Robert Schumann, *The Complete Correspondence of Clara and Robert Schumann* ed., Eva Weissweiler and trans., Ronald L. Crawford, Hildegard Fritsch, and Harold P. Fry (New York: Peter Lang, 1984), 1: 88-89.

[25] Lynn Abrams, *The Making of Modern Woman: Europe 1789-1918* (London: Pearson Education, 2002), 40.

[26] Pierre Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination*, trans. Richard Nice (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 63-64.

The woman's body became not only the justification for her social and familial roles, but was also responsible for her emotional behavior. In his 1843 work, *Handbuch der Physiologie des Menschen* (*Elements of Physiology: Of the Sexes*), Johann Müller (professor of anatomy and physiology at the University of Berlin) differentiated between men and women on the basis of their biological characteristics; these tendencies, subsequently, extended to (and affected) all aspects of the person.

> The male of the human species is of larger proportions, stronger build, and more marked outline than the female; has respiratory and vocal organs of larger dimensions; is less easily affected by external impressions, and is in every respect not only physically but also morally of greater strength. He yields less easily to pleasant and unpleasant or painful feelings, is more energetic and constant in his efforts and desires, and more courageous; but he is also more selfish, and more ambitious of honour and fame. He excels the woman in capacity for all intellectual labours and in fruitfulness of mind; and is more cautious, systematic, and reserved in his intercourse with his fellow-men, more difficult to turn, and more haughty; but at the same time more upright and magnanimous. The field of his activity lies in the intercourse and contest of human faculties—in the relations of society.
>
> The woman, more delicately formed, is weaker both in body and in the faculties of the mind than the man; she is more excitable and sensitive, more timid and pliant, more superstitious, more vain, more excited by feelings of pleasure and disgust, and less so by desires. She is gifted with finer feelings of propriety and adaptation, and with a lively imagination; but is without the creative power and the clearness of intellect of the man; while, on the other hand, the reproductive power of her body is greater. Friendship towards her own sex is rare in woman, but her love for her husband and children is proportionately strong; so that her whole mind may be occupied by those feelings. Moreover, woman is distinguished by her modesty, meekness, patience, and amiability; by her readiness to sacrifice her own good and herself for the sake of others; by her tenderness, sympathising disposition, and piety. The field of her activity is her home and family.[27]

Although Müller begins both descriptions with general information about each sex's biological makeup, he quickly moves to the effects these characteristics have on personality, social function, and sexual desire. Significantly, the anatomist gives women character traits

[27] Johann Müller, M.D. *Elements of Physiology*, trans. W.M. Baly, M.D (Philadelphia: Lean and Blanchard, 1843) 820-821.

that are both frivolous and childlike; this trend, linking women and children, reveals itself as a cornerstone of medical discourse seeking to "prove" the inferiority of women. Not only did this association further reiterate women's social role (child always indicative of a mother), but this "likeness" also further validated women's inferior character.

Medical science unequivocally substantiated the correlation between women and children by arguing that women could *only* achieve a lesser state of human development: forever remaining childlike and, thus, "primitive,"[28] females never reached "full human maturity" and were, therefore "arrested at a lower stage of human evolution."[29] In *Das Weib und das Kind (The Woman and the Child)* the German doctor E.W. Posner enunciates this sentiment in his comparison of the similar physicalities found between women and children.

> Women's limbs are short and delicate…and the shortness of the limbs determines the smaller size of the female body and proves the similarly of the female body with the child's body….As is true in the child, the woman has a larger and rounder abdomen in relation to her breast….The entire trunk, which in man forms a pyramid with the base turned upward, is reversed in woman with the point of the pyramid at the shoulders which are smaller and narrower, while the stomach is the broad base from which the even broader hips and strong thighs proceed….Women's heads also tend toward the childish type. The finer bone structure, the tender, less sharply developed face shows this similarity….The nerves and blood vessels of women are also as delicate and fine as those of children…and the skin with its layer of rich fat is childish.[30]

While women could be classified as child-like and (thus) virginal and eternally innocent, they could just as easily be labeled as sexually immoral or prone to promiscuity should they appear to undermine any aspect of the domestic, moral code. Given their reproductive role in society (as the mistress of the home and children), women's complex

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[28] Boetcher-Joeres, *Respectability and Deviance*, 17. "Women were viewed—philosophically as well as judicially—as children, therefore lesser beings; women could be considered intelligent, but never intellectual, for example, for intellectual ability always takes a formal development of that ability for granted, and that was not an opportunity that was offered to German women at any point during most of the century."

[29] Catherine Gallagher and Thomas Laqueur, *The Making of the Modern Body: Sexuality and Society in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 63.

[30] E.W. Posner, *Das Weib und das Kind* (Glogau, 1847), 9-10, quoted in Catherine Gallagher and Thomas Laqueur, *The Making of the Modern Body*, 64.

relationship with sex is not particularly surprising. Speaking generally about the European continent, Priscilla Robertson claims that the high moral code bourgeois women afforded was carefully constructed on the presence of an underground realm of "prostitution and vice."[31] Thus, the pendulum between the chaste and unchaste did not swing that far:

> It should be clear, however, that the sexual patterns of the middle classes…were able to exist only because there was a huge submerged world of prostitution and vice, just as the economic pattern of their affluence depended on the existence of a huge, hard-working, ill-paid working class. Throughout history there have been periods when women were valued for their erotic potentialities, alternating with times when they were regarded chiefly as mothers. The eighteenth century might be considered broadly as one of the former, while it is clear that during the nineteenth, erotic values were subdued and motherly ones received unusually high acclaim.[32]

Discussing Hamburg prostitution in general, Julia Brüggerman shows how closely connected, yet disparate, the figures of the moral and "fallen" woman were. In regulations codified during the first half of the nineteenth century, prostitutes' inability to cohabitate or visit with (even their own) children, coupled with their restricted access to the public sphere,

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[31] Jeffrey Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality Since 1880*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 1981), 30; 82. Discussing nineteenth-century culture more comprehensively, Weeks argues: "The life style of the bourgeois lady was purchased at the expense of a large class of servants, often prone to sexual depredations, and an equally vulnerable group of prostitutes. The ideological division of women into two classes, the virtuous and the fallen, was already well developed by the mid-eighteenth century; its reality was to have a vivid impact on the Victorian imagination. Nor did it go unchallenged….Nonetheless, it is inescapably true that the familial ideology was accompanied by, and often relied on, a vast underbelly of prostitution, which fed on the double standard and an authoritarian moral code." Later, Weeks goes on to make a more forceful connection between the domestic and public spaces, and the sexuality "contained" within each. His assessment also highlights the disparity, but close association, between women of different moral spheres. "Victorian morality was premised on a series of ideological separations: between family and society, between the restraint of the domestic circle and the temptations of promiscuity; between the privacy, leisure and comforts of the home and the tensions and competitiveness of work. And these divisions in social organisation and ideology were reflected in sexual attitudes. The decency and morality of the home confronted the danger and the pollution of the public sphere; the joys and the 'naturalness' of the home countered the 'corruption', the artificiality of the streets, badly lit, unhygienic, dangerous and immoral. This was the basis of the dichotomy of the 'the private' and 'the public' upon which much sexual rested. The double standard of morality relied upon this separation between the public and the private. The private was the nest of domestic virtues: the public was the arena of prostitution, of vice on the streets."

[32] Priscilla Robertson, *An Experience of Women: Pattern and Change in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), 114-115.

speaks to the distinction between "mothers" and also to the inherent danger of *any* public woman who was not "regulated."

> The regulations intruded significantly into the lives of prostitutes….The regulations went beyond precautions for social hygiene. They restricted the women's freedom of movement, declaring certain streets and areas in the city off limits. Furthermore, they barred prostitutes from some theaters and restaurants, forbade them to walk alone in public after 11 p.m., and prohibited them from attracting customers through their windows or on the streets. The regulations also prescribed the prostitutes' contacts when they were not working. Thus the regulation intruded into the most intimate areas of their lives. They women were not allowed to live with children above the age of 10, even their own. The same regulation forbade the prostitutes to meet up with their children if they lived elsewhere, or go out with them…Revisions of the 1834 regulations served to reinforce, rather than to alleviate, the connection between social hygiene and social control.[33]

The disparity, even in the attempt to mark women as either virgin or prostitute, could not undermine the fact that *all* women's bodies were inherently dangerous and problematic—no matter what social sphere they inhabited. For example, although referencing Victorian culture more generally, Sally Shuttleworth emphasizes the obsession with women's menstruation and how this process's confusing nature (not fully understood until the early twentieth century) echoed throughout nineteenth-century knowledge of women's bodies and their sexual tendencies.

> We are all familiar with the Victorian trope of the angel in the house: The male returns from his contaminating material labors in the outer world to be spiritually refreshed by his angel within the inner sanctum of his home. This outer/inner polarity existed, however, in direct conjunction with another formulation of the inner/outer divide: women were outwardly fair, but internally they contained threatening sources of pollution.[34]

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[33] Julia Brüggerman, "Through the Prism of Prostitution: State and Society in Hamburg, 1800-1914" (PhD diss., Georgetown University, 1999), 55-56.

[34] Sally Shuttleworth, *Body/Politics: Women and the Discourse of Science* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 55. Although this example is from England, Hausen argues that German women did have striking similarities with their European counterparts. Furthermore, medical discourse seems to be one of the areas prone to "international" discussion. "The fact that in Germany statements on the ideal of womanhood frequently contain comparative references to the position of women in France and England further recommends [a] comprehensive comparison." Hausen, "Family and Role-Divison," 75.

These inner "sources of pollution" affected almost every aspect of a woman's anatomy, and subsequently, her social interactions, moral code, and sexual definition. Regarding Germany, Vanessa Jo Van Ornam writes:

> Every woman is a potential madwoman, because women play an unfortunately crucial role in the continuation of the species, they must be preserved from additional strain that might overwhelm them entirely….Medical authors were primarily absorbed in detailing [women's] "Schwächen"; their work demonstrates that women's physiology is inadequate to the body's presumptive task: the maintenance of mental and physical health. Thus, the "events" of women's reproductive lives—puberty, the onset and recurrence of menstruation, intercourse, childbirth, and menopause—constitute windows of opportunity for malfuntion and disease.[35]

The reverberations of the medical and scientific "facts" correlating bodily functions with sex roles extended "far beyond the domain of the natural sciences and medicine in their significance, finding expression in art, literature, and political theory."[36] Irrefutably, ideas about women and their proper placement in society extended throughout all facets of their societal exchanges, and ultimately, affected (and hindered) their vocational possibilities within this class.[37]

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[35] Vanessa Jo Van Ornam, " "Werde Weib, Sophie!": Negotiating Social Discourses: Nineteenth-Century Constructions of Femininity in the Work of Fanny Lewald," (PhD diss., Washington University, 1998), 30; 35.

[36] Ludmilla Jordanova, *Sexual Visions: Images of Gender in Science and Medicine between the Eighteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 60.

[37] Lucy Hartley, *Physiognomy and the Meaning of Expression in Nineteenth-Century Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 5. Hartley discusses the rise of physiognomy and its strong presence throughout the nineteenth century. More specifically, she claims, "The nineteenth century was a period of which man's place in nature was the subject of intense and often heated debate, specifically amongst the scientific community." How women fit into this debate within the natural domain further reiterates the century's concern with situating and classifying its members into their appropriate space and social hierarchy.

Part Two
Defining the Musical Experience

My favorite friend here is Mme. Tutein; she is a dilettante who would be a credit to Leipzig. She is very talented and has great skill and a natural feeling for music, except when she suddenly thinks of Liszt and wants to imitate him. She has remarkable memory, yet regrettably appreciates only newer and superficial things in spite of her considerable musical aptitude. For instance, she cannot bring herself to play a fugue by Bach because that's too serious for her; she would rather play Mendelssohn's lieder, fantasies by Liszt and Chopin etudes, mazurkas, too; (by the way, she plays them like a Viennese waltz; they sound awful; but she has never heard any before, so how is she supposed to know)—I am planning to tell her shortly; she won't be offended because she is very kind and really likes me. They are now performing an Italian opera here that she is delighted with—I had a big quarrel with her recently because she said you can't hear German operas all the time; I gave her a piece of my mind. I also scolded her for not playing your compositions; I asked her if a pianist like her won't play them, then who will. I sent her the Kinderszenen today that I recently played for her—the French edition, though, which I don't like at all; I've promised her the German one. I will play your sonatas for her shortly—she'll simply have to try them.[38]

~Clara Schumann, March, 1842

Given these circumstances—and music's potential to create deviant social behavior or bring out the madwomen—women's musical experiences were either encouraged or forbidden depending upon their ability to remain within the boundaries of safe domesticity; although women did not (normally or overtly) participate in public musical conversation or experience, they were encouraged to maintain active private musical lives.[39] More specifically, women's musical interactions came to be

> closely related to the "decorative" character of music itself, and, more important, to the need to define, establish, and thus *use* music's cultural meanings, particularly as these related to the ideology of domesticity and the meaning of woman, on which hinged the identity and meaning of men.[40]

The importance of the "ideology of domesticity" and its relationship with women cannot be overstated, and an examination of the delimiters placed upon women pianists gives us a

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[38] Schumann, *The Complete Correspondence*, III: 312.

[39] Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 147. While this source discusses eighteenth-century England, the trend to which Leppert discusses came to be further ratified throughout the nineteenth century. As we have just discussed, the differences between the sexes came to distinctly define both the "meaning" of men and women. I would argue that this ability of music was further heightened in the nineteenth century, especially considering the presence of a fully formed middle class that facilitated private (and in the case of Clara) public musical practice.

[40] Ibid., 155.

good barometer of how Clara Schumann stepped outside these carefully prescribed boundaries. Nonetheless, we must quantify this domestic (and thus acceptable relationship) with its ominous counterpart: music's ability to serve "as the sign and agent of [a girl's sexuality] and of its illicit nature."[41] Within this bourgeois system, music became an activity that either molded women into their proper role by promoting "social harmony and domestic order"[42] or, conversely, by dangerously heightening their propensity for sexual vice and excess. In order to understand most effectively women's complex and multifarious relationship with music, I consider several important factors: the bourgeois family's part in domestic music-making and this role's connection to the deprofessionalization of women's music-making; the kinds of restrictions implicated in women's musical education; and the role of gendered *Hausmusik* or "gender-appropriate" repertory. Against these "suitable" ideals of the female musical experience, I finally compare the nefarious associations and reactions generated by the most "normalized" professional woman performer—the public (opera) singer. By placing these social standards alongside one another, we can potentially illuminate two sides of "normal" (or socially tolerated) musical behavior.

Just as the bourgeois family defined women's roles in society, so too did it manage women's relationship with music. Musical study could create desirable and accomplished women[43] for marriage and the education of their young children through self-discipline and propriety—both qualities obviously respected and valued in the bourgeois identity. This domestication of female music making in Germany, however, had already been established

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[41] Ibid., 158.

[42] Ibid., 139.

[43] Arthur Loesser, *Men, Women, and Pianos: A Social History* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954), 63: "A girl could finger a harpsichord, a clavichord, or a pianoforte with her feet demurely together, her face arranged into a polite smile or a pleasantly earnest concentration. There she could sit, her well-groomed hands striking the light keys with no unseemly vehemence and if it were a clavichord she was touching, a flow of ever so delicate shadings would infuse her tones with a tender expression. There she could sit, gentle and genteel, and be an outward symbol of her family's ability to pay for her education and her decorativeness, of its striving for culture and the graces of life, of its pride in the fact that she did not have to work and that she did not "run after" men."

in the previous century. Just as the gender relationships within the home were redefined as natural and attuned with a woman's character, it is safe to assume that their activities inside of this domestic space were re-emphasized comparatively. Consequently, the denial of public musical activity hinged on the disciplinary function of music making and its role within the familial home.

Matthew Head argues that late eighteenth-century German society undermined (and yet simultaneously reiterated) the importance of music's relationship with the "fair sex."

> Music for the fair sex performed a double disciplinary function. On the one hand it invited women to the practice of music as an alternative to the false pleasures of, and moral dangers posed by, the social world. On the other hand, it sought to prescribe the nature of musical practice, to deprofessionalize it, to tether it to the ideals of female character, and to inscribe women's primary roles within the patriarchal family as wife, mother, and daughter. The disciplinary focus of this music thus moves promiscuously between the practice of music specifically and questions of women's character and their place in the world.[44]

As women's roles had been "tethered" to their biological nature, their musical practices inevitably followed suit. Moreover, seeing that aspects of the female character had become universally classified, women's relationship with music would come to be defined in the same way. In this move, society was able to disconnect women's musical performances with anything other than the cultivation of her "character" and "natural development," and, consequently, their musical participation could have virtually no element of professional ambition. Women's musical practice, because of their biological nature and social positioning, came to be conflated with their prescribed social roles and virtually estranged from the potential of public music making and performance—concertizing was simply outside of the scope of their sex's (musical and social) possibilities.[45]

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[44] Matthew Head, "If the Pretty Little Hand Won't Stretch: Music for the Fair Sex in Eighteenth-Century Germany," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52 (1999), 210.

[45] David Gramit, *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770-1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 113-117. Gramit offers an analogous interpretation in regard to female music teachers; he claims early nineteenth-century German musical educators overtly attached women's musical experiences with their prescribed life experiences and expectations. More explicitly, women's

The piano of the nineteenth century, as a consequence, came to be a symbol infused with bourgeois (domestic) idealism, thereby affording the instrument certain social currency between women and men. Discussing nineteenth-century musical culture more generally, Ruth Solie writes:

> The woman inexorably comes to be associated with—and, according to some historians, confined to—the home, facilitating the century-long process of establishing 'an ideal that removed women from all productive labour but childbearing, that separated the men and women of a family during their working hours, and that channeled women's energies, and only women's into arranging for the consumption of goods and services.' This ideal, I would argue, produces piano playing under two guises, both as an expression of leisure and as a form of moral and emotional labor within the family. The cultural reasoning might proceed as follows: music was necessary to society, not as mere entertainment but (in the well-regulated and enlightened nineteenth-century home) as a sort of combination spiritual and mental hygiene. The family, laden with symbolic responsibility in its newly intimate configuration, was the natural and proper locus for this *Herzensbildung* along with other kinds of education and socialization….[The adolescent daughter] wasn't only learning music or making herself more marriageable, although she was certainly doing both of those; she was also participating in a system of family discipline and, perhaps most important, absorbing the essence of the larger aesthetic and emotional realm that made her femininity convincing.[46]

As Solie reasons, the piano did not only showcase a girl's domestic qualities, but it also placed her pointedly within a structure that embraced her musical expression as a product of its redefined familial goals. The "girl at the piano" could reinforce social disciplining agents, fortify her role within the home environment, and turn her musical expression into a morally and emotionally cultivating experience.[47] Although the piano did affect a woman physically and correctly disciplined her body (by encouraging proper seated posture), it simultaneously refined her behavior by strenthening moral codes of femininity.

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roles in educational treatises were inexorably connected to their biological makeup and position as "mother:" "the vision of the place of women within the ideal of music education reveals its orientation toward bourgeois society as the locus of the natural."

[46] Ruth Solie, *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 95.

[47] This aspect of music making will be discussed in more detail in a following section. What is important to note is that the piano served to affect it female players in particular ways.

A girl's "absorption" of the "larger aesthetic and emotional realm" via the piano manifested itself in a variety of forms. Both Carl Czerny and Friedrich Wieck addressed pedagogical methodologies, musical goals, appropriate musical outlets, and the kinds of repertory suitable for female piano students. While Wieck and Czerny give the impression that the musical possibilities could be boundless for their female students (and Wieck reiterated this by referencing both Clara and Marie Wieck), these authors also overlay these possibilities with subtle warnings. The disciplining function of the piano, and this instrument's ability to cultivate appropriate modes of femininity persists in both treatises. Wieck's essays, *Clavier und Gesang: Didaktisches und Polemisches* (*Piano and Song: Didactic and Polemical*), includes "A Paper on the Study of the Piano Presented to a Circle of Piano Playing Ladies."[48] He begins this particular essay with the following warning:

> Your lady friends, too, will be welcome, but only those sincerely interested in noble, if also innocent, music making, even without virtuosity. Thus we exclude from our midst any sort of malicious criticism and idle curiosity.[49]

The piano, therefore, was not an instrument on which to waste time (even though it could be an innocent endeavor), because poor playing could incite "malicious" judgment from one's peers and audiences. Clearly then, the study of this instrument directly related to the wider social reputation of the woman in question.

Accordingly, playing the piano illustrated many aspects of a woman's character—and her interactions with the instrument suggested to her listeners how she might likewise behave in her personal relationships. As Wieck exclaims:

> My dear young ladies! One recognizes a person from the way he stands, walks, moves, speaks, bows, takes his hat off and puts it on again, discharges domestic chores—and is seldom deceived. One can almost tell from the way you seat yourself at the piano how you play and what you can accomplish. You sidle slowly, almost

[48] Friedrich Wieck, *Piano and Song: (Didactic and Polemical): The Collected Writings of Clara Schumann's Father and Only Teacher*, ed. and trans. Henry Pleasants (New York: Pendragon Press, 1988), 9. Wieck also published pedagogical writings in *Signale für Musik, Die neue Zeitschrift für Musik, Cäcilia,* and *Blatter für Musik.*
[49] Ibid., 33.

> dutifully, and shyly, to the piano….You sit in a way that awakens no confidence, and thereby make it known that, indeed, you have none. How, then, can you expect to command a big seven-octave grand piano if you don't sit precisely in the middle, with body erect and with your two feet placed before the two pedals? If you wish to enjoy a friendly, confidential relationship with your boyfriend, do you turn half away and avoid his eyes? Even if that were not so disadvantageous and dangerous as it actually is, good manners and good sense dictate that I seek, even before I play, through proper posture and a certain conviction and decisiveness, to inspire confidence in myself and my playing, and awaken a favorable opinion.[50]

For Wieck, a girl's posture at the piano gave an immediate impression to her viewers and listeners, and this medium contrasted directly with men, who were able to achieve a comparable result through more straightforward, publicized forms of interaction (speaking, bowing, greeting, and walking). Although Wieck is most interested in encouraging proper piano posture, his rhetoric to achieve this goal—with the piano at its locus—suggests that the instrument can discipline the player and promote good manners, proper relationship etiquette, and self-confidence.

Czerny reiterated the piano's cultivating potential in his *Briefe über den Unterricht auf dem Pianoforte* (*Letters to Young Ladies on the Art of Playing the Piano Forte*), while subtly reinforcing a woman's inevitable separation from professional music making.

> No art is more noble, nor more surely indicative of general mental cultivation, than music; and you know that *pianoforte playing*, though suitable to every one, is yet more particularly one of the most charming and honorable accomplishments for young ladies, and, indeed, for the female sex in general. By it we can command, not only for one's self, but for many others, a dignified and appropriate amusement; and, where great progress has been made, we also ensure a degree of distinction in the world, which is as agreeable to the amateur as to the professional artist.[51]

While Wieck and Czerny at times address both male and female players, Czerny subtly reinforces the fine line between the two. Although amateur (female) pianists should focus primarily on "a dignified and appropriate amusement," the author insinuates that when

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[50] Ibid., 107-108.

[51] Carl Czerny, *Letters to Young Ladies on the Art of Playing the Piano Forte*, trans. unknown (Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co., 1849-1899?), 3. This treatise was originally published in 1830.

"great progress has been made," the performer also has "a degree of distinction in the world." This distinction is equal for the both the amateur and professional musician. By addressing "young ladies" specifically, and by quantifying amateur achievements alongside professional ones, Czerny inherently distinguishes between the two, potentially implicating that he categorizes women (as a general rule) primarily as amateur.[52]

In this amateur "status," not only did the piano give women opportunities to display their most attractive domestic traits for potential suitors, but this instrument also afforded them a voice that was often otherwise muted.

> The piano, played by a solitary woman, usually in the evening, can be seen to fill the roles of friend, confidant, soul mate, and aid to self expression…Even the innocent fingers of an inexperienced young girl could express through the keyboard feelings that could never be stated in language…The instrument was seen as an outlet for the timid. Accordingly, it was a literary convention to portray a young girl at the piano, who, believing that she is alone, reveals unsuspected feelings to an indiscreet listener. The piano, which lifted the girl's soul toward the lofty realm of the ideal, even helped her to conceal those feelings from herself.[53]

The piano, then, becomes not only a symbol for the woman's femininity, but a medium through which she could express her desires and thoughts acceptably without fear of persecution. Solie comments on this phenomenon as well.

> It has been suggested by more than one writer that for nineteenth-century girls and women the piano was closely related to the diary itself in its status as a confidant and source of emotional rescue. Here I should say that this particular behavioral trope has a considerable history, one not restricted to nineteenth-century females. Much earlier in the century, and indeed even in the eighteenth, a whole genre of poetry grew up in Europe—especially in Germany and Austria—consisting of apostrophes to the piano as a friend and companion. [Christian] Schubart's poem "Serafina an ihr Klavier," set as a *Lied* by Schubert with the degendered title "An mein Klavier," is

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[52] James Parakilas, "A History of Lessons and Practicing," in James Parakilas ed., *Piano Roles: Three Hundred Years of Life with the Piano* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 144. Parakilas also interprets this passage similarly: "Without acknowledging that it exists, Czerny's language sets out the terms of a social problem: boys were trespassing into a female realm when they learned to play the piano at all ('though suitable to everyone'), whereas girls were trespassing into a male realm when they got too good at it ('where great progress has been made')."

[53] Michelle Perrot, ed., *From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War*, vol. IV of *A History of Private Life* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1990), 533.

> a typical representative of the genre. Originally this little poetic convention seems to have applied to both sexes and to have represented a sentiment that was conventionally expressed in public situations. By the mid nineteenth century, however, and especially in Anglophone cultures, the tradition had shifted: it became both unpublic and decidedly unmanly. For women, in their private diaries, the tradition went on uninterrupted.[54]

While Solie speaks specifically of Anglophone cultures, it is possible to expand this feature to Germany. For example, the piano takes on this role of supporter and confidant in Theodor Fontane's nineteenth-century novel, *Effi Briest*. Effi can express her feelings only to the piano in the privacy of her room and away from others. Early in the novel after her marriage to Baron von Instetten, Effi has an adulterous affair with Major Crampas. Eventually, the Baron stumbles upon correspondence from this liaison, challenges the Major to a duel, and informs Effi's parents of her indiscretion. While on vacation, Effi (still unaware her affair has been discovered) receives a registered letter from her parents describing the repercussions of her actions: divorce, the loss of her daughter, and complete social exile. Fontane carefully orchestrates this scene and the piano's inclusion within it.

> She took a pair of mother-of-pearl-handled embroidery scissors and slowly cut open the long side of the envelope. And now a fresh surprise awaited her. The sheet of notepaper was indeed covered with closely written lines from her mother, but folded up in it were banknotes with a broad paper band round them on which, in red in her father's hand, the amount of the enclosed sum was marked. She thrust the bundle of notes back into the envelope and began to read, leaning back in the rocking-chair. But she did not get far, the notepaper fell from her grasp and all the blood drained from her face. Then she bent down and picked up the letter again.
>
> "What's wrong, my dear friend? Bad news?"
>
> Effi nodded, but did not elaborate and merely asked for a glass of water. When she had taken a drink she sad, "It will pass, dear Geheimrätin, but I should like to go to my room for a moment…Could you send Afra to me?"
>
> And with that she rose and went back into the drawing-room where she was visibly relieved at having something to hold on to, and to be able to feel her way along the jacaranda wood piano. In this way she reached her room on the right, and when,

[54] Solie, *Music in Other Words*, 110-111.

> fumbling and groping for the handle, she had opened the door and reached the bed against the wall opposite, she fainted.[55]

Effi cannot speak of her newly realized social fate to a friend, and it is no coincidence that the piano not only physically props her up but also guides her to the safe haven of her room. This instrument does not forsake her in her time of need, and, in this passage, it becomes the only element of support. The presence of the piano emphasizes Effi's fragile state and need for stability, while giving her a brief moment of much-needed relief. This multifarious nature of the instrument—as a symbol for the domestic home, the desirability of its female player, and the female's muted voice—helps illuminate the disparity between female amateur playing and professional pianism, while simultaneously explaining some of the potential dangers of a woman performing publicly.

Just as women's piano playing came to be attached with their physical and emotional temperaments and relegated to domestic disciplining and amateur practice rather than professional vocation, the kinds of repertory "appropriate" for women exists at a particularly thorny area of musical scholarship. While transcriptions were being produced at unprecedented rates, and the music of the home came to be closely associated with that of the music of the concert houses, gendered *Hausmusik* and repertories for women should not be overlooked.[56] Again, we see this firsthand in Wieck's treatise:

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[55] Theodor Fontane, *Effi Briest,* trans. Hugh Rorrison and Helen Chambers (London: Angel Books, 1995), 190.

[56] Thomas Christensen and Leppert discuss this close connection between domestic and public music making. While I will attend to this issue more closely later, the gendering of repertory must be addressed alongside the "ways" women were excluded from public music making. For the situation in England, Leppert argues: "The connections between music, woman, and sexuality, inevitably masked by the conditions of Victorian domesticity, were acted out explicitly on the contemporaneous operatic stages and were likewise hinted at in music journalism, where references to passionate emotion abound. We would do well to refocus our attention on these relationships as we continue our relatively recent revival of interest in nineteenth-century music and its connections to socio-cultural formations. In my judgment these relations account to no small degree for the unstable locus of music in Victorian society, an instability of which professional musicians themselves were keenly aware. Desire was acted out largely, in its licit manifestations, within domestic surroundings. That a specifically domestic music served as the sonoric cipher for these operative ideologies in no way separates them from the public (and often greater) music with which we are much more familiar. In fact, in addition to all the song literature and piano music produced principally for the home market, much of the music people played and sang in their drawing rooms consisted of arrangements of precisely the music Victorians heard professionals play in public. The semantic and ideological congruence between the two was necessarily

> Ladies don't be shocked if—granting a few exceptions—I warn you against so-called classical, substantial music, especially Beethoven, if you are looking primarily or exclusively for assurance, lightness, dexterity, flexibility, a graceful manner of playing and a delicate touch. That should be played only when these admirable attributes have already been acquired, at least to a certain degree, through strictly pianistic studies and pieces.[57]

According to Wieck, performing "significant" music would only hinder the development of female pianists, and this repertory could potentially damper their development. If a young woman had yet to perfect their feminine skill at the piano, "significant" and "classical" pieces could interfere with their musical progress. In effect, this repertory would impede their ability to play "grace[fully] and "delicate[ly]."[58]

Beethoven keeps his esteemed position in Czerny's pedagogical treatise as well. Here, however, this most masculine composer becomes the goal to which every female pianist should attain, because his works demanded a specific, complicated, and unique playing style:

> In *Beethoven's* works [*Hummel's*] style will seldom be suitable; as, in them, great characteristic energy, deep feeling, often capricious humor, and a sometimes very legato, and at others, a very marked and emphatic style of playing are requisite.[59]

In order to perfect the proper style, however, Czerny devotes Letter VI, "On the Selection of Compositions most Suitable for each Pianist," to the discussion of appropriate choices for consistent pianistic improvement.

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apparent; to function successfully in the culture, it had to be. Finally, I would suggest that the pronounced "masculinity" evident in the aggressiveness, assertiveness, and insistence in so much nineteenth-century instrumental music, from piano sonatas to symphonies, in part constitutes an impassioned outburst by male artists entreating for the centrality of their artistic exercise not only as a protest over their own marginalization but also as the sonoric denial of the effeminization the culture attached to them as artists. At the same time, however, these expressions of sonoric protest serve to reenact and thereby sanction the ideology of male hegemony on which artists' own marginalization depends." Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*, 186-187.

[57] Wieck, *Piano and Song*, 40.

[58] Ellis, "Female Pianists," 364. Ellis reiterates the highly gendered repertory of the French concert stage—with Beethoven at the locus of the creation of these categories: "At different times during the century, other repertories came to be gendered feminine as well. Baroque music, Haydn, Mozart, and even Hummel were drawn into a stereotypically feminine world of decorative and sweetly plaintive expression, contrasting with the gigantic outbursts of Beethoven or the dazzling virtuosity of Liszt and Thalberg."

[59] Czerny, *Letters to Young Ladies*, 29.

> You wish to know, my dear Miss, what compositions you are chiefly to play, so that you may learn all that are good, as far as that is possible, and that too, in a natural and progressive order; and it does credit to your taste, that you are desirous not only of studying the favorite pieces of the present day, but likewise the most striking works of the earlier and more ancient masters.[60]

In this chapter, Czerny does not discourage his ladies to forgo a study of more challenging works (i.e. Beethoven), but he does suggest that women work slowly and steadily in order to achieve this level of competency.

> Many half-formed players imagine that everything will be right, if they do but step forward at once with a difficult piece by some celebrated composer. But by this means they neither do honor the composition nor to themselves; but merely expose themselves to the danger of exciting ennuni, and, at best, of being applauded from politeness and compassion, and therefore of being blamed and laughed at behind their backs. For, even with regards to amateurs, persons avail themselves the right to blame when they have not received any pleasure; and, in face, who can take their doing so in bad part?[61]

For both Czerny and Wieck, there is danger in performing certain advanced works when unprepared—because of the potential for self-transgression. In this bourgeois system, the women pianists should be careful that their compositional choices flatter both their abilities and technique; furthermore, although women were not considered professional musicians, listeners and performance still played a significant role in their musical experience. If the female player could satisfy her listener, she inevitably rewarded her disciplinarian (her male counterpart) and successfully realized the bourgeois ideal.

[60] Ibid., 27.
[61] Ibid., 26.

Potential (Sexual) Dangers

My first concert was on March the 1st and it was packed. The best seats for all three concerts were sold long beforehand, and in the end every seat was taken. But what pleased me most was my reception. When I appeared the applause was unending, and I could feel that it came from the hearts of people who are fond of me. The audience consisted of the most cultivated people in Vienna. It is quite a pleasant experience to play here, for, after all, if one has to perform in public, it is gratifying to find the audience is stirred.[62]

~Clara Schumann, March 3, 1860

Even with these strictures in place—guiding women into a nonprofessional relationship with music—the "fairer sex" was obviously involved in public music performances. Female opera singers dominated the stage and often appeared on instrumental concerts performing arias and lieder. Within this structure, however, the duplicitous nature of domesticated music making comes to the fore, especially given the fact that women's bodies were not a stable or static entity within these processes. The performances of song, so prominent on the concerts of Clara Schumann, took part in the "effacing" of a body, and were thus situated differently within the musical structure.

> Opera in the nineteenth century develops, realizes, two apparently contradictory tendencies of melodrama: on the one hand, the extreme embodiment of meaning, meaning represented bodily, and on the other hand, meaning becomes lyrical self-expression, aria, song that conveys a state of being…Not that voice is of course really separable from body in any live performance. But in a recital of lieder, for instance, body is effaced; it is voice we attend to. Whereas what you get in opera is a body thrust upon your attention—a costumed body, staged and lighted, representing a certain person in a certain dramatic situation.[63]

This focus on the body in some situations, and the detraction from it in others, therefore, positioned female singers tenuously within the expectations of social decorum. Although

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[62] Johannes Brahms and Clara Schuman, *Letters of Clara Schumann and Johannes Brahms: 1853-1896*, trans. Berthold Litzmann (New York: Vienna House, 1927), I: 116.

[63] Peter Brooks, "Body and Voice in Melodrama and Opera," in *Siren Songs: Representations of Gender and Sexuality in Opera*, ed. Mary Ann Smart (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 121. While speaking primarily on Victorian culture, this theory seems to have resonance across the European continent where female singers perhaps elucidated the dangerous connections between women and music.

women singers were certainly more common, this commonality did little to normalize their behavior or to make it socially acceptable.

Publicly performing women had the potential to draw improper reactions from listeners precisely because of their gender. Ominously, music might physically (and, therefore, sexually) affect its female performers in ways that heightened their sexual desires and sensual excesses.

> In essence, the man's world was silent and the woman's sonorically fecund; her ideal essence, in sonoric terms, was harmony. Yet musical harmony conflated with woman was simultaneously despiritualized, hence de-asetheticized, by its association with female sexuality, at once abhorred and desired. The connections between music, woman, and sexuality, inevitably masked by the conditions of Victorian domesticity, were acted out explicitly on the contemporaneous operatic stage.[64]

Women's performance in public space, therefore, tended to balance all aspects of their problematic social presence, and these performers could easily affect their listeners in either constructive or deconstructive ways. To emphasize this point in other (particularly German) contexts, I would like to examine briefly an image with a female singing in a more public venue—the *Gesellschaft-Concert*. (Figure 2.1) Since Clara played at such soirees throughout her career, Figure 2.1 offers the possibility for a critical interpretation of how women performing in this kind of environment could potentially affect their listeners.[65]

The murky, darkened room, with its macabre figures singing, smoking, drinking, and ogling the performers creates an ironic and chaotic image, and more specifically, the grayed,

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[64] Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*, 186.

[65] Although this image shows a female singer, I want to caution against conflating female singers with female pianists. I use this example to give a broad interpretation of reactions *all* women performers could elicit in their listeners—especially in public contexts. Clara's participation in the homogeneous concert environment, however, contrasted quite sharply with the more "normative" ideals of the public woman musicians: the glamorous female opera singers who exuded sexuality and gained (a certain kind of "normative") societal acceptance and approval. While the vocal tradition did not necessarily "question" the gendered repertory boundaries that had been put in place, these performers still walked a fine line in regard to their social propriety. Since these institutions remained somewhat separated in regard to venue (although opera singers Jenny Lind and Pauline Viardot-Garcia did perform with Clara), I am most interested here in ideals of women at the piano, rather than the complications arising from women in opera.

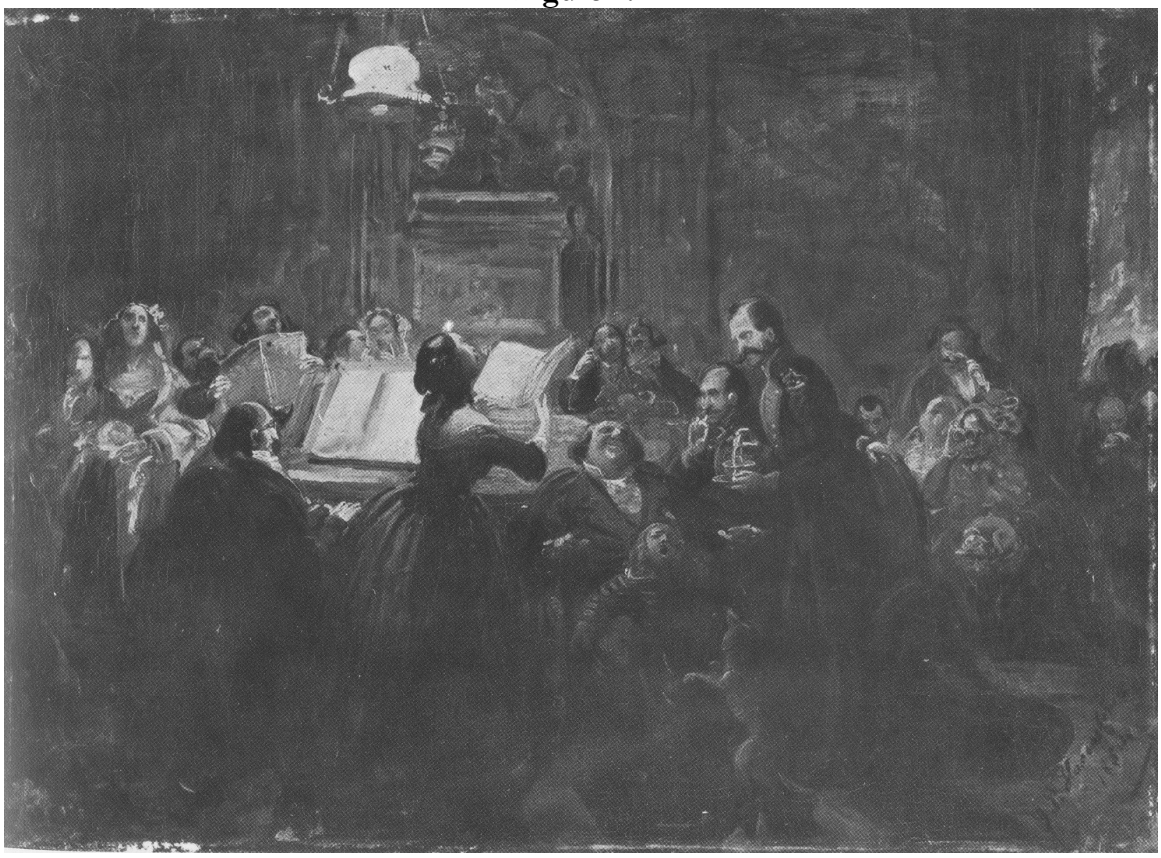
smoky coloring insinuates an otherworldly or surreal tableau.[66] The purposefully positioned figures offer critical commentary on the potential for sexual excess in musical environments and the problematic circumstances that result. By situating the accompanist and female singer in the forefront and under the light, the viewer assumes that they are the central performers. Even if the artist gives a better silhouette of the brawny accompanist, who plays along seemingly unaffected, his body has almost no detail other than the clear view of his performing hands. This depiction contrasts sharply with the focus on the singer's body. She turns her back to the viewer—and, in a gesture that signals her musicality and the music's affect—leans slightly forward and lifts her songbook. These movements highlight her small waist and hourglass figure and potentially cause her singing to take on sexual overtones that influences her audience in various ways.

Significantly, the listeners' responses seem heavily dependent on their gender. Some male members of the audience bellow along while slumped and seated, as they ignore the dog jumping at their feet. Another man behind the left side of the piano holds his own copy of the music and throws his head back to sing along, whereas the man to the right whispers to the preoccupied woman on his left. Yet others encroach upon the singer's space to quite pointedly stare at (and, thereby, sexualize her) her as they pour their wine absentmindedly and smoke their cigarettes. The female audience members, however, are situated somewhat stoically along the perimeter of the image; an elderly woman with concert glasses watches intently with a sleeping cat in her lap, while the woman standing to the left appears to be the only person actually listening to the performance.

[66] Leppert discusses a loosely similar example in *The Sight of Sound*, Chapter Xix, "Sexual Identity, Death, and the Family Piano."

By so starkly contrasting the reactions of the men and women, the artist suggests the potential for vice within the concert-tradition, while simultaneously demonstrating the possible responses a female's public music-making could elicit in men.

Figure 2.1



Oil on Canvas by Johann Peter Hasenclever, 1850
Abendgesellschaft
Wallraf-Richartz-Museum; Köln, Germany

Although it was more common for women to become professional singers in the nineteenth century, this normalcy was perpetually overlaid with the fact that

> The woman who sings displays herself, in an art-form that—discreetly or indiscreetly—calls attention to the body. Reviews of women singers during the Romantic period often allude both to the performance's physicality and to its effects on the listeners….As a result of that overt element of display, professional women singers of the period occupy the margins of courtship, marriage and controlled exchange as practiced by the middle class. Their body has inserted itself too prominently into the relation with the male audience, such that they become

> figurative cultural courtesans even if they are not actual ones….In contrast to such performers, the prostitute represents the other possibility latent in the woman as singer: she is the woman whose very sexuality, her link to nature, becomes the means by which she inserts herself into an "unnatural" economy of abstract exchange.[67]

Given these possibilities, it is not surprising that the male listeners verge on hysteria as their bodies seem almost out of their control, as they appear to carry out their actions almost uncontrollably: they become intoxicated by the music and seem "throw[n] into...hyper-active states of female vice."[68] What makes this frantic scene possible is perhaps the presence of the woman performing music in a public space. Women making music were thus a powerful force to be reckoned with—although music performance was a useful and important tool for women inside the home—outside of this controlled environment women's dangerous "sources of pollution" could affect society at large in ways that could cripple their listeners.

The Problems with Professionalism

> I've been running around all afternoon looking for a piano; they are all bad, and I am desperate; there is a Conrad Graf here, but the owners don't want to make it available for the concert because something could happen to it—what am I going to do with such timid, small-town people? Well, perhaps they will yet give in. Oh, I could cry; what if I have to play such an awful piano? [69]
>
> ~Clara Wieck, January 11, 1839

While the deprofessionalization of women's music making, combined with a focus on the piano and appropriate repertoire as domestically disciplining agents—most certainly helped discourage women from professional and public performance, the most obvious deterrence would have been the sheer saturation of professional pianistic life with men: male critics, male pianists and instrumentalists, male composers, male pedagogues, and (later in the century) male conductors. Thus, Clara's potentially deviant vocation was compounded because of her choice of public instrument; she worked within the predominantly male

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[67] Sarah Webster Goodwin, "Wordsworth and Romantic Voice: The Poet's Song and the Prostitute's Cry," in *Embodied Voices: Representing Female Vocality in Western Culture*, ed. Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 68-69.

[68] Daniel Chua, *Absolute Music and the Construction of Meaning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 136.

[69] Schumann, *The Complete Correspondence*, II: 10-11.

paradigm of the virtuosic *piano* performer. According to Ellis, the female piano virtuoso in Paris was problematic because she

> provided a direct challenge to such behavioral codes by making a spectacle of herself. And although rituals of display have always been associated with the feminine rather than the masculine, French bourgeois mores, like their Victorian counterparts, ensured that any public performance by a woman raised questions about her personal conduct.[70]

This trend can be mapped onto German lands as well, as Clara's repertory and rivals were firmly fixed within a *male* tradition—a circumstance that (in Germany particularly) fought to deter women's participation in professional activities of all sorts. Boetcher-Joeres offers a good example of the difficult situation for burgeoning women writers:

> In the specific case of Germany, the struggle to assert and identify oneself as a woman seems historically to have been especially difficult. Although more women wrote and published in the last century, the minor presence of women in publishing, editing, and the critical establishment must also be noted: the means required to produce and evaluate women's texts were firmly in the hands of men. This was (and is) a problem that is not unique to Germany, however. Where Germany seems to have provided a particularly discouraging message for its women writers has more to do with the widespread and dismissive and often negative view toward women to enter a realm in which they were generally not welcome.[71]

Clara was able to establish herself as a respected professional (completely free from satirical response) within a framework inherently stacked against her.[72] She also remains unique in

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[70] Ellis, "Female Pianists," 361.

[71] Boetcher-Joeres, *Respectability and Deviance*, 9-10. Boetcher-Joeres goes on to argue that German women did face obstacles similar, yet differentiated from their European counterparts: "The right to literacy was guaranteed to German females at a relatively early date, yet their admission to institutions of higher learning did not occur until the end of the nineteenth century, in contrast, for example, with England or France. The right to work may well have been implicitly understood—and certainly women of the working class were in the labor force in large numbers throughout the last century. Middle-class women were viewed in a different fashion, however, and even at a time when increasing numbers of them did not marry and needed to support themselves, the arbiters of good taste and proper decorum continued to tell them and the world that their place was absolutely in the home, in a domestic realm where such public acts as publishing one's writing would not take place. The situation was exacerbated by an ongoing problematic relationship between German women in general and the judicial system: women were essentially deprived of numbers of rights that would have acknowledged and permitted their autonomy; they were in fact legally grouped with the young, and occasionally even the deviant."

[72] Reich, *Clara Schumann*, 284. Reich makes the point distinguishing between the professional nature of Schumann's career by articulating the difference her class status would have made: "In any discussion of

that she was rapidly canonized in Germany, her name widely known throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (her picture was on the 100 Deutschmark, for example), and she was more than likely one of the first women to be featured in American introductory textbooks as the allocated "women" composer entry. As Reich has argued, however, Clara Schumann rarely situated herself as deviant, although she held one of the most unique and prominent roles in German nineteenth-century musical society.

> At eighteen, Clara Wieck ranked with the principal artists of the day. When she resumed active concert life at the age of thirty-five she was hailed once again as one of the two or three leading pianists of Europe. She plunged into public concerts with such difficult and unfamiliar works as Beethoven's *Hammerclavier* Sonata and C Minor Variations, neither of which she had performed before. No other woman achieved the eminence she did on the concert stage, nor did any other pianist, male or female, maintain a position for so long a time. She was not a feminist and it is doubtful that she sympathized with the views of those few women who were just beginning the struggle for equal rights in nineteenth-century Germany.[73]

Ultimately, society at large did not classify Clara Schumann as advancing the rights of women within a public space—which probably could have damaged a career so carefully crafted to undermine or ignore her femininity; this fact makes her ability to infiltrate such a powerfully constructed public structure all the more explicable.

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women musicians of the early nineteenth century, a distinction must be made between professional musicians who, like Clara Wieck, performed in order to earn money and those highly proficient performers of the upper classes and aristocracy who, like Elisabeth von Herzogenberg, Henrietta Voigt, and Fanny Mendelssohn, had received professional training but never performed for a fee. Such artists as Livia Frege, who married into the upper middle classes, were forced by conventions or their husbands to discontinue their professional activities. These women carried on significant musical lives from their own homes, building music rooms large enough for audiences of a hundred or more connoisseurs in the tradition of the great music-loving aristocrats of the eighteenth century. They did not simply run salons, nor did they necessarily serve as the proverbial feminine inspiration for composers. They sang, played, made suggestions, and performed a valued service, providing a stage, even a forum for such composers as Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Brahms, and the young Schumann. But these gifted amateurs did not perform in public and so did not undergo the scrutiny of reviewers or have to battle for the attention and money of the public."

[73] Ibid., 283.

Part Three
Musical Structures: Concert Traditions and Repertory

> Listen Robert, would you compose something brilliant, easy to understand, something that has no titles, but is a complete, continuing piece, not too long and not too short? I would like so much to have something of yours to play at concerts that is suited to a general audience. It's humiliating for a genius, of course, but expedience demands it. Once you provide an audience with something they can understand, you can show them something more difficult—but first you have to win the audience over. Your Kinderszenen are so delightful, but with the exception of some German connoisseurs, people don't understand the titles. The French are not warm-hearted enough to understand them. Try to compose variations perhaps. You've already done that—can you do it again? Or a rondo?[74]
>
> ~Clara Wieck, April 4, 1839

Just as bourgeois life affected women's artistic roles in society—by further defining and dictating their relationship with music—piano music came to be closely associated with other bourgeois concerns and societal goals. In fact, it became an integral part of the system of bourgeois activity and communication.

> Music was woven into the very fabric of social interaction; it was part of the system of signs by which people communicated with each other. And for the entire century this occurred routinely around that familiar fixed object, symbol of both success and sensibility: the piano.[75]

Within these communicative possibilities (occurring both at home and in concert environments), critics argued that piano music could take on both constructive and deconstructive roles for the rising bourgeoisie, primarily because this milieu had granted music the facility to educate and cultivate sensitivity throughout the social classes.[76]

With the rise of the overwhelmingly popular and financially lucrative piano virtuoso in the first half of the century, and domestic music relying on a wide variety of piano

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[74] Schumann, *The Complete Correspondence*, II: 138.

[75] Leon Plantinga, "The Piano and the Nineteenth Century," in *Nineteenth-Century Piano Music*, ed. Larry Todd (New York: Schirmer Books, 1990), 3.

[76] Dahlhaus, *Ninteenth-Century Music*, 313. Dahlhaus references Pestalozzi, so this phenomenon began early on in the nineteenth century. Dahlhaus also makes the point that Pestalozzi did not restrict music's positive education effects to the middle classes, but rather, suggested that music could work throughout the range of the classes.

transcriptions of all sorts, critics (like Robert Schumann) had impetus to reclaim the piano as an instrument supporting intellectual and poetic experiences with music. Expectedly, the piano, its performers, and its audiences came to be part of the heated debate over music's place in bourgeois society. The kinds of reactions these works induced from their listeners played an increasingly serious role in the definition of the kinds of music appropriate for both public and private environments, and audience responses allowed critics to split music "into two realms, into art and nonart."[77] "Nonart" and trivial musics created an experience devoid of any real aesthetic contemplation or comprehension.

> Trivial music can be virtually defined as encouraging trivial, or trivializing, listening. True, this mode of perception is equally applicable to works with an impeccable claim to rank as art, but these works neither encourage such an approach, nor were they intended for it…Trivial music is a special form of lowbrow music and, as such, a historically delimited phenomenon. It belongs to the age dominated by the classical-romantic notion of art….Unlike the norms of art music, however, trivializing listening ignores or violates one of the major theoretical premises of classical-romantic art: the principle of self-absorption in the work as an aesthetic object. It does this by side-stepping the dialectic of form and content in music, extracting from it a topic or subject matter (mistaken for the work's "contents") and withdrawing from the acoustic phenomenon into the listener's own frame of mind. In this way the music, instead of constituting an aesthetic object, degenerates into a vehicle for associations and for edifying or melancholy self-indulgence.[78]

Self-indulgent and gluttonous listening flew in the face of the bourgeois work ethic and disciplined character, and critical discourse was quick to react.

Given the relationship between art and nonart, the bourgeois concert was restructured by the middle of the century. Critics hoped that the bourgeois concert of the nineteenth century would target an educated or cultivated listener; within this environment, the music could not exist solely for mere enjoyment, but was instead presented for transcendental contemplation and educational self-improvement—*Bildung*:[79] for the

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[77] Ibid., 318.

[78] Ibid., 314-315.

[79] James C. Albisetti, *Secondary School Reform* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 16-17. This inner cultivation sat at the heart of education systems and began in the early nineteenth century. "Central to the

bourgeoisie, "music was not meant merely to be 'enjoyed' but to be 'understood."[80] According to both Carl Dahlhaus and Sanna Pederson, this hope for music was established as early as Hoffmann's writings, with the listeners whom were later labeled as "Philistines." The battle against the ignorant and phony listener continued well into the century via critical discourse, and Schumann was one of the most outspoken critics to wage battle.

> The Philistines that Schumann abhorred most were those who affected a superficial poetic sensibility and experienced a sort of automatic, mechanical sublimity upon entering the concert hall. These listeners were Philistines because they failed to understand that the most fundamental aspect of the sublime experience was that it opened up a world completely different than that of the concert hall.[81]

We see a glimpse of the "problem," provoked by performing music that would incite undisciplined and gluttonous listening in Wieck's pedagogical treatise. Hoping to deter his piano players from striving towards virtuosity he focuses on the listeners' reactions, and clearly highlights the problems of listening to "nonart" (here, in the guise of virtuosic music).

> Do not give preference to virtuoso *tours de force*. Who on earth wants to show off again and again his octaves, his trills, his leaps, his extraordinary span and other

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educational philosophy behind the Gymnasium was the notion of '*Bildung*' as formulated in Germany in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As do its usual translations, 'cultivation' and 'education,' *Bildung* referred to both the process and the result of a person's intellectual development. The early theorists of *Bildung* wanted to guarantee the individual freedom to develop his own talents to the greatest possible extent, and therefore resisted any equation of *Bilding* with training designed specifically for a future career...Two overlapping conceptions of what the results of this process of *Bildung* would be coexisted in German thought at this time: whereas on the one hand the Romantic impulses behind the idea of each individual cultivating his innate talents suggested a broad diversity among the *Gebildeten* (those people with a completed *Bildung*), the roots of *Bildung* in the Enlightenment and neoclassicism pointed to all true *Gebildeten* sharing a common rationality, idealism, morality, and aesthetic sensibility. In this opposition to an education based on one's hereditary estate, the ideal of *Bildung* contained a powerful democratic component. In German society of the early nineteenth century, however, where formal education for the overwhelming majority of the population amounted to learning only the rudiments of reading, writing, arithmetic, and religion in overcrowded one- or two-room schoolhouses, *Bildung* had an implicit bias in favor of the social groups whose leisure and money permitted them to pursue the cultivation of their talents and personalities. The new cultural ideal could and did serve as a weapon for elements in the middle class fighting against aristocratic privilege; indeed, many aristocrats came to accept *Bildung* as almost as important a measure of status as birth."

[80] Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 50.

[81] Sanna Pederson, "Enlightened and Romantic German Music Criticism, 1800-1850" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1995), 25.

> examples of pianistic prestidigitation? You simply excite *boredom*, *satiety*, *disgust*—and at best make yourself ridiculous.[82]

Not only does Wieck highlight the tepid and "unbourgeois" nature of the virtuoso concert, but he also implicated the performer within this as well. No success, only ridicule, could stem from performances of this kind. Ultimately, both serious and trivial musics had the potential to affect their listeners in either intellectually cultivating or injurious ways—and both possibilities would have (or so claimed the critics) serious impact on the rise and maintenance of the German bourgeoisie.

The Piano, Autonomy, and Transcription

> Our concert yesterday was very brilliant and everything went wonderfully well. We got tremendous applause and at the end had to play the Haydn Finale over again. Instead of the Ballads (the subtleties of which would have been entirely lost in the enormous hall) I played the Andante with Variations, and only hope I may play it as well in Carlsruhe, for it was really very fine. During the whole evening I was in the most exalted state of mind although I had just been through the most harassing day a virtuoso could have, after which I scarcely hoped to be able to carry it off.[83]
>
> ~Clara Schumann, November 1, 1864

While the debate against "empty" and "uncultivated" musical expression has extended throughout many musical eras and genres, here, I would like to focus specifically on instrumental and piano repertory and its inclusion within, or exclusion from, the category of autonomous music. Having been established in the first part of the century, the reign of autonomous music extended throughout the second half of the century: "The hallmark of this period [1848-1870] was the principle of autonomy, which 'sequestered' music into a realm of its own."[84] The controversy over absolute and virtuosic music existed as one of the most vehement debates in nineteenth-century musical society, and its inevitably close relationship to pianists gives it even more credence here.

This contention between "masterworks" and "shallow piano virtuosity" rests at the heart of the problem for the nineteenth-century bourgeois listener—and for the performers

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[82] Wieck, *Piano and Song*, 111. Emphasis Added.
[83] Brahms and Schuman, *Letters of Clara Schumann and Johannes Brahms: 1853-1896*, I: 189.
[84] Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 194.

who wished to create and sustain a long career. Many critics waged war against "trivial" music, and Clara herself suggested the problematic relationship between "magnificent art" and "virtuosic showpieces" as her career advanced. With audiences shamelessly (!) propelling the massive commercial appeal of virtuoso concerts and snatching up (often) easier transcriptions of these works, it is no wonder that the piano came to be associated with a wide variety of musical genres and classifications, or that critics would fight to redefine and promote a particular kind of bourgeois listening within the gradually changing concert environment and, subsequently, within the home as well (or vice versa).[85] Piano transcriptions allowed the listeners to not only experience a wide variety of musical genres and styles, but they also created a space for critical discourse to attach positive and negative labels onto the music of the private sphere and to argue for uniformity between the public and private musical worlds. For that matter, not only did the transcription contribute to "appropriate" romantic listening, but it also came to hold a particularly important place within the boundaries of absolute music.

The piano transcription became intrinsically attached to many facets of musical culture, and this music's commercial viability and educational attributes situated it quite problematically within the bourgeois concern for morally attuned cultivation and serious listening. The tenants of this discussion extended quite rapidly throughout the echelons of music making, given the bourgeois contribution to the transcription industry. Again, the piano held a particularly important place in middle-class musical life because of its flexibility and malleability, even if these transcriptions traveled into its new locales in altered (and often sparser) versions. Pointedly, the repertories performed within both public and private spaces frequently overlapped, as musical amateurs could purchase arrangements of music

[85] I make this claim considering the virtuoso often recomposed works from other genres. For example, Clara, Thalberg and Liszt performed operatic fantasies; in this performative gesture, the lines between genres written for the piano and those for voices and instruments becomes blurred.

they would hear in concert, in order play and analyze these pieces privately on their home piano. So just as pianos came to be positioned in a variety of new settings, pieces themselves were often displaced out of "normative" concert environments and transcribed for piano. These versions held an unusual place both in the home and in the burgeoning capitalistic and commercialized environments. As Parakilas contends:

> Pianos were found in ever multiplying settings, and any one piano piece, of any sort, was likely to be carried from concert hall to parlor to church to classroom and played on a different piano, to a different purpose and audience and effect, in each setting. Any idea we may have of the setting that is proper for a given piece of nineteenth-century piano music is challenged, if not belied, by what is known about performance practice at the time and about the nature of the piano-filled world into which that piece was born.[86]

The *bürgerlich* class had profound influences upon the multifaceted repertories disseminated by the piano transcription into the society at large, while circularly affecting the kinds of repertory performed in concert environments. As Thomas Christensen reasons:

> No other medium [the domestic four-hand piano transcription] was arguably so important to nineteenth-century musicians for the dissemination and iterability of concert repertory…the duet arrangement offered any two amateur pianists an opportunity to hear in their own home a wide variety of symphonic, chamber, and choral works beyond what they might have access to in live performance.[87]

The bourgeois listeners of the 1830s, it seems, gravitated towards art and nonart equally, and amateur pianists aggressively purchased their concert favorites in versions they could perform themselves.

> The flood of piano music turned out by the pianists of Paris and by others in imitation of their [the virtuosic] style quickly inundated the music markets of all Europe. A casual comparison of publishers' list of piano music in the mid-1830s from France, England, Germany, and Austria reveals startling uniformity. These lists repeat the names of the most famous of the pianist-composers, especially Czerny, Hünten, Herz and Thalberg, with monotonous regularity; lesser known names vary from country to country. The categories of piano pieces in the lists follow a highly

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[86] James Parakilas, "Music to Transport the Listener," in *Piano Roles*, 192.

[87] Thomas Christensen, "Four-Hand Piano Transcriptions and Geographies of Nineteenth-Century Musical Reception," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52 (1999), 256.

> regular pattern: variations, fantasias, and rondos on operatic tunes, and etudes in a similar style—often simplified versions of what the virtuosi played in concerts—predominate overwhelmingly. This kind of music was intended partly for aspiring pianists, but more for the vast company of middle-class amateurs. Music in this style was supposed to be as brilliant as possible—but not too difficult. [88]

These players were primarily concerned with appearing pianistically "brilliant" and, thus, virtuosic; they were not, it seems, troubled with understanding the musical structure or hidden aesthetics (although, given this music's "nonart" status, according to some critics, this repertory might not have even been listened to or analyzed in such a way).

In conjunction with the virtuoso's appeal, we cannot discount concerts centering more (although often not completely) on the "artistic" and focused listening experiences. The same audiences supporting the virtuosos so unabashedly were also seeking out transcriptions of pieces heard in more serious concert environments. For supporters of the serious experience of music,[89] four hand piano arrangements had the critical potential to improve bourgeois taste and cultivate its listeners by "function[ing] as bulwarks against seduction by shallow piano virtuosity on the one hand and sedations by trivial 'parlor gems' on the other."[90] So, even though transcriptions could support virtuosic and trivial music, these commercialized entities could just as easily reverse the trend by exposing pianists to a variety of serious music. Moreover, by extracting the piece from its original context, its new performers and listeners were given the freedom to experience the music in a more private

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[88] Leon Plantinga, *Schumann as Critic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 21.

[89] Although I am using the term poetic and autonomous to describe this music, I am aware that these terms (while sharing characteristics) remain distinct. According to Pederson: "Autonomy requires that a work be considered on the basis of its intrinsic qualities alone. In contrast, the 'poetic' aspect of music of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was not regarded as a purely aesthetic question. Perceiving the poetic in a piece of music did not necessarily require a display of Kant's 'disinterested pleasure' or universal subjectivity, or of an aesthetic expertise that enabled one to judge the value of a work by its 'inner value.' Rather, in experiencing the poetic, one also responded subjectively, intuitively—as an individual." Later, Pederson reifies this distinction and argues that the poetic can only be considered as such by another poet, whereas the ability to judge the work as autonomous is open to those educated enough to make the claim. Sanna Pederson, "Enlightened and Romantic German Music Criticism," 16; 33.

[90] Christensen, "Four-Hand Piano Transcriptions," 264.

and personally liberating way. In other words, they could tailor the listening experience to their own needs, expectations, and musical goals.

Most blatantly, in their changed and transcribed form, piano pieces of all genres had the ability to serve as a vehicle to confuse its listener's sense of space and locale. Given the piano's placement in a range of contexts and its ability to emulate a wide variety of instruments (even voices, for that matter),[91] the piano could literally and figuratively give its listeners a musical event that was entertaining, intellectually stimulating, and often convenient (within the home). As Franz Liszt summarizes in his letter to Adolphe Pictet de Rochemont in 1837, the piano held quite a unique position in nineteenth-century society:

> Perhaps this sort of mysterious feeling which binds me to the piano is a delusion, yet I consider the piano extremely important. In my opinion it ranks highest in the instrumental hierarchy. It is the most widely cultivated and popular of all instruments. Its importance and popularity are due in part to the harmonic capability that it alone possesses, and consequently to its ability to recapitulate and concentrate all of musical art within itself. Within the span of its seven octaves it encompasses the audible range of an orchestra, and the ten fingers of a single person are enough to render the harmonies produced by the union of over a hundred concerted instruments. The piano is a means of disseminating works that would otherwise remain unknown or unfamiliar to the general public because of the difficulty involved in assembling an orchestra….Thanks to improvements that have already been made and those that the diligent efforts of pianists add every day, the piano is continuing to expand its assimilative capability. We play arpeggios like a harp, sustained notes like the wind instruments, and staccatos and a thousand other passages that one time seemed to be the special province of one instrument or another….Thus the piano has, on one hand, the capacity to assimilate, to concentrate all musical life within itself and, on the other, its own existence, its own growth and individual development.[92]

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[91] E. Douglas Bomberger, "The Thalberg Effect: Playing the Violin on the Piano," *The Musical Quarterly* 72 (1991), 203. "The issue of tone is crucial to the performance of romantic piano music. Whereas pianists of the classical era often used the instrument in imitation of the orchestra, and pianists of the early twentieth century played it like a percussion instrument, nineteenth-century pianists attempted to imitate the human voice."

[92] Franz Liszt, *An Artist's Journey: Lettres d'un bachelier ès musique 1835-1841*, trans. Charles Suttoni (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), 45; 47.

Given the piano's ability to reach out to an extensive and complex population—both inside and outside of the concert environment—this instrument quickly garnered a prestige among critics and audiences alike.

Coupled with the genres written exclusively for piano, the instrument was responsible not only for giving listener's access to a wide variety of pieces and kinds of music, but also for creating a musical encounter aligned with romantic ideologies and goals.

> The piano music of this period, from the masterpieces of Schubert, Schumann, Chopin, and Liszt to the humblest transcription or accompaniment, relies heavily on the long-established capacity of the piano to imitate the sounds of other musical instruments or singers. By making listeners imagine that they are hearing something other than the piano in front of them, it makes them half believe that they are somewhere else….According to the dominant Romantic ideology of this period, musical masterpieces were expected to perform a poetic act of taking listeners outside themselves—and many masterpieces from this era retain that power.[93]

Taking James Parakilas' assertions one step further, due to the perception of the piano's ability to transform operatic, choral, and solo-song pieces into "autonomous" listening experiences through transcription, the instrument deserves to be discussed with this quite elusive potential in mind. Although the piano was "mimicking" the voice, other instruments, and genres, its transformative quality (in effect) recomposed pieces of music to position them alongside the most apparent examples of absolute music: symphonies. Within a transcriptive guise, the piece was no longer in its original form—it stood on its own and allowed listeners to re-interpret their musical experience without the implications of music drama. By excising the voice, and thus the lyrics, the music no longer had a programmatic dictum. The piano came to exist as the preeminent instrument of the absolute—it allowed the removal of the words and the dramatic, and thus the feminine. This excision of the feminine, as we will soon see, sat at the heart of absolute music, and the piano's role within this process cannot be denied. Conclusively, the piano held transformative abilities in

[93] Parakilas, "Music to Transport the Listener," in *Piano Roles,* 192.

regards to both spatial and "poetic" affects; these qualities gave the piano a kind of prestige that allowed it to operate within a variety of critical discourses in nineteenth-century music.

Although the symphony came to be hailed as the epitome of absolute and autonomous expression—most capable of poetic interpretation—sonatas and other genres functioned alongside the symphony as smaller, yet significant inclusions in this "interpretive" category.[94] Dahlhaus reiterates piano music's inclusion into this critical category by arguing that "the idea of poetic music dominated early-nineteenth-century aesthetics, particularly the aesthetics of pianos music."[95] Categorically, piano music stood at the locus of the complex negotiations between autonomous and functional music. Christensen argues for this interpretation as well:

> The parlor piano was arguably [a potent] catalyst for Romantic listening. The behavior and responses now seen in the concert hall seemed to mimic those that had long been cultivated by musicians in their more intimate, personalized music making. Bluntly put, the attentiveness and sensibility to music fostered in the bourgeois parlor by amateur musicians was now being carried over to the public space of the concert hall. It could well be that, as far as the musical education of the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie is concerned, the parlor piano was the real incubator of Romanticism.[96]

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[94] Dahlhaus traces the changing concert environment and the gradual movement away from virtuosic pieces. More specifically, though, he argues that on piano recitals and concerts, sonatas were deemed the pieces to be "interpreted" and considered, while virtuosic pieces often served as the encore. Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 138-140. In *The Idea of Absolute Music*, Dahlhaus also explains the fact that the symphony came to represent the ideal of absolute music "stems less from the nature of the music than from the nature of the esthetic writings in questions." Furthermore, this category could shift and change: "Around 1870, Beethoven's quartets became the paradigm of the idea of absolute music that had been created around 1800 as a theory of the symphony." Carl Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music*, trans. Robert Lustig (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978), 14-17.

[95] Ibid., 142.

[96] Christensen, "Four-Hand Piano Transcriptions," 286.

Absolute vs. Virtuosic

Sunday afternoon I played several sonatas by Beethoven, but neither Becker nor Kraegen found them as enjoyable as such a Beethoven sonata can be. Their cultural expectations have been directed more toward the realm of virtuosity than true music. A fugue by Bach, for example, bores them; they are incapable of appreciating the beauty inherent in the different entrances of the voices with the theme, they cannot follow that at all! I feel sorry for a musician who lacks understanding for this magnificent art. The less I play in public these days, the more I begin to hate all that mechanical virtuosity! Concert pieces like etudes by Henselt, fantasies by Thalberg, Liszt, etc., have become totally repugnant to me, and especially so because of Becker's esteem for them. None of that can provide permanent satisfaction! I will not play any of these things again until I need them for a concert tour; I deplore having to devote time to them now.[97]

~Clara Schumann, August, 1842

As music without text, referential meaning, or mimetic qualities, absolute music had been considered "insignificant" and "empty" when compared to texted vocal music of the eighteenth century. Music of the Enlightenment was firmly grounded in "sensibility" and judged on its ability to affect its listener's feelings.[98] Within the critical discourse of early nineteenth-century romanticism, however, autonomous music had become one of the most important public concert music for the middle classes—or so said the critics.[99] The early romantics hailed absolute music as art that could access the infinite and inner soul, and thus, cultivate and educate its listeners in socially responsible ways. The romantic position, although not the only intellectual stance of the century, is most relevant for this current study because its advocacy of absolute and poetic musics arguably transformed, albeit gradually, the prevailing concert repertory of the nineteenth century. William Weber outlines this change thus:

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[97] Schumann, *The Marriage Diaries of Robert & Clara Schumann: From Their Wedding Day through the Russia Trip*, ed. Gerd Nauhaus and trans. Peter Ostwald (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1987), 103.

[98] Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music*, 6.

[99] Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 90: "Enlightenment aesthetics consigned instrumental music, with its lack of words and concepts, to an inferior status, condemning it as a mere shadow and deficient mode of vocal music. With romantic aesthetics—one of whose founding documents was Hoffmann's Beethoven review of 1810—it attained a virtually unbounded superiority: it was a language beyond language, capably of expressing the inexpressible and opening up profound depths that words cannot reach. Unlike instrumental music, vocal music remained bound to affections, which can be defined by means of concepts."

> The locus and nature of authority over musical taste and institutions came into question, as traditional privileges disappeared, new kinds of halls and concerts grew up, and an aesthetic authority was vested in classical music. The old order of musical life accordingly went into crisis, and the nature of the musical community had to be reconceived. By the mid-1840s major arenas of musical activity began to separate, and after the upheaval of 1848-1849 a new musical order came into place based on the relative independence of different kinds of music.[100]

These "different," classical musics become particularly important for this study because Clara Schumann championed this music throughout her life, and critics and listeners often refer to her public performances in "romantic" terms—as contemplative, interior, "poetic," and compositionally accurate. While maybe never a true "poet" herself (because of her gender), in an age where the "work" became an increasingly important and considered a static entity, Clara could communicate with the composer-poet and realize an accurate and musically responsibly interpretation.

Importantly, this new distinction affected the perception of the musical *work*, which romantics now positioned in the highest esteem. The musical composition contained its own intention that demanded understanding—the work was a self-sufficient object born completely from and of itself. Lydia Goehr argues that

> The ideal of *Werktreue* pervaded every aspect of practice in and after 1800 with full regulative force. Following from the central conception of a musical work as a self-sufficiently formed unity, expressive in its synthesized form and content of a genius's idea, was the general submission of all associated concepts. Concepts and ideals having to do with notation, performance, and reception acquired their meaning as concepts subsidiary to that of a work. In a certain sense this had had to be the case, for these subsidiary concepts had served to give a highly abstract concept concrete expression. Without their development, in other words, the abstract work-concept developed and articulated within the romantic, aesthetic theory of fine art would never have found its regulative force in practice.[101]

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[100] William Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 85.

[101] Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 242.

Coupled with the fidelity and authenticity of the work, the bourgeois listener needed to focus on its unfolding and musical birth via its musical structures.[102] For Eric Clarke, autonomous music and structural listening became co-dependent upon one another and simultaneously cultivated:

> Autonomous works are those for which the logic of structural integration predominates, and autonomous listening is the kind of listening that follows the structure of an individual work.[103]

This reconfiguration suggested a new public and intellectual status of autonomous music[104] performed in the public sphere, which contrasted somewhat with virtuosic and domestic music—both commercially marketed for "pure" musical enjoyment. Poetic music's commanding presence in the public sphere (and the listener's focus upon mindful contemplation) associated it closely with the middle-class man's usual public persona. This kind of repertory allowed the bourgeois listener to further justify their social stance, as well as to confirm the increasing separation between their public and private lives.

The masculine experience of absolute music—grounded in mindful contemplation—existed largely outside of bodily reactions and feelings. The disembodied reactions that absolute music promoted inevitably devalued (or attempted to undermine) the feminine in music.

> In the early part of the nineteenth century, particularly in Germany, writers and literati constructed the myth of autonomous music. Autonomous music could transcend the vagaries of daily existence better than any art-form and catapult creator and listener into some timeless, placeless realm of pure aesthetic contemplation. Without the interference of text and fixed meanings, such music amounted to an

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[102] Ibid., 50.

[103] Eric Clarke. *Ways of Listening: An Ecological Approach to the Perception of Musical Meaning* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 128.

[104] Autonomous and absolute are historically linked terms. Julian Johnson explains this distinction: "[The music presents itself] as a special kind of object that, through its internal organization, transcends its thinglike quality by being taken up as thought, as an intellectual or spiritual activity rather than merely a physical, perceptual, or sensuous one." Julian Johnson. *Who Needs Classical Music? Cultural Choice and Musical Value* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 86.

> embodiment of the absolute—hence the term…While Romantics denied the existence of content in the kinds of music they considered absolute, they simultaneously elevated the concept of "pure idea" and intellectuality ("Geistigkeit") that they considered the heart of such music. In the quest for transcendence, absolute music placed utmost faith in the higher faculties of the mind. In this regard it affirmed the ideology of the mind-body dualism and the resultant devaluation of the body. Connotations of body tie in with the feminine and with the debasing and morally lesser associations of female sexuality. The notion of absolute music, therefore, has acted as an ingenious means of elevating the masculine notion of mind while at the same time suppressing the body, sexuality, and the feminine.[105]

Another to interpret sources with this gender-play in mind, Chua takes a controversial, yet helpful position to understanding this process. The eighteenth century listeners and thinkers perceived absolute music as second-rate to opera and vocal music because of its nonfunctional, sensual, and almost mindless nature—which corresponded quite closely with their perceptions of the female.[106] The romantics inverted this binary and hailed instrumental music as the most superior art of all. In order to exist as *the* preeminent artistic expression of this new masculine sphere it needed a "sex change" without changing its musical sound.[107] Chua guides us through this process by juxtaposing eighteenth-century discourse with those of the nineteenth-century romantics. He illuminates how the shift from vocal predominance to instrumental supremacy affected the music's associative gender classification:

> Instrumental music, like women, lacked vocal self-presence, lacked rational concept and lacked visibility, but the Romantics made that very lack into the plenitude of male existence…the lack of self-presence became the zero-origin or music's autonomous generation; the lack of rational concept became the logic of a language beyond language; and its lack of visibility became the ineffable representation of the noumenal self. The Romantics redefined the 'sentimental' in 'modern music…not as a sensual but a spiritual feeling.'[108]

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105 Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 142.
106 Chua, *Absolute Music*, 126.
107 Ibid.
108 Ibid., 148.

Essentially, the romantics categorized absolute music as male by removing the body and focusing upon its affect on the soul and mind.[109] Again, as these new spheres—public and private—came to be based upon these mind/body distinctions, the music of the space came to be evidence and validation of this separation. The romantics could ground this conclusion in Kant's declaration:

> …of a woman, we may well say, she is pretty, affable and refined, but soulless. Now what do we mean by 'soul'? 'Soul' is an aesthetical sense, signifies the animating principle in the mind. But that whereby this principle animates the psychic substance—the material which it employs for that purpose—is that which sets the mental powers into a swing that is final. i.e. into a play which is self-maintaining and which strengthens those powers for such activity.[110]

For Kant, the mind and soul become interdependent upon one another and women were naturally excluded. To further reiterate this point, he claimed the mental processes as "self-maintaining"—self-generating, even—which negated the possibility of a birth: if an entity can sustain and create itself, it needed no mother. These terms seem oddly familiar in reference to the discussion of absolute and autonomous music and the public male's focus on the *structures* of a work; by suggesting the work exists autonomously and self-generating, the romantics unequivocally situated this music as male.

A revealing example of this shift—from bodily reactions to intellectual understanding—comes from a well-respected critic, Eduard Hanslick. Hanslick clearly distinguished between physical and intellectual reactions to music in his 1854 treatise, *On the Musically Beautiful.*

> What physiology has to offer the science of music is of the utmost importance for our comprehension of auditory impressions as such, but not as music. In this connection, physiology has gone about as far as it can

[109] According to Chua: The basic division of sex difference that forced instrumental music to alter its gender is founded on the Cartesian hierarchy of body and soul. It was not that women had bodies and men had souls, but that women were controlled by their sensitive bodies and men by their rational souls. Ibid., 130.
[110] Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Judgment*, trans. J.C. Meredith, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949), 168.

> go…No artistic or scientific definition of music will ever be able to amount to anything if it is based upon feeling.[111]

Although Hanslick acknowledges the importance of "feeling" and emotional reaction, serious instrumental music[112] cannot be fully comprehended or defined by its bodily affect. By removing the bodily reactions and feelings of the listeners, he effectively muted the threat of the feminine in absolute music. The femininity that distracted its listeners, however, was publicly pervasive the first half of the nineteenth century in the guise of the famed virtuoso. The romantics needed to figure out how to deal with the virtuoso's very physical musical performance, which distracted listeners from their abilities to understand and contemplate the music's structures and compositional intentions.

Virtuosic pieces—the "popular" music of the day—clearly contrasted with the flourishing romantic notions of absolute music. These performances highlighted flawless technique and dazzling feats of pianistic ability—the *work* existed to draw attention to the performer's musical skills. Schumann was one of the most outspoken regarding the power of the virtuoso and their negative influence on the musical environment:

> The public has lately begun to weary of virtuosos, and, as we have frequently remarked, we have too. The virtuosos themselves seem to feel this, if we may judge from a recently awakened fancy among them for emigrating to America; and many of their enemies secretly hope they will remain over there; for, taken all in all, modern virtuosity has benefited art very little.[113]

David Gramit explains this separation in his study of early nineteenth-century German musical culture; the romantics chafed against the virtuoso's success, and sought to claim their musical interpretation and goals as musically superior:

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[111] Eduard Hanslick, *On the Musically Beautiful: A Contribution towards the Revision of the Aesthetics of Music* trans. Geoffrey Payzant (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1986), 56.

[112] Ibid., 79. Hanslick limits his discussion to pure instrumental music to allow for an accurate discussion of the "content and representational capacity of music."

[113] Robert Schumann, *On Music and Musicians*, ed., Konrad Wolff, trans. Paul Rosenfeld (New York: The Norton Library, 1946), 81.

> For the advocates of serious music, the too-obvious physicality of virtuoso performance could only distract from the real significance of the music and lead to the neglect of those genres that truly had significance." [114]

Supporters of absolute music claimed physicality drew unnecessary attention to the body and the performer, rather than reflecting on the goals and intentions of the composer found within the structures of the musical work.[115] Overt and superfluous virtuosity displaced the importance of the musical work and instead focused upon the performer's ability—the virtuoso's physical display captured the concentration of the concert, rather than the musical work and its composer.[116] The mechanical nature of the performer, coupled with his/her commercial viability (selling out the concert houses) gave these performances a distinct "trivial" quality.

> Trivial music…emerged as a paradoxical cross between sentimentality and mechanization, this being the aesthetic reflection of a sociohistorical clash between a philanthropical tradition and a drive toward commercialization and industrialization. It is deliberately bland, but with the pretense of being emotional. It wishes to be direct and intelligible to all, and for this reason remains within the narrowest confines of convention at the same time that it tries to appear as a spontaneous outpouring of feeling. It is banality masquerading as poetry, if only in the form of its title, for the simple reason that the nineteenth century discovered the effect of the poetical in a world that was becoming more and more prosaic…The listener is permitted at once to enjoy and despise it. He is spared the exertions of immersing himself in the work, as required of him by great art. The cynicism of the popular-music industry, which converts sentimentality into capital, is answered by a sentimentality which threatens at any moment to turn into cynicism and is not about to stand any nonsense.[117]

In this situation, the composer faltered from his high esteem, as this music was considered more the result of compositional "handiwork" to highlight the performer's

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[114] Gramit, *Cultivating Music*, 141.

[115] Compositional intention, according to advocates of structural listening, is grounded within the formal, harmonic, melodic, textual, and rhythmic structures of the music. By understanding the compositional technique, you can understand the composer along with what they were trying to achieve. Many scholars still advocate this stance today.

[116] Gramit, *Cultivating Music,* 140.

[117] Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 317.

technical skills, rather than as serious art pouring from his inner soul.[118] Critical here, this suggestion contrasts with the capitalistic position and vocation of the bourgeois class, as lower classes usually performed *Handwerk* and other skills associated with that categorization. As Gramit argues:

> The history of music as a craft is linked to low prestige for its practitioners: for musicians to be seen as worthy of an art of inner cultivation required breaking the association of the profession with craft work and other manual labor and forging new links to cultivated society.[119]

Given the critical desire of the middle classes to distinguish themselves from other classes, this correlation would have been damning.

How could the bourgeoisie, desperate to distinguish themselves from these other classes, cope with a public music touting lower-class ideals within a very physical performance? The romantic's solution sought to resituate virtuosity away from outward physicality: "If virtuosity could be redefined as inner understanding, the damage of the virtuosity could be undone."[120] Hanslick again offers a helpful statement regarding what the performer *should* do—to represent the work and composer accurately through their inner spirit rather than only outward virtuosity:

> Some say that the performer has only to fathom and reveal the spirit of the composer. Fair enough. In the instant of re-creation, however, this very assimilation is the work of his, the performer's, spirit.[121]

Within this new transcendental musical language, however, the ever-increasing importance of the composer affected many of the new musical categories and classifications. Just as certain genres came to be marked as virtuosic or interpretive, so too did certain composers. As Pederson outlines A.B. Marx's fight for the repeated and complete presentations of

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[118] Gramit, *Cultivating Music,* 141.
[119] Ibid., 151.
[120] Ibid., 143.
[121] Hanslick, *On the Musically Beautiful*, 49.

certain "serious" pieces, particularly by Beethoven, Marx argued for certain kind of music that was marked "serious" and good, and others (primarily Italian operatic genres) that were considered trivial or degenerate. At the heart of performances, again, sat the composer whose work the performer should never "overshadow."

> Performers were never to overshadow the work. This position, of course, was inimical to the era's fascination with virtuoso performers, and Marx frequently found himself protesting against enormously popular singers and instrumentalists. Merely by looking at a concert program, he commented, one could surmise what kind of an artist the soloist was. Although almost all performers failed to realize it, a single Mozart or Beethoven concerto could display their artistry better than a hundred more difficult virtuoso concertos.[122]

Significantly, what Pederson points to in this argument is that compositions can be virtuosic, but still "serious" or poetic. This classification largely depended on the work itself, which was inextricably attached to the composer. If the piece called for some sort of inner interpretation, the threat of physicality could be effectively muted.

By neglecting technical aspects of the performance and player, critics could further separate and distinguish the new nineteenth-century "art" from "craft."[123] As Mary Hunter has articulated,

> Some discourse about listening to music in these decades also seems quite spectacularly to occlude the presence of the performer. Listening experiences were sometimes described in terms of the listener's imaginative response to the sounds themselves, which could be figured as revelations of the divine or emanations from the spirit world, and sometimes as an experience of intersubjective exchange between the soul of the composer and that of the listener.[124]

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[122] Sanna Pederson, "A.B. Marx, Berlin Concert Life, and German National Identity," *19th-Century Music* (18 (Autumn, 1994), 104.

[123] Ibid. "If the experience of the beautiful was to be severed from the world of everyday concern, the object of contemplation could not contain any feature to threaten this severance. The success of aesthetic reception depended, in other words, upon the work of art's having no referential or external features. Each work had to contain everything of significance within itself." Here, we note the contradictions inherent in the virtuoso concert, especially considering how "craft" had also become a critical component of Clara's reception.

[124] Mary Hunter ""To Play as If from the Soul of the Composer: The Idea of the Performer in Early Romantic Aesthetics," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 58 (2005), 359.

The lack of attention on the performer's action is fraught with the romantic theoretical stances on structural listening[125] and "appropriate" aesthetic responses to music,[126] and spiritual reverence and attention have obviously come to be associated with nineteenth-century musical performances and listeners. Bonds argues that the ever-growing importance of idealism in the nineteenth century had a strong hand in creating this listening response.

> In the broadest terms, idealism gives priority to spirit over matter. Without necessarily rejecting the phenomenal world, it posits a higher form of reality in a spiritual realm: objects in the phenomenal world—including works of art—are understood as reflections of the noumenal. From an artistic standpoint, idealism holds that art and the external world are consonant with one another, not because art imitates that world, but because both reflect a common, higher ideal. The work of art thus functions as a central means by which to sense the realm of the spiritual, the infinite; it exists in a sphere that is tangible yet not entirely natural. The artwork is artificial in the most basic sense of the word.[127]

Thus the focus on the "otherworldly" content—via supernatural events—also facilitated a kind of aesthetic transcendence or higher reality that came to be deeply important for the cultivation of German musical society.[128]

The romantics hoped to remove the physical, bodily, and inferior characteristics of the virtuoso concert, which would then re-gender them as masculine. If we acknowledge the

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[125] Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 95. Clara created a metaphysical listening experience for her audiences in a way that seems to hint at the importance of structural listening, and yet simultaneously undermines it. As Carl Dahlhaus argues: "Thus, the "religion of art" proclaimed by Wackenroder was fully consistent with aesthetic concentration on the matter in question—on musical form as a process—rather than giving way to wild imaginings….Structural hearing meant immersing oneself in the internal workings of a piece of music as though nothing else in the world existed. In its original form, it was accompanied by a metaphysic and a religion of art."

[126] Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*, 153. More specifically, the focus of the Romantic performance shifted from one focused on technical aspects to details emphasizing the aesthetic experience via the composition's structural development. As Lydia Goehr has succinctly stated: "Under the new…romantic aesthetic, many new doctrines of a more or less romantic, formalist, and idealist inclination were proposed. In several of these, despite the particular inclination, a basic argument was put forward. It was a very complicated argument, however, for it rested upon an interplay between two claims which we nowadays separate more sharply than theorists originally did. The first claim concerns the transcendent move from the worldly and particular to the spiritual and universal; the second concerns the formalist move which brought meaning from music's outside into its inside."

[127] Bonds, *Music as Thought*, 12.

[128] See Gramit, *Cultivating Music*.

contradictory aims of the virtuoso concert with the absolute music concert, it is then easy to create an historical binary and apply a gender to each: feminine versus masculine. One is clearly bodily and the other soulful and mindful—*unless* critics found a way to reverse the virtuosic physicality as interior contemplation. These disparate aspects of nineteenth-century music making and the new emphasis on public serious music creates an interesting web within which to place Clara Schumann—especially considering that she, as a woman, performed works that she should not have been able to fully understand or interpret. For that matter, as the century wore on, performers could be disassociated from the composer himself and would continue to walk a fine line in regards to their placement within musical society.

> Since about 1800 performer evaluation has been organized around two different modes. In one, performers are judged either as necessary evils or as the great interpreters of musical masterpieces. In the other, they are judged either as 'circus performers' or the 'devil's servants' or as inspired enchanters magically and mythically expressing the passions of the human soul through the transcendental musical language.[129]

Clara sums up this magical sentiment perfectly in a letter to Johannes Brahms in 1864, while emphasizing the importance of a devotional atmosphere within the public musical concert.

> The other day at an evening concert in Düsseldorf we had a curious experience. The gas suddenly went out, and they only succeeded in lighting it again at the end of a quarter of an hour. We started the last piece, which was the *Kreutzer Sonata*, but hardly had it begun when there was a flicker and the hall was plunged into darkness once more. We went on playing, however, by the light of a couple of candles placed on the piano. The audience kept their seats, and people said they had never enjoyed music in such a devotional atmosphere. Apparently the sight was a remarkable one,--we two looking ghastly pale in the light of the two candles. But we played with great animation and received such applause as I have seldom been given in North Germany.[130]

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[129] Lydia Goehr, *The Quest for Voice: On Music, Politics, and the Limits of Philosophy: The 1997 Ernest Bloch Lectures* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 140.

[130] Brahms and Schumann, *Letters of Clara Schumann and Johannes Brahms*, I: 178.

Chapter Three

Stirring Quite a Peculiar Feeling

Ciphers in the Portraits of Clara Schumann

Saphir and Uffo Horn hurried on ahead of us to Vienna today; Saphir comes across as an extremely urbane man. When a painter recently said he wanted to draw a picture of me, he said, "Clara is so captivating that you can't capture her beauty in a drawing."

~Clara Schumann, 1837[1]

In an 1835 diary entry, Friedrich Wieck recorded a set of questions "which were asked us 700 times, by that half of the human race which thirsts for knowledge."[2]

1. How old is your daughter *really*?
   A: That is written under her portrait, which appeared in Hanover in 1835.
2. Do you not over-strain her?
   A: My Clara's appearance gives you the best answer to that.
3. But would she be merrier if she played less?
   A: It is really impossible for me to know. But my other daughters shall learn nothing—so that they shall not reproach me, or make others reproach me.

….

11. You must be very happy that heaven has given you such a daughter?
    A: Yes. Once it was snowing—a willful snowflake fell into my arms, and behold—that was this Clara, exactly as she stands before you.[3]

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[1] Schumann, *The Complete Correspondence*, 1: 46

[2] Litzmann, *Clara Schumann*, I: 66-67. Litzmann precedes these questions with this elaboration: "An exciting, wearing, successful tour followed. At Hanover, in particular, where they went on Jan. 14th, Clara had great triumphs at the vice-regal court; then at Bremen; but above all in Hamburg, though here they also found plenty of disagreeables and annoyances. The impresario father, who was obliged, day in day out, to deal with grasping speculators, adverse and jealous colleagues indifferent or unfavourable critics and a well-meaning but stupid and ignorant public, was driven almost wild, as is grimly illustrated by the 17 questions…which he has entered on two pages of the diary that happened to have been left empty."

[3] Ibid.

These statements offer vague generalizations of Clara's early training and how the impresario father relied upon her portraits in order to evade actually having to answer the barrage of questions: the visual becomes an acceptable method of gauging his daughter's age, health, and emotional stability. Although a tone of annoyance and disdain streams throughout his entry, Wieck's dependence upon the visual as a palpable response, able to abruptly satisfy the eager interrogator, confirms its place within our inquiry. Images somehow show traces of Clara's musical performance and practicing, and after referencing her appearance, the curious reporter quickly moves onto her lack of "merri[ness]." This abrupt shift implies the correspondent not only knew of the image to which Wieck referred, but that he had already interpreted its meaning himself. Clara's portraits, then, held definitive possibilities that could confirm not only her age but also her physical (potentially over-strained) and emotional (potentially unhappy) health.

Just as images might offer evidence pertaining to these characteristics during her early career, Wieck could also use the visual to create an elaborate metaphor describing his daughter's birth and current appearance. Clara, immaculately delivered from Mother Nature and born into her role as virtuoso, stands before her audience as an enigmatic and ethereal figure in the guise of a snowflake. By choosing this rhetoric, Wieck also further emphasized the unique and almost mysterious ability of his daughter.

> The remarkable beauty of snow crystals, revealed in the classical elegance of the simple geometric shapes and the delicate tracery of the more intricate forms, has long been recognized and recorded by the naturalist, the scientist, the artist, and, recently, by the individual designer. Composed of ice, and formed by the condensation of water vapour about some minute nucleus, they appear in a wide variety of shapes and forms.[4]

[4] J. Mason, "On the Shapes of Snow Crystals: A commentary on Kepler's essay 'On the Six-Cornered Snowflake,'" in Johannes Kepler, *The Six-Cornered Snowflake,* trans. Colin Hardie (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 47. Mason traces the beginning of scientific inquiries into the snowflakes, which began as early as the seventeenth century. The fact that these discussions began so early and continued throughout the nineteenth century (most notably with William Scoresby's 1820 book on whale fishing in the artic) suggest that the image of the snowflake as a unique and complex entity was common societal knowledge.

This twofold nature of the snowflake (as simultaneously complex and simple) was discussed and illustrated in detail as early as 1635 in Descartes' *Meterologia*.[5] In this comparison, Wieck situated Clara within the locus of natural phenomena that had yet to be fully understood—but that existed as a kind of marvel to be appreciated for its aesthetic and inexplicable qualities. Moreover, the association Wieck makes with the white purity of heavenly deliverance and the snow seems particularly telling after viewing the most popular images, and the one to which he refers, of Clara during this time of her life.[6] Her father has, in all probability, depended on her portraits to create his allegorical language, and he offers an image consistent with his daughter's painted appearance: a pale, angelic-like child draped in white lace. Wieck's reliance upon these images as a type of evidence able to elucidate aspects of Clara's career and personality confirms the importance of the visual in nineteenth-century society, while simultaneously reiterating its interpretive importance to us today.

In order to consider most effectively the visual we must search for signifiers easing or aggravating public apprehension, since an image's meaning "exists within a world of significance which has…already framed and fixed the individual" and grounded its interpretation within a complex system of known social codes.[7] In "Rhetoric of Image" Roland Barthes argues that "all images are polysemus" and contain a "floating chain of signifieds in such a way as to counter the terror of uncertain signs;" these symbols allow the reader of the image to select and interpret based on the predetermined intention of the society itself.[8] Given the unnaturalness of the publicly performing woman, we can assume that the potential for "social terror" might be heightened, and thus, we should consider the "signifiers" that point to social normalization as the most important aspect of our analyses.

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[5] Ibid., 48. Mason points out, however, that Descartes' thesis would be continually revised as scientists attempted to further understand the hexagonal nature of snowflakes.

[6] Please refer to Figures 3.10 and 3.11 to confirm this connection.

[7] Graham Clarke, ed., *The Portrait in Photography* (London: Reaktion Books, 1992), 3.

[8] Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text* (New York: The Noonday Press, 1977), 39-40.

Moreover, because men controlled the vocations of painting and other portrait mediums, the results were carefully constructed.

> Like painting, Woman was thought to be made up of matter, in itself mute but animated by the meaningful agency of Man, whose volitional strokes and eloquent gestures could infuse her with life and facilitate her metaphorisation into ideal form, sexual cipher or spiritual conduit as necessary.[9]

The artist ultimately chooses specific "gestures" that the public could easily identify and associate with certain social tropes. Images facilitate a reading of how society constantly reconciled Clara's problematic social situation, and the nineteenth-century portrait in particular allows for interpretations of both her personal and representational beings. Potentially, the visual culture in the nineteenth century permitted the easiest access to the most dominant symbols of bourgeois life and culture. Here, I hope to position images of Clara within the larger framework of nineteenth-century portraiture more generally and, more specifically, within portraits of women at the piano. Visual representations of her, when situated within the nexus of nineteenth-century social and musical life, offer compelling glimpses into the social understanding of her problematic public gender role.

For the nineteenth-century poet, painter, and philosopher, an enraptured listener epitomized the bourgeois values of the century, and these vocations sought desperately to educate the masses in the importance of silent contemplation.[10] Although we can see this

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[9] Tamar Garb, *The Painted Face: Portraits of Women in France 1814-1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 2.

[10] Peter Gay, *The Naked Heart: The Bourgeois Experience Victoria to Freud* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1995), IV: 18. "There is a certain irony in the romantics' relentless warfare against the unmusical middle classes. Critics of bourgeois culture were acting as educators of the very public they despised. Good listening presupposed a mannerliness and silent inwardness that could be learned. And the nineteenth century produced a small army of single-minded preceptors struggling to train listeners in requisite introspective postures. Their repetitiousness attest to failure upon failure but, at the same time, to an increasingly solemn commitment by concert-going audiences to civilize themselves—and their neighbors." Dahlhaus also discusses the shifting structures of musical life, which focused on cultivating appropriate listener reactions to music. "If we understand institution to mean, not simply an organization, but a crystallization of social facilities, modes of behavior, and categories of judgment, then the concert as an institution includes aesthetic and sociopsychological levels as well, and becomes a representative instance of bourgeois music culture in the nineteenth century." Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 50.

trend throughout writings on music, painting was perhaps one of the most effective genres to disseminate this new ideology.[11] The relationships between the performer and audience, and the performer, audience and the music, create an entangled web that becomes penetrable when analyzing the visual. Leppert, in *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*, seeks to theorize the "slippage" between the physicality of producing the elusive musical sound, and how audiences and musicians positioned and conceived of the musical within society and culture.[12]

> Visual art cannot replicate musical acoustics, but it can provide an invaluable horatory account of what, how, and why a given society heard and hence in part what the sounds meant. I should add that visual representations, except perhaps those that included decipherable musical inscriptions, tell us nothing specific about particular pieces of music; instead they suggest the range of semiotic possibilities for specific compositions performed.[13]

Leppert's theoretical model offers us a particularly useful structure in which to analyze Clara. The visual negotiates between the diverse aspects (possibly heightened because of her gender) of musical production and reception and generates a kind of understanding unique from written reviews.

Images have this potential, according to Leppert, because visual representations can most effectively capture the "embodied activity" of music.[14] If we take this theory a step further, it might also be possible to apply its tenants to images of performers who are *not* performing; portraits of well-known artists, even outside of the concert environment, more than likely still communicated their musical choices and positioning within the musical world

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[11] Gay, *The Naked Heart*, IV: 29: "Among the witnesses to the spreading new ideology of listening, and among its most agreeable agents, the practitioners of the sister art of painting were perhaps the most telling."
[12] Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*, xx-xxi. Leppert is primarily concerned with Victorian England. Throughout this chapter, I am relying primarily on his methodological insights but not necessarily his conclusions.
[13] Ibid., xxii.
[14] Ibid.

and society at large.[15] Clara as piano virtuoso—and the status conferred by her public celebrity—interlock to provide the viewer with layers of interpretation seeking to define her public persona in ways both aligned with, and potentially separated from, public normalcy. The audience more than likely remembered their listening experience and, subsequently, mapped it (both inside and outside of performance) onto the artist. Leppert's discussion of the visual code seems to speak most closely to this argument, as he explains the transference of meaning within the concert environment.

> The visual code functions through the human body in its efforts to produce and receive music. When people hear a musical performance, they see it as an embodied activity. While they hear, they also witness: how the performers look and gesture, how they are costumed, how they interact with their instruments and with one another, how they regard their audience, how other listeners heed the performers. Thus the musical event is perceived as a socialized activity. Visual representation in effect encapsulates more or less all of the embodied activity, not as a "disinterested" record of events, but as a coherent and discursive, commonly dialectical, vision of the varied relations within whose context sound occurs and hence…sound means.[16]

To explore the possibility of this transference of meaning, mapping performative personas onto nonperforming bodies, I have chosen images from different kinds of visual methods—pencil drawings, lithographs, daguerreotypes, oil paintings, and photographs—to give a range of interpretive possibilities. All the images, save one (the drawing from a performance in 1854), can be classified as portraiture, and outside of this one exception, each picture has been carefully posed and staged. In order to contextualize most effectively

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[15] I make this claim early since we only have one known image of Clara in performance. This fact contrasts quite sharply with her obvious foil, Franz Liszt. Leppert refines this point in a discussion of Liszt: "Like no other musician before him, except perhaps Beethoven, Liszt was the subject of a staggering number of images from the time he was a child prodigy, within a decade of his birth in 1811, to his death (and after) in 1886. These images employed all the major visual media of the nineteenth century: photography, oil painting, oil miniature, pastel, drawing (in pencil, charcoal, and colored chalk), watercolor, silhouette, wood engraving, steel plate engraving, lithography, sculpture, relief (especially medallions of bronze and marble), plaster casting (life and death masks, hand casts), and caricature. In an age obsessed with the visual, Liszt's body was an object of almost fetishized fascination, whether in a form that idealized him as an artistic genius or mocked him as a freak of nature or tasteless circus performer." Richard Leppert, "Cultural Contradiction, Idolatry, and the Piano Virtuoso: Franz Liszt," in *Piano Roles*, 264-265.

[16] Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*, xxii.

this study, I first examine issues of representation and identity in nineteenth-century portraiture and photographic portraiture generally, and how images of women and women's bodies held a special place in bourgeois taste and culture by giving us access to "the veils of the inner world."[17]

Part One
Approaching Analysis:
Identity and Representation in Portraiture And Photographic Portraiture

In *Truth and Method*, Hans-Georg Gadamer discusses interpretive levels appropriate for the plastic arts, and he positions the portrait alongside mediums conceived with intention—what he deems "aesthetic consciousness."[18] The resulting product carries its own "claim" separate from that imposed by the interpreter; in essence, the portrait stands ever referential to the figure represented, since it is a "picture of the original."[19]

> The portrait is only an intensification of what constitutes the essence of all pictures. Every picture is an increase of being and is essentially definable as representation, as coming-to-presentation. In the special case of the portrait this representation acquires a personal significance, in that here an individual is presented in a representative way. For this means that the person represented represents himself in his portrait and is represented by his portrait. The picture is not just an image and certainly not just a copy; it belongs to the present or to the present memory of the man represented. That is its real nature…The best judges of the portrait are never the nearest relatives, nor even the person himself. For a portrait never tries to reproduce the individual it represents as he appears in the eyes of people close to him. Of necessity, what it shows is an idealization, which can run through an infinite number of stages from the representative to the most intimate.[20]

Gadamer situates the portrait as a heightened illustration couched within the larger representational phenomena, and this claim gives substantial weight to the portrait's position within society. This more abstract aspect of portraiture allows for not only a personal and

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[17] Gay, *The Naked Heart*, IV: 277.
[18] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method,* 2nd ed., trans. Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall (London: Continuum, 2004), 138.
[19] Ibid., 139.
[20] Ibid., 142.

individual understanding, but also allows the visual to function as a commentary on the larger social framework and the person's position within it. The image renders an intensely personal piece of art, wherein the personal can be extracted—or ignored—and the portrait becomes representational. More specifically, Gadamer argues that this representational aspect can come to define primarily the person presented or, rather, that the subject itself becomes subjugated by the viewers and brought into the image's "own reality:"

> The way the ruler, the statesman, the hero shows and presents himself—this is brought to presentation in the picture. What does this mean? Not that the person represented acquires a new, more authentic mode of appearance through the picture. Rather, it is the other way around: it is *because* the ruler, the statesman, or the hero must show and present himself to his followers, because he must represent, that the *picture* acquires its own reality. Nevertheless, here there is a reversal. When he shows himself, he must fulfill the expectations that his picture arouses. Only because he thus has his being in showing himself is he represented in the picture. First, then, there is undoubtedly self-presentation, and secondly the representation in this picture of this self-presentation. Pictorial presentation is a special case of public presentation. But the second has an effect on the first. If someone's being necessarily and essentially includes showing himself, he no longer belongs to himself. For example, he can no longer avoid being represented by the picture and, because these representations determine the picture that people have of him, he must ultimately show himself as his picture prescribes. Paradoxical as it may sound, the original acquires an image only by being imaged, and yet the image is nothing but the appearance of the original.[21]

According to Gadamer, the work exists in limbo between its representational being and its viewer's interpretations. Similar to his discussion of the interaction with play and theater, the significance of the piece exists in the comprehension of the spectator, and the abilities of these observers to, in effect, wholly create the meaning of the object.

> Even a play remains a game—i.e., it has the structure of a game, which is that of a closed world. But however much a religious or profane play represents a world wholly closed within itself, it is as if open toward the spectator, in whom it achieves its whole significance. The players play their roles in any game, and thus the play is represented, but the play itself is the whole, comprising players and spectators. In fact, it is experienced properly by, and presents itself (as it is "meant") to, one who is

[21] Ibid., 136-137.

> not acting in the play but watching it. In him the game is raised, as it were, to its ideality.[22]

In this "idealized" version of the image's persona we can tease out those signifiers suggesting—or refuting—this idealization, in order to create a semi-coherent "present memory." The conflict between symbolic hints of personal and public identities, however, causes nuanced problems of interpretation precisely

> because [portraiture] is a supremely social art that has always been closely aligned with contemporary fashion and governed by conventions and rules of decorum. Yet portraiture is also a supremely individual art form that purportedly records the features of a given individual for posterity and implicitly addresses the issues of individual as opposed to social identity and exterior likeness as opposed to inner psyche.[23]

This duality of portraiture creates an evocative framework within which to place Clara Schumann, particularly because she functioned within both highly personalized and publicized spaces, and because of this mobility, her portraits more than likely achieved a different kind of social functionality. How this conflation of selves came about in the various images of Clara helps us to understand how her social positioning was carefully crafted and sustained.

Interpretations seeking to illuminate these aspects of her career, however, must be balanced with how portraiture worked within nineteenth-century society: most often as an exemplar of the bourgeois obsession with self.[24] Numerous painters profited from the bourgeois penchant for self-display, since portraiture offered the middle classes a kind of representation in locations that appeared to be contained and safe—those spaces highly indicative of their social successes and status.[25] In the first half of the nineteenth century,

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[22] Ibid., 109.

[23] Heather McPherson, *The Modern Portrait in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 1.

[24] Gay, *The Naked Heart*, 277.

[25] Marsha Morton, "Biedermeier," in *New Grove Dictionary of Art and Artists Online*, http://www.groveart.com (accessed September 15, 2007).

German-speaking lands produced an unprecedented number of portraits, and the Biedermeier family in their comfortable domestic enclosure was the most obvious patron.[26] The rapid expansion of the middle classes, while increasing the demand for portraits, simultaneously hastened the development of more easily produced and disseminated images. By the 1850s, "the bulk of the middle- and lower-middle-class painted portrait was eliminated" due to the expansion of photography and photographic portraiture.[27] In his well-known work, *The Burden of Representation*, John Tagg argues that the photographic portrait heightened the role nineteenth-century portraits had traditionally held, but allowed an easier conference of social prominence and identity because of the proficiency of production, distribution, and affordable cost.

> The portrait is therefore a sign whose purpose is both the description of an individual and the inscription of social identity. But at the same time, it is also a commodity, a luxury, and an adornment, ownership of which itself confers status…To 'have one's portrait done' was one of the symbolic acts by which individuals from the rising social classes made their ascent visible to themselves and others.[28]

Ultimately, via these representations of economic commodity and luxury, the visual could play a critical role in (quite overtly) aiding this class' tenuous climb up the social ladder.

A particularly telling example of the photograph-as-commodity appears in an advertisement from the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*. Figure 3.1 was published in 1866, and in it, J. Rieter-Biedermann Publishing House markets a photographic portrait of Clara Schumann.[29] The fact that Clara's portrait could be mass-produced and sold to enthusiasts

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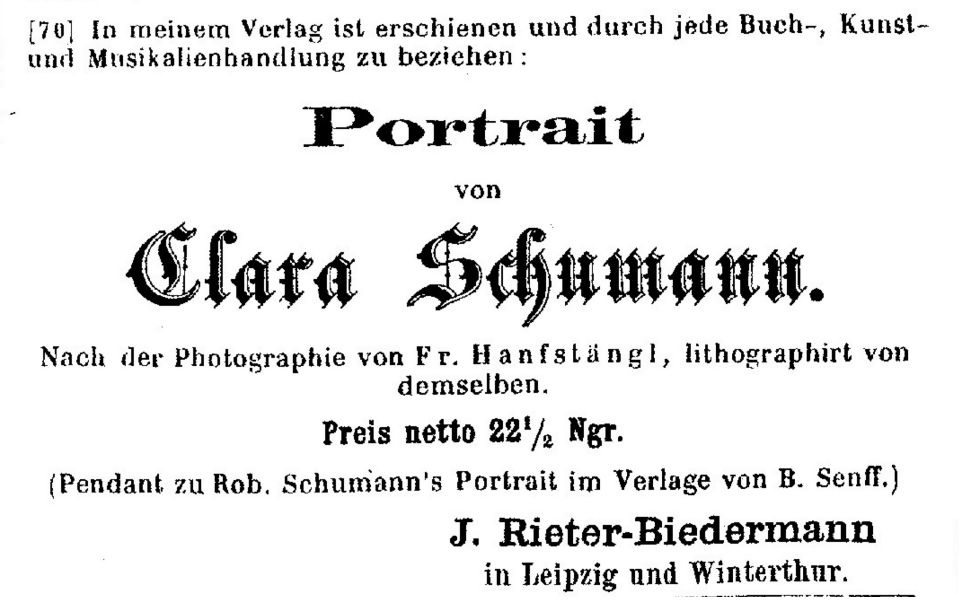
[26] Robin Lehman, *Artists and Society in Germany 1850-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 71.
[27] Ibid.
[28] John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 37.
[29] Even though I am now using an example of photographic portraiture, according to John Tagg it can be safely assumed that this medium "summoned up [the] complex historical iconography and elaborate codes of pose and posture readily understood within the society in which such portrait images had currency." So, although we must be careful not to conflate the two mediums, there is some room for overlap. Some of the most obvious similarities between photographic and painted portraiture were the subjects dress, context, venue and point of view. It is not unlikely that society thought of the two comparably. Ibid., 36.

as a personal commodity suggests at least one way society regulated the social presence of a celebrated and atypical performer. We might assume that an image for sale promoted a socially defined and normalized identity—or characteristics that somehow negotiated the various aspects of social and individual selves and sought to ease, not aggravate, social decorum and policy. Again, however, Clara remains at the heart of a complicated juncture. She was not only a woman selling her performances to make money, but she was also part of a marketing strategy during a time when photographic portraiture was largely confined

> to the display of males on one hand and depictions of the cult of domesticity on the other, [which] explicitly modeled and endorsed the symbolic separation between the public and private spheres of bourgeois life. [30]

Essentially, we must consider what kind of middle-class values (if any) were conferred in this image, to begin to understand why admirers would want to consume and own it.

Figure 3.1



[70] In meinem Verlag ist erschienen und durch jede Buch-, Kunst- und Musikalienhandlung zu beziehen:

Portrait

von

Clara Schumann.

Nach der Photographie von Fr. Hanfstängl, lithographirt von demselben.

Preis netto 22½ Ngr.

(Pendant zu Rob. Schumann's Portrait im Verlage von B. Senff.)

J. Rieter-Biedermann
in Leipzig und Winterthur.

Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung
April 4, 1866
No. 14, page 116

[30] Suren Lalvani, *Photography, Vision, and the Production of Modern Bodies* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 47.

Although the visual more than likely held socially normalizing characteristics, we might also claim that it revealed traces of Clara's performing persona. This conclusion is not a huge leap to make, since the performer audiences saw and heard on stage was the person they would more than likely want in their personal album or on display in their home. In other words, they would want *their* representation of the performer. Portraits of performers confer, therefore, not only social status but musical positioning as well. By selling her photograph the pianist could widely claim her musical prestige, particularly because the symbolic image simultaneously communicated a social identity and musical position; conversely, to own an image of Clara Schumann offered the possessor a chance to associate with her social and musical status, while simultaneously speaking to his elite level of musical connoisseurship and taste.

How did the structures of bourgeois "policy," so apparent in portraiture, map onto images of a social deviant, and how was Clara absorbed into this infrastructure so successfully? Suren Lalvani argues that portraiture had the power to "reify multiple bodies into particular types of bodies."[31] In essence, portraiture of the nineteenth century created and confirmed the ideals of the bourgeois family and its members, and images had the power to discipline the body into social conformity and compliance.

> Nineteenth-century portraiture, in functioning to bring the body of ordinary experience to visibility and to think it into a normative order, became a disciplinary practice essential to the cultural reproduction of the individual and family. What needs to be understood is that portraiture is always about public display, even if the photograph is limited to private consumption. There is an attending to the discursive, the cultural, and the social that is implicit in the portrait. The portrait registers both social disposition and cultural intention which, communicated by way of the displayed body, legitimizes a particular discursive and ideological formation. That is to say, social attentiveness and cultural intentionality communicated via the represented body are ideological elements and constitutive of ideological practice.[32]

[31] Ibid., 43.
[32] Ibid., 59-60.

Figure 3.2

Photograph by Hanns Hanfstängl, Dresden early 1870s
Portrait of Wolf Adolf August Freiherr von Lüttichau with Frau Ida and Child
Robert-Schumann-Haus; Zwickau, Germany
Kat. Nr. 5245-B2

Because of the importance of the bourgeois family, and the roles that it prescribed to its members, the family portrait normalized gender relations and perpetuated the domestic ideal in "frozen and ritualized display."[33] Images of the German family were particularly important because both sexes could only realize their full potential within this union.

> Opposites united to form a harmonious whole. The idea of complement reconciled not only the sexes, but also the social sphere of action, public, and family life, which were regarded as appropriate to either man or woman. Thus on the basis of the definition of the 'character of the sexes' derived from the 'natural' world order, it was possible to declare that the dissociation of productive and family life was natural and

[33] Ibid., 63.

> at the same time to regard their opposition not simply as necessary, but as ideal, and to reconcile them.[34]

Figure 3.2, a portrait found in Clara's personal photo album, gives a good example of Lalvani's point: an image reifying familial codes.[35] The General-Director of the Dresden Hoftheater and his family, with noble heritage now overlain with bourgeois mores, offer us a glimpse into the importance of familial portraiture, while also attesting to the fact that these images had high circulation as a commodity and were indeed found in photo albums and collections. The father, in profile and slightly behind his wife's chair, gazes in the direction of (and seemingly past) his family, while the mother and her child stare resolutely into the camera. This common positioning, according to Stephen Kern, was normalized throughout Victorian and nineteenth-century French portraiture because it ratified gender and familial roles by contrasting the masculine worldly stance with the overly emotional and domestically confined female.

> These respected poses of men and women…imply different visual, reflective, and emotional capabilities. The man's single profiled eye implies the limited depth perspective of monocular vision and single-mindedness of purpose; the woman's two frontal eyes imply the greater depth perception of binocular vision as well as a wider horizon of visual interests, a broader range of purpose, and more profound, if not more intense, emotions.[36]

Even though Kern's argument rests on portraiture outside of German-speaking lands, his point nonetheless possibly resonates in this instance, especially when considering the other symbols that perhaps encode a similar conclusion. For that matter, the image not only comments on societal gender constructs, but it also attempts to warn the viewer of the potentially threatening female. This point is made most effectively by the contaminating

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[34] Hausen, "Family and Role-Division," 64.

[35] This image, along with 158 others, was part of Clara Schumann's personal photo album. This book contains many contemporary musicians and family friends. Thomas Synofzik and Jochen Voigt eds., *Aus Clara Schumanns Photoalben: Photographische Cartes de Viste aus der Sammlung des Robet-Schumann-Hauses Zwickau* (Chemnitz: Edition Mobilis, 2006).

[36] Stephen Kern, *Eyes of Love: The Gaze in English and French Paintings and Novels 1840-1900* (London: Reaktion Books, 1996), 7.

dress of the woman. Her dress jeopardizes the entire frame, indeed it practically fills the entire lower-half, and even encroaches on her husband's right foot and left knee.

This portrait is also rich in class symbolism. The somewhat world-weary posture of Adolph, as someone battling the wiles of the public sphere, compared with the sharp straightness of Ida's back, helps accentuate their ornamented bodies and, therefore, their social status. The viewer can see the folds in Adolph's three-piece suit, which highlights the chain of his pocket watch (upon which the burgeoning capitalistic system depended), and his loosely fisted left hand allows the viewer to easily see his large ring.

> Perhaps because it so nicely captures [the] blend of autonomy and discipline, the pocket-watch seems to be the perfect emblem of selfhood in a *bürglich* society. Like photography, the mass-produced timepiece was a product of nineteenth-century technical progress. Watches had once been toys or ornaments for the rich, but by the 1850s millions of men could proudly display a watch-chain across their chests. Owning a watch was a sign of autonomy since it implied a kind of power over time that dependent people could not enjoy, but it also suggested the owner's voluntary conformity to the authority of schedules and timetables. To be on time, to save time, and to spend it wisely were all important *bürglich* virtues.[37]

Similarly, the slight rise of Ida's breasts[38] decoratively showcases her dark pearls, and the massive amount of folded fabric (while highlighting bourgeois excess) also possibly hints to her domestic domain. The duality of the maternal domestic (her bosom), coupled with status symbols (pearls, extraneous fabric), reifies her inclusion within this bourgeois space.

> Middle- and upper-class women bore the greatest burden of the necessary impression management in the nineteenth century. Men's ability to indicate their social status on their bodies was now considerably limited because their dress had become severely conscribed…Women had no such restrictions about advertising wealth and status; on the contrary, by their very economic idleness and concomitant

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[37] Sheehan, *German History*, 799.

[38] Valerie Steel, *Fashion and Eroticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 180. There is some debate regarding the sexuality of the breasts, especially in relation to the nineteenth-century corset. Steele argues: "Despite their obsession with tiny waist measurements, the majority of tight-lacing advocates played relatively little attention to the bosom as an erogenous zone…Yet a number of other nineteenth-century sources [Lavater, for example] indicate that the *primary* purpose of the corset was to support and accentuate the bust. The corset could have been an adjunct to breast fetishism, as well as being fetishistic 'in its own right,' but this is not usually evident from the pro-tight-lacing literature."

> elaborate dress, they now demonstrated the prosperity that men they were associated with had achieved.[39]

Not only did women's dress showcase their social status, but it also came to be explicitly associated with the decorations of the home.[40] The shawl-like piece of fabric covering the wife's lap offers a good example of this point. The fabric, while a different pattern and color, is subtly blended in its folding and round draping as part of Ida's skirt. Although it initially deceives the viewer, upon closer inspection, it seems to be a cover of some sort that she has wrapped around her waist. The three tassels seem suggestive of drapery or a table-runner—two objects clearly associative with the private sphere. Conclusively, this portrait disciplines, as it carefully molds the bodies into a display that speaks to their expected social and familial roles.[41]

In order for the portrait to transfer these regulatory meanings, "we can expect the normative production of identity to be constantly projected onto and textualized in relation to the surface of the body."[42] Although the bourgeois male held a particularly important role in the dissemination of bourgeois identity, the female held an equally critical role in affirming the ideological foundation of the new middle classes and gendered structures, as indicated by the analysis of Figure 3.2. Portraits of nineteenth-century bourgeois women, both in domestic spaces with and without a musical referent, facilitate a reading of the signifiers reaffirming and stabilizing the domestic ideal, especially since these bodies were

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[39] Beverly Gordon, "Women's Domestic Body: The Conceptual Conflation of Women and Interiors in the Industrial Age," *Winterthur Portfolio* 31 (1996), 284-285.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Lalvani, *Photography, Vision*, 63-65. "In the mode of intersubjectivity established between family member and portrait, we are confronted not with a simple record, but with the expression of a sentiment that disciplines. Hence, within the enclosed family, which had become the agent and scene of discipline, the family portrait takes its rightful place...the portrait, being a veritable showcase and establishing the normative "scene" of the family with its appropriately gendered subjects, its self-evident hierarchy, and passive children on display...evokes a discipline of love."
[42] Ibid., 60.

disciplined into their domestic roles and working within a prescribed identity. Feminist art historians have long warned that

> the male in culture and art has been the privileged subject and exclusive possessor of subjectivity, while the female has been primarily object, stripped of access to subjectivity. Theoretical attention has focused upon the objectification of the female body, and the process by which it has been converted into a signifier for a host of ideas projected onto it, a vessel of conceptual meaning more than a state of natural being.[43]

Analysts must search for idealized symbols mapped onto the female in art and photography, while simultaneously considering what kind of "ideals" these signifiers elevate about women. Interpretive elements of the portrait promote an iconographical image of prestige, authority, and entitlement; and these qualities are ultimately coupled with an inherent disciplining presence.

Given that the portrait suggests and transmits cultural values by "reformulating the reality" and presenting it in a clearly representative medium, images offer a highly constructed and formulaic presentation of its subject matter, and its settings often suggest an ideal—something that promotes goals of collectivity.[44] Sander Gilman emphasizes this point quite explicitly:

> Even with a modest nod to supposedly mimetic portrayals it is apparent that, when individuals are shown within a work of art (no matter how broadly defined), the ideologically charged iconographic nature of the representation dominates. And it dominates in a very specific manner, for the representation of individuals implies the creation of some greater class or classes to which the individual is seen to belong. These classes in turn are characterized by the use of a model which synthesizes our perception of the uniformity of groups into a convincingly homogeneous image.[45]

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[43] Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard, eds., *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History* (New York: Harper Collins, 1992), 7.

[44] Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*, 95.

[45] Sander Gilman, "Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine, and Literature," *Critical Inquiry* 12 (1985), 204.

Parakilas further elaborates on this idea in describing images from nineteenth-century popular magazines and journals, which "[suggest] plenitude and ease, a model to be emulated, ideally to be obtained, or at the very least, simply to be desired."[46] The visual has the ability to provoke certain reactions and conclusions about the sitter, resulting portrait, and how these might affect the potential observer.

> The sitters in the portrait…They are actors: casual, informal, and forming a tableau—striking an attitude, to borrow from eighteenth-century usage. In effect they are on stage, highly aware of the audience for whom they strike their poses.[47]

If historians can locate signifiers that speak to a representative ideal, we can move toward discovering how those kinds of symbols were fastened onto an individual who was truly outside of the norm. An analysis of these characteristics—fashion,[48] pose, gaze, setting, and interaction with the musical element—propagates an evocative engagement with the portrait. How these values manifested themselves in image help us decode how a subversive societal figure either upheld or undermined these values, and in so doing, created a personality embraced and celebrated by her society. [49]

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[46] James Parakilas, "The Image of the Composer at the Piano," in *Piano Roles*, 219.

[47] Ibid., 102.

[48] Fashion becomes one of the most important points in my analysis (since the nineteenth century witnessed the distancing of women and men's dress) onto which ideological constructions of gender could be literally and figuratively fastened. "Because clothing was intimately tied to the physical self and expresses a particular 'body image,' the study of fashion may offer the historian 'a good index to attitudes about the body,' and about sexuality. It is also possible that clothing not only 'reflects' attitudes, but also plays an active role in defining how the wearer behaves and is perceived." Fashion, then, plays a dialectical role between a woman's controlled public persona and her "own" identity; clothing, while holding an "intimate connection with the self," can simultaneously express " a particular image of the physical body, the individuals' self-awareness, and his or her social being." Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism*, 85; 45-46.

[49] In the selection of these examples there has been a sincere attempt to choose images representative of the nineteenth century generally, and Germany specifically. While it was fairly easy to locate nineteenth-century German portraits, the task of finding musical iconographic images was more challenging. I have selected what I have determined to be fairly representative of this genre. More importantly, I have chosen images similar in structure to the images of Clara Schumann, which contrast sharply with the iconography of other female performers. The normative image of the nineteenth-century female musical performer was discussed in detail in chapter one. Those images, while offering a useful framework to compare Clara, differ so starkly and the association so tenuous, that I have chosen images closer to the genres within which Clara was most often painted and, hence, positioned.

Part Two
Creating a Framework:
Signifiers and Symbols in Nineteenth-Century Women's German Portraiture and Musical Iconography

The wife of Dr. Adolph Wasmann, the artist's brother, sits with crossed hands at a table with the Hamburg skyline behind her. Her somewhat drab domestic enclosure contrasts quite sharply with the details of the outdoors; the viewer can distinguish the individual leaves on the towering trees and the small shape of a distant bird soaring through the calm, cloudless sky.

Figure 3.3

Oil on Mahogany Panel by Freidrich Wasmann, ca. 1843
Frau Caroline Luise Mathilde Wasmann
Hamburger Kusthalle, Germany
Kat. Nr. 1396

The perspective of the windowsill confuses the viewer for a brief moment, and we wonder if we are instead looking at a landscape painting.[50] The artist "domesticates" the public space through the inclusion of another bird: a pet canary sits on a shiny, clean small table with his reflection gleaming. No cage is needed, as the small bird shows no sign of fleeing out the open window: his attention is completely focused on the mistress of the private sphere, and he seems decidedly content in his domesticated role. The canary becomes an accessory in exemplifying the successful confinement of a wild and natural element, and possibly emblematic of the domesticated woman in her private space. This association between birds and women, however, goes further than merely mirroring the woman's disciplined character; rather, this connection potentially references the nineteenth century's obsession with delineating sexual differences between men and women. This era's debates about "the bones of the human body took on more overtones of masculinity and femininity" than that of the eighteenth century.[51]

An illuminating example of this phenomenon occurred when the Edinburgh anatomist John Barclay paired earlier skeletal models with "comparable" examples from the animal kingdom, as evident in Figure 3.4. The female skeleton "he compared to an animal noted for its large pelvis and long, narrow neck—the ostrich."[52] This correlation drew explicit attention to the woman's malformed and small skull (for her little brain) and her abnormally large pelvis (for her frequent child bearing).[53] In solidifying false notions of the female skeleton, the nineteenth-century anatomist could then map differences onto every

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[50] Lenman, *Artists and Society in Germany*, 68: "In Germany as in other Western countries the nineteenth century was *the* great era of landscape painting, perceived as a kind of magic window out of an increasingly grim industrialising world."

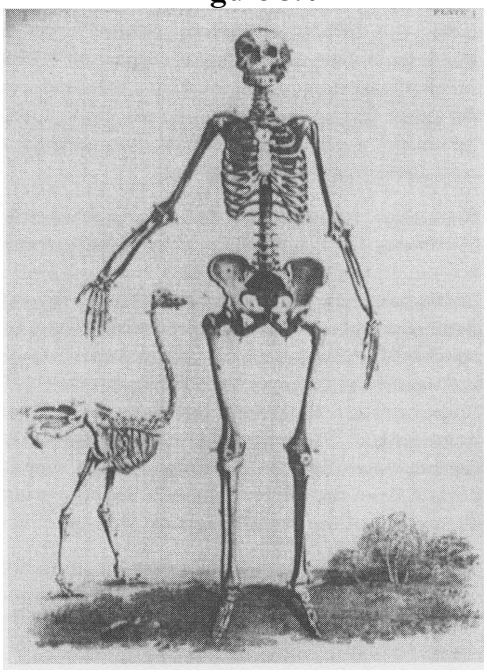
[51] Londa Schiebinger, "Skeletons in the Closet: The First Illustrations of the Female Skeleton in Eighteenth-Century Anatomy," in *The Making of the Modern Body*, 60.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid., 58-59. Scheiberger also makes the point that this particular model of the female by d'Arconville (Sue) was known throughout Germany and by German anatomists—who attempted to refine his skeletal archetype. Barclay chose the d'Arconville model, despite its exaggerations, since it was "the favored drawing in Britian."

other entity of the woman's body and offer scientific evidence that sexual differences no longer only went "skin deep."[54] By putting two birds in Figure 3.3, along with a loose-draping wing-like shawl, Wasmann connects the woman and the bird quite effectively.

Figure 3.4



John Barclay, Edinburgh, 1829
"Female Skeleton Compared to the Ostrich"
The Anatomy of the Bones of the Human Body[55]

While the presence of birds and their symbolism encode this portrait with socially current perceptions of the nineteenth-century female body, the image also overtly references Frau Wasmann's societal and familial roles. The modest dress, cross necklace, embroidered

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[54] For a particularly exciting discussion of this phenomena, see Chua, *Absolute Music*, 126-135. The full quote on pages 127-128, from which I pulled "skin deep" reads: "Before the Enlightenment, sex difference merely went skin deep; in fact, women had the same genitals as men—they were just turned inside out. But from the eighteenth century onwards, male and female genitals were to be utterly different. And the truth of this new sexual order was revealed by the impartiality of science itself. At least this was the claim that was used as the disguise for male prejudice. The task at hand was a tricky one: how could an age in which all 'men [*sic!*] are born equal' produce a logic that would exclude women from its declarations of equality? The answer: simply by returning the innate rights of humanity itself—the law of nature, as inscribed in the constitution of the body. So from about the 1750s, 'doctors in France and Germany called for a finer delineation of sex differences in every bone, muscle, nerve and vein of the human body became a research priority in anatomical science.'"

[55] This image can be found reproduced in both Chua's, *Absolute Music* and Schiebinger's, "Skeletons in the Closet."

shawl, shiny hair, flawlessly pale skin, and smooth, small hands all support a Madonna-like icon and a maternal, domesticated woman. Physically, her billowing skirt fills the bottom of the frame, and her substantial presence in this space represents her power within this realm, while the remote city line emphasizes her sheer distance from it. The detailed embroidery on her shawl draws attention to her domestic skills. She exposes very little skin and yet she wears a transparent shawl emphasizing nakedness and undress, while her raised left arm resting on the table allows the viewer a quick peek at her small tapered waist. The braids draping slightly over her ear, while creating a fashionable yet simple hairstyle, also flaunts its length—a slight hint of the erotic. Her pointed elbow obscures the view of her breast, and yet the suggestive crossing of the shawl brings cleavage to mind.[56] This portrait, in effect, seems to negotiate carefully between the dangers of her sexuality by both concealing and revealing (although the woman was inevitably marked as inherently erotic and dangerous); however, this image focuses primarily on her bourgeois, domestic duties and capabilities, and her distant relationship to the public world.[57]

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[56] Marilyn Yalom, *A History of the Breast* (New York The Ballantine Publishing Group, 1997), 105; 115-116. Just as many symbols of femininity had become entrenched within the bourgeois political system, women's private roles emphasized their maternal callings as the bearer and educators of the "sons of the fatherland;" ergo, the breasts' association with this bourgeois "duty" is not surprising. "At no time in history--barring our own age—have breasts been more contested than in the eighteen century. As Elightenment thinkers set out to change the world, breasts became a battleground from controversial theories about the human race and political systems. Before the century was over, breasts would be linked, as never before, to the very idea of nationhood. It is not too far-fetched to argue that modern Western democracies invented the politicized breast and have been cutting their teeth on it ever since." Later, Yalom argues that the late eighteenth century saw specific laws, requiring women to breastfeed: "A year later, the Germans followed suit and even upped the ante: a Prussian law of 1794 required all healthy women to breastfeed. Yet, if the records from Hamburg are indicative of wider German practices, few ladies took to nursing their young." Later, Yalom argues: "Paradoxically, [the symbol of the breast as a national icon] drew women into the picture at the very moment they were being definitively written out of public life…Female breasts were enlisted to convey a wide array of republican ideals, such as liberty, fraternity, equality, patriotism, courage, justice, generosity, and abundance….The good breast was understood to be the nursing breast. In England and in the United States, as in France and Northern Europe, mothers were not ashamed to be seen in their homes as they nursed their babies, indeed, it was even permissible to breast-feed in such public places as parks and railroads, especially among the popular classes." Ibid., 117-120; 126.

[57] There is still some work to be done in regards to the various meanings of the nineteenth-century German bourgeois bosom. As Steele argues, it is particularly dangerous to correlate shifting erogenous zones via changing fashions; Steele does contend, however, that fashions did serve to emphasis gender distinctions or create an idealized and even caricatured of the woman's body: "Women's fashion is said to attracht by means

A second photograph from Clara Schumann's personal album offers another example of the signifiers permeating female portraiture (Figure 3.5). Even though this image comes from a different medium (photographic portraiture) and from about twenty years later, the similarities are quite striking. Clara's niece, born in 1829 to Carl Schumann, eventually married the business owner Heinrich Rittner in 1851 and had three children between 1852 and 1857.[58] Her billowing sleeves and skirt contrast sharply with her tight, tiny waist and small shoulders draped with a see-through lace coverlet. Again, the clothes simultaneously draw attention to her sexuality, while obscuring it. Although very little skin is shown uncovered, the lace collar draws attention to her body underneath the clothes. Furthermore, her sleeves are not too large, and the left sleeve's careful arrangement and folding allows for a separation in fabric between her sleeves and bodice, thereby creating a small window in which to see her abnormally small waist. The viewer's access to this attribute, however, seems regulated and controlled. By using the chair to prop her right arm and by arranging her sleeve to provide a small window between the folds of fabric, the

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of the selective exposure, concealment and emphasis on the various erotic 'zones' of the female body. These can be secondary sexual characteristics (such as the breasts, hips, and derriere), or parts of the body that acquire sexual connotations (such as the legs, feet, back, waist, shoulders, and so on). According to this theory, male sexual interest in these portions of the anatomy fluctuates….To a considerable extent, the sex appeal theory is based on a stereotype of Victorian sexuality that is probably false, and on a highly questionable interpretation of *feminine* psychology in the nineteenth century. Related to this is the problem of a one-sided and possibly misleading emphasis on the eroticism of *female* dress. In the past, men wore clothing that was at least as erotic and extravagant as women's clothing. In most pre-industrial cultures, men paid more attention than women to dress and adornment. When a pattern of fashion change developed in Europe in the Middle Ages, men adopted each new style with enthusiasm. They dressed to kill, using clothing to emphasize the legs, shoulders, chest, buttocks, even the penis itself. It was only after about 1760 that men began to adopt a kind of anti-fashion uniform. Yet no one has suggested that changes in men's fashions reflected the vagaries of masculine psychology or shifting sexual interests on the part of women. Meanwhile in other civilizations, the clothing of both sexes changed only slowly and did not seem to emphasize first one and then another 'erogenous zone.' Thus, the theory largely fails to apply to male dress and to other cultures. It is certainly true that one of the most obvious functions of dress is to differentiate between the sexes. Women's fashion has frequently created artificial ideals of feminine beauty, many of which might be considered a 'caricature' of the female body. It is possible that, in a general sense, the changes in women's fashion were based on differences between the sexes. Nevertheless, fashion cannot be reduced to a shifting emphasis on parts of the anatomy, or to a series of sexual invitations." Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism*, 34-35.

[58] Synofzik and Voight, *Aus Clara Schumanns Photoalben*, 53.

photographer deliberately draws attention to her slender, corseted waist, and, ultimately, how Frau Rittner epitomizes the "feminine physical ideal."[59]

The importance of the corset in nineteenth-century women's fashion should not be ignored in this discussion, since it again points to the duality of women in the society—as a simultaneously sexualized and moralized figure.

> By emphasizing the female characteristics of the body, the corset functioned as a sexualizing device. Yet corset wearing was also widely perceived as *moral*; it was a necessity if a woman were to be decently dressed. To make a play on words, the straitlaced woman was not loose. A woman who went out without a corset was generally thought to show an indecent state of undress, and to lack "tenue" (correct manners, bearing, and deportment). Both the symbolism of the corset and the ideal of femininity were ambiguous, embracing at the same time the erotic and the respectable.[60]

Thus, although the woman could be both "saint" and "sinner," how the artist balanced these characteristics help us confirm how these traits were negotiated by society at large and how "sexuality in domesticity was licit but also repressed and repressive."[61]

Detracting from this potential sexuality, her right hand holds a small appointment book. If she was actively reading the book, she might hold it open in the very same way: with her fingers keeping the pages back. It seems as if the photographer has interrupted her daily duties, as she keeps her fingers in the page so as not to lose her spot. In contrast with this, the fingers of her empty left are posed quite gracefully. The empty, yet carefully positioned hand draws attention to it, and although she has left her pen on her desk, her fingers are ready to go right back to work. She also might hold her hand this way when sewing or embroidering. Whatever the case, the potential for activity with her hands speaks to her domestic activities. To confirm this connection further, she rests her right hand on the back of a highly decorative and ornate chair—clearly a piece of furniture in the bourgeois home.

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[59] Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism*, 161.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*, 161.

With its ornate fabric, detailed woodwork, and comfortable thick cushion, the chair is functional, yet beautiful, in the role it plays in the home. As the chair leg intrudes on her space and pushes back the bottom of her skirt the two pieces of domestic life join together in solidarity.

Figure 3.5

Photograph by G. Schmidt, Nürnberg 1860s
Portrait Rosalie Rittner
Robert-Schumann-Haus; Zwickau, Germany
Kat. Nr. 10776a-B2

These two images create a useful framework within which to place the portraits of Clara Schumann, as they serve not only as a representation of the individual female but also as historical and cultural constructions. Both German portraits offer suggestions of the ideal

woman by using adornments or domestic signifiers—the canary, clean table, embroidered shawl, comfortable chair, and appointment book. How the portraits simultaneously balance the erotic with the domestic speaks to the complex associations of femininity, domesticity, and eroticism.[62] This negotiation, however, becomes even more complicated when we add musical elements. In discussing Victorian details in musical iconography, Leppert writes:

> The semiotics of musical imagery develop not only from instruments employed as props but also from the representation of gestures and other expressive qualities of the human body as these relate to musical activity. The function of music in the lives of Victorians, especially its relation to desire, eroticism, and sexuality, was attended to with extraordinarily self-consciousness.[63]

By attending to the details of the "gestures and other expressive qualities of the human body" in or associated with musical iconography, it is possible to see evidence of this "self-consciousness" in German iconography as well. More specifically, as I discussed at length in Chapter Two, the problem of the body's reactions to music was a very real concern of the German bourgeoisie, so I would expect this unease to reverberate throughout the iconography of the time. Given that in upper middle class cultures after the eighteenth century, "music and femininity were viewed interchangeably," the visual offers critical commentaries on how this flexibility manifested itself within society at large.[64] The dangerous connection between music, women, and the piano takes on more subtle overtones in the next image.

Figure 3.6 shows two women in a fashionably decorated parlor: one plays Chopin while the other interrupts her embroidery to listen to the piece. By choosing to title the

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[62] Thomas Laqueur, "Orgasm, Generation, and the Politics of Reproductive Biology," in *The Making of the Modern Body*, 4. More specifically, Laqueur claims: "The new biology, with its search for fundamental differences between the sexes and its tortured questioning of the very existence of women's sexual pleasure, emerged at precisely the time when the foundations of the old social order were irremediable shaken, when the basis for a new order of sex and gender became a critical issue of political theory and practice."

[63] Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*, 156-157.

[64] Ibid., 155.

piece *Chopin*, the painter, Albert Keller, invokes the hallmark qualities of Chopin, which directly contrasted with the frivolous or uncultivated music of the virtuoso.

> The personalities of [Chopin and Liszt] could scarcely have been more sharply contrasted: the one extraverted and ostentatious, flaunting convention at every turn, embracing (however insecurely) the most radial intellectual, social and political agendas of the day; the other private and aloof, a stickler for proprieties and innately conservative in all social and political matters. Likewise their musical personalities: the one displaying, the other concealing.[65]

By choosing a more secluded and moderate composer known as much for his pedagogy as for his performing abilities, the artist directly maps Chopin's social proprieties onto the musical expression. This image, then, offers an example of the search for the poetic in the private space, which ultimately results in failure; the player remains decidedly incapable of successfully playing the piece, as the artist renders her musical voice mute. Keller signals her deficiency in several ways. The artist has painstakingly detailed so many aspects of the salon, the rug, Chinese screen, the women's gowns, and the wallpaper, and yet he does not space the black keys correctly on the piano's keyboard. The instrument itself contains a serious flaw—a defect that leaves the instrument unplayable.

More importantly, the pianist performs in the darkness of the room, as the artist casts a shadow on the piano and wall onto which the piano is placed, and her slightly grayed skin contrasts starkly with the creamy white complexion of her companion. The pianist, it seems, plays in solitude: separated and demarcated by the coloring of her space. The performer even dims the left side of the keyboard with her glance, as the upper register remains pristinely white and bright. The pianist also plays with no musical text in front of her, and on the floor to her left lays a discarded and torn score. Even her friend tries to turn away from the music, yet her eyes reveal that she is, in fact, listening and thinking about what she hears. Although she sits quite close to the instrument, she slightly cocks her head as if

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[65] Jim Samson, *Virtuosity and the Musical Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 19.

trying to improve her hearing of the piece. The shadowed space, torn and abandoned music sheet, empty candleholders, impassive gaze, and disparity between the performer and listener combine to suggest the woman's inherent lack and longing, and to confirm that music can bring darkness (read: death)—"music is woman; woman is evil; both are captivating, castrating. The pleasures afforded by both ironically conflate with evil and terror."[66] *Chopin* overtly emphasizes the tenuous and perilous relationship between music and women.

Figure 3.6

Oil on Oak by Albert Keller, Berlin 1873
Chopin
Neue Pinakothek; München, Germany
Kat. Nr. 8366

[66] Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*, 143.

While Figure 3.6 offers a fleeting look at the potential chaos a woman performing music could provoke, when compared alongside other images of woman at domestic music making, we can see how the piano held a particularly important role between the public and private worlds.[67] The relationship concerning women and the piano is highly complex, especially since "the piano seems to have been something of a floating signifier, a semantic pendulum that swing in an extreme arc," but I would like to suggest some possible associations that coalesce with the normative ideals of the woman at the piano.[68] Although contrasting starkly with images that promoted little focused listening or inner reflection in public spaces, women's performance at home could facilitate appropriate modes of romantic contemplation, which could then be easily transferred to public spaces and concerts. In this sense, women held the more traditional role of mother and educator—both acceptable vocations for the nineteenth-century bourgeois woman.[69] Performing in the domestic contexts could, as I have outlined in Chapter Two, train bourgeois listeners, and since for women, "competency on the piano was an emblem of bourgeois status," several bourgeois interests were conflated under the guise of the domestic piano and its female players.[70]

Figure 3.7 gives further credence to the above argument, suggesting the private playing of a four-hand piece. The violin on top of the open music book and piano hints the couple just finished performing another duet, and the woman's slightly displaced chair suggests that she was the violinist. What makes this insinuation significant is the fact that the artist chose to depict the pair side by side on one instrument, as if they are checking over a passage they just played or moving onto another piece. As the female pianist reaches casually into her partner's musical space the viewer loses sight of her hand; in this position

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[67] Leppert discusses this relationship in *Sight of Sound*, chapter seven, "'The Piano, Misogyny, and 'The Kreutzer Sonata.'"
[68] Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*, 153.
[69] Again, Chapter Two sets up the "traditional" ideals of women in both social and musical contexts.
[70] Ibid., 260.

she parallels her partner's. The informal familiarity between the two (as they come together to perform on one instrument) and their similar musical postures, suggests they have an intimate relationship. Through this intimation, the artist more strongly accentuates the private space by making onlookers feel as if they watch uninvited.

Figure 3.7

Oil on Paper by Hans Karlinger, München 1856
Die Musizierenden
Neue Pinakothek; München, Germany
Kat. Nr. 8600

Hans Karlinger takes this idea further since the players' turn their backs and the piano sits slightly in front of the door to block our literal entrace. The instrument's placement in this cramped room, in front of the abnormally large door, positions the piano dominantly. Given this arrangement, the piano serves as a link between the inner and outer worlds. Surrounded by hanging art, an elaborate rug, small ottoman, and serving table with the remnants of an afternoon snack, the piano's polished legs contribute to the carefully

decorated space, of which the instrument plays a critical part. Music clearly holds an important role in this parlor, as music books are stacked high in the table to the right. Irrefutably, the piano becomes the most essential aspect of the painting, since it is the locus that forces its players into their seated positions.

The players lean slightly toward each other, and the man keeps his balance by casually wrapping his foot around the chair leg, while the woman has shifted in her chair to offer a clearer view of her profile. Just as the artist draws attention to the man's foot, and thus his dynamic state, Karlinger associates the woman's lower half with her static state. The bottom of her dress seems to fill not only underneath chair but also coalesces with the similarly colored floor; consequently, the woman literally becomes a part of the domestic space, while the man, with his heel up, clearly separates himself from it. Although this image situates the players fairly modestly, because the woman has shifted in her chair and is seated farther back from the piano than her partner, the viewer gets a glimpse of her waist and a better observation of her slightly leaning posture. She has to raise her arms a bit higher, which creates a window to the piano, while the man keeps his elbows tightly at his side. Again, because of this opening, the woman has a close relationship with the furniture, as the blackness of the instrument fills the space that facilitates the view of the woman's waist. Ultimately, this image serves to feature the domestic qualities of the woman by associating her quite expressly with the domesticate space and its most prized possession—the parlor piano.

In Figure 3.8, *Muskalische Unterhaltung* (*Musical Conversation*), the artist seems to imply the piano could articulate the desires and revelations of its female players to their listeners.[71] In a separate room, emphasized by large drapery, a female pianist in the distant corner of a parlor performs as a man stands, watching and listening to her. Even the seated woman

[71] This phenomenon was discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

seems interested in the man's reaction; perhaps she hopes to decode the message her companion sends to the onlooker. Something has called to the man, who has abandoned his chair in order to get a better view into the darkened music room, and he listens with his hands loosely folded behind his back and right foot forward.

Figure 3.8

Oil on Canvas by Albert von Keller, Zurich 1871
Musikalische Unterhaltung
Neue Pinakothek; München, Germany
Kat. Nr. 9360

This leisurely, yet active stance, also imitates how he might stroll through public streets. The artist, then, is able to conflate his ability to move freely through both public and private spaces, and his role within each: his leisure in private spaces and his productivity in

public. The control of the male gaze, moreover, is not lost on the seated female. She primly sits under a mirror, which emphasizes not only her vanity and desire to look at herself, but subsequently, her eagerness to be looked at and admired by the opposite sex.

This image articulates various levels of sexual difference, all compounded by both an emphasis on domestic space and woman's duplicitous position as onlooker and object of the male's surveillance.

> The spaces of femininity operated not only at the level of what is represented, the drawing-room or the sewing-room. The spaces of femininity are those from which femininity is lived as a positionality in discourse and social practice. They are the product of a lived sense of social locatedness, mobility, and visibility, in the social relations of seeing and being seen. Shaped within the sexual politics of looking they demarcate a particular social organization of the gaze which itself works back to secure a particular social ordering of sexual difference. Femininity is both the condition and the effect.[72]

Musikalische Unterhaltung calls attention to the spatial regulation of sexual differences, and the piano serves as the reason for the male observer to move toward the feminine space in an effort to listen and look. The painting also seeks to ratify the female's domestic and private relationship with the piano by situating the player as spatially separated from those for whom she performs. If the piano could potentially voice the desires of its players, these expressions would most certainly only be acceptable in private spaces where the expression of women could be uttered "freely."

Part Three
Clara Encoded

The previous nine images create a framework focused on promoting the domestic ideal of womanhood suggested in Chapter Two, while simultaneously offering an ominous warning about the dangerous potentials found within female music making. How the images of Clara Schumann work within this structure offers commentary not only on aspects of her

[72] Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and Histories of Art* (London: Routledge, 1988), 66.

public personality, but also on how portraits helped construct this persona. Just as the symbol of the woman at the piano suggested their ideal (domesticated) nature, it could also comment on the century's tenuous relationship with eroticism and sexuality—with music at the locus of these connections. For these very reasons, a woman performing a piano publicly could jeopardize the very social foundation in which she existed.

In the case of Clara, the visual serves to create a socially acceptable version of the public instrumentalist. Even though her portraits contain many of the signifiers we have just identified to mark her appropriate *Geschlechtscharakter***,** pictures also set out to denote her social difference. For instance, while her dress and positioning are often very similar, there are also details—an included score, distinctive attention to her hands, or a rare facial expression—that set out to associate her with the musical in one way or another. By placing these signifiers within an image of idealized domestication, the musical becomes successfully subsumed within the feminine ideal. Given her unique social positioning, artists and photographers carefully constructed a successful public image of her by underscoring several important factors: her inner musical expressivity, her programmatic choices, the omnipresence of masculine authority, and the correct management or domestication of her female body.

The following analyses are organized into three sections that are intrinsically attached to Clara's personal biography. More specifically, her life is partitioned regarding her central male relationship: that of daughter, wife and mother, and widow. While other musical and social factors obviously played a critical role in these visual constructions, by centering our discussion on these biographical chapters via her male counterparts, we can most effectively locate those signifiers placing Clara (via these relationships) within the domesticated and normalized nineteenth-century realm; in fact, this "bringing" of Clara into the space of acceptability is exactly what portraiture seems to *want* to do. This goal seems even more

likely when we consider the fact that out of all the images of Clara, there is only *one* of her in performance. During her early career, images seem to emphasize her unusual, adult-like maturity, while simultaneously drawing attention to her sexual availability (or "marriagability") and more fantastic programming; while married, Clara becomes further entrenched within the goals of serious repertoire, but I also note a dramatic shift from the "sexualized" or erotic to the maternal; finally, her years of widowhood confirm her longevity and place with the performing world, while simultaneously calling attention to the possibility of her inner genius. Conclusively, these portraits show a trajectory explicitly connected with the primacy of the poetic in Clara's career, and the proper domestication or masculine control over her feminine body and public actions.

Clara Wieck, Daughter: Iconography in her Early Career

Although in his answers to the questions "which were asked us 700 times," Wieck suggested that an image of his young daughter could potentially resolve confusion about her age, physical health, and training, Clara's portraits seem most conflicted at this point in her life. Her visual depictions oscillate between those emphasizing her domestic, privatized, and feminine characteristics—and those calling attention her overly melancholic, potentially hysteric, and "genius"-like qualities. Concurrently, this evidence underscored the virtuosic facets of Clara's early career, addressed both the social and musical anxiety that stemmed from her repeated public performances of highly technical and virtuosic works, and accentuated the gradual shift in her programming from highly virtuosic pieces to more "serious," romantic works.

The "problem" of the virtuoso[73] relates explicitly to this early period in Clara's life, when she performed her most virtuosic pieces; works by Heinrich Herz, Frédéric

[73] This concept has been discussed in detail in chapter two and will be reiterated in all subsequent chapters.

Kalkbrenner, Franz Hünten, Johann Peter Pixis, and J.N. Hummel dominated her programs and allowed her to showcase her technical prowess.[74] As many scholars note, beginning around 1835, however, Clara's concertizing began incorporating more "serious" romantic works that could reflect her own "interior" musical comprehension, while simultaneously substantiating her pianistic skill. Her performances came to include pieces by Bach, Schumann, and Beethoven with more frequency, and yet these pieces were inevitably coupled with more standard virtuosic repertory. Alongside the works of Bach and Beethoven, however, she also played her own Nocturne in F-sharp Major and ended her concert with Herz's Bravour-Variations, Opus 20. So, even though her programs were containing more "serious" works, Clara's father carefully balanced these selections with ones catering to musical "frivolity" and audience "enjoyment."

We see the beginnings of this negotiation first hand in Figure 3.9, from 1832 at age 13. Her public performances would have been most socially acceptable as a *Wunderkind*, and this image, it seems, seeks to fasten aspects of her virtuosic career subtly onto her physical being. Interestingly, this particular portrait contains common signifiers couched within an idealized and, yet physically, "inaccurate" image of the young performer. In a thank you letter written to the artist on August 22, 1832, Wieck praised the artist's potential to capture Clara's spirit but suggested that the image does not accurately represent her features. Moreover, by disavowing her physical features, the artist becomes unable to fully capture her spirit as well.

> We are unanimous, that the picture was very finely drawn and made, and the [*Geist*] spirit of Clara…would have been perfectly met, as only a famous Parisian could visualize. But one criticizes the details. For example, "the nose is too large, ditto the mouth," and almost all [say]: "The chin is too pointed and long, and the upper body too full [and] contrary to the face."[75]

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[74] Harold Schonberg, *The Great Pianists* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963), 225.

[75] Bernhard R Appel, Heinrich-Heine-Institut, Robert-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Forschungsstelle, eds., Clara und Robert Schumann : zeitgenössische Porträts : Katalog zur Ausstellung des

While Wieck implies there is a direct correlation between Clara's physicality and inner spirit, here, this achievement eludes the artist because of the disconnect between her actual features and what were realized in this portrait.[76] Yet, if we take Gadamer's earlier words to heart,[77] we can tentatively conclude that this image represented a romanticized portrait of the young performer that would simultaneously work as a social representation. What signifiers, then, does the artist choose in order to relay a "present memory" of the performer, and how do these signifiers comment, if at all, on the highly virtuosic nature of her career?

Given that Clara could have been drawn any number of ways, the artist has *chosen* to give her certain attributes. Clara's flowing gown and cinched waist accentuate her femininity, while her tilting head, blushing smile, and white gown call attention to her virginal purity, innocence, and modesty. The young performer grasps a musical score in her lap rather than engaging actively with an instrument, which further emphasizes her domestic and feminine accomplishments. Leppert argues this iconic position was critical, since it not only associated the woman with music, but also removed the problems connected with

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Heinrich-Heine-Instituts, Düsseldorf und des Robert-Schumann-Hauses, Zwickau in Verbindung mit der Robert-Schumann-Forschungsstelle der Robert-Schumann-Gesellschaft, Düsseldorf (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1994), 18. "Man ist einstimmig, daß das Bild sehr fein gezeichnet und gemacht und der Geist der Clara [...] vollkommen getroffen sei, wie man das nur von einemn berühmten Pariser erwarten kann. Aber man tadelt die Einzelheiten. Z.B. "die Nase zu groß, dito der Mund," und fast Alle: "Das Kinn zu spitzig und lang, und der oberer Körper zu vollkommen gegen das Gesicht." (my translation)

[76] Chua, *Absolute Music*, 130. This choice ultimately puts Clara's varying characteristics—her overwhelming spirit and her inherently deceptive female body—in dialect. The performer herself even reiterated this problem, which had again been caused by her *Geist*: her charming personality (in the excerpt used at the beginning of this chapter). The ability to "captivate," (which undermines the possibility of "captur[ing] her beauty") calls attention to the disparity between her personality and physical attractiveness. Clara cannot be painted because her charisma inevitably overwhelms her physical appearance. This malleable physical self correlates with the nineteenth-century fears of women, and how their heightened emotional states constantly affected their overly sensitive bodies. As Chua notes, women were: "Passive and decorative, reacting to every touch and tingle, women's bodies were celebrated as intuitive and natural, sensitive and sensual, and therefore simultaneously condemned as disorderly, vacuous, violently passionate and hysterical." Clara had a mental quality that affects her physically, and, in effect, renders her beautiful in a way that cannot be accurately or successfully relayed in a painting.

[77] Gadamer, *Truth and Method,* 142. That the portrait becomes representative of what its viewers expect, or represents what the audiences has, in fact, coded on to the portrait. More specifically, the portrait becomes an idealized representation.

overly physical performances; in so doing, the female body was allowed to remain inactive, and thus passive.[78] Undoubtedly, this portrait attempts to communicate socially current ideals of a properly feminine, domesticated, and thus, socially inferior, girl.

Figure 3.9

Lithograph of a drawing by Eduard Fechner, Paris 1832
Clara Wieck, age 13
Schumannhaus; Bonn-Endenich, Germany

We could take also this portrayal a step further and claim that this artist emphasizes the physicality of her repertory by giving her body the most attention: in this image the

[78] Leppert, *Music and Image*, 159.

physical trumps the importance of the music. The music serves as merely a prop to advertise her sexual appeal, just as the music of the virtuoso served to advertise the pianist's skill. The emphasis on her, and the music's complementary status to it, connects quite directly with the dangers of the early nineteenth-century virtuoso. As Gramit has articulated,

> The admiration of technique leads to an unusual reference to the body of the performer—precisely the sort of misguided emphasis the [performances] could lead to, according to its critics.[79]

Furthermore, if we do acknowledge that those closest to her would have argued with the posterity of her features, her body thus becomes the most important aspects of this portrait. Given the consensus Wieck suggests in his letter, her physical attributes seem to have been the most debatable detail of this portrait. Furthermore, the correspondence indicates that the problems rest in the exaggeration of her physical characteristics—just as virtuoso relied upon exaggerated technical and mechanical effects. Her nose and mouth are too large, her chin too long and pointed, and her upper body utterly incompatible with her face with its matronly, fully, potentially "too" mature state. By embellishing her features, the artist has, essentially, undermined the physical posterity of Clara's self, much in the way that critics argued virtuosity destabilized the posterity of the musical work. Conclusively, the portraits *mask* the acuteness of her dangerous spirit by creating an image that falsifies her domestic appeal and physical beauty.

This tenuous balance between Clara's sexual allure and her musical achievements occurs more overtly in Figure 3.10. Once more, her public performances become secondary to her appropriately domesticated body. Seated in profile, wearing an elaborately detailed gown, and looking self-assured, this portrait of the young artist calls attention to both her domesticity and the potential erotic nature of her music making. Her low-cut gown not only covers her body—as its billowing sleeves block our view of her waist—but it also, quite

[79] Gramit, *Cultivating Music*, 140.

dramatically, shows her naked shoulders. This simultaneous balance between prudence and impropriety in her fashionable dress confirms the high potential of both in the young virtuosic performer.[80] The dress, while symbolizing the various facets of a woman's character, would also hinder an overly physical (or virtuosic) piano performance. Given the virtuosic nature of some of her programming during this stage of her career, this image dispels notions of any dramatic bodily movement. These signifiers, coupled with her facial expression devoid of any real gratification or satisfaction in her musical ability, could potentially suggest that she has little real agency or control over her musical career or choices. Leppert argues that this "look'" was considered appropriate because a woman's own pleasure in her accomplishment was not significant; more specifically, rather than functioning as an act of self-expression, music represented an internally imposed identity.[81] Even though Clara was performing publicly and frequently, this image makes the point that her vocation was secondary and inferior to her role as a cultivated and available young woman.

The musical symbols contributing to her sense of self (while clearly evident) remain in the background; no aspect of her body, except for her poised left hand directly engages with the musical instrument. The musical elements, perhaps, are there not for her utilization, but more for the audience to situate her in a specific context. This suggestion seems even more feasible in Clara's positioning: by spatially separating herself from the musical work, the artist implies her subtle rejection of it. She seems, therefore, to be the perfect marriage material; she is not only beautiful, sexually available, and virginal, but she is also accomplished in a domestic and bourgeois activity. Again, the centrality of her in the

[80] Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism*, 25.
[81] Leppert, *Music and Image,* 159.

frame places her sexual availability as the most important element, and the musical icon as complementary.

Figure 3.10

Lithograph by Julius Giere, Hannover 1835
Clara Wieck
Robert-Schumann-Haus; Zwickau, Germany
Kat. Nr. 10059-B2

This image, however, becomes particularly problematic, because it includes of one of her own compositions: the Third Movement of her Opus 7 Piano Concerto.[82] The artist somewhat tempers its inclusion by choosing a piece that Robert Schumann orchestrated in 1834; thus, this particular choice highlights Clara's musical abilities and, at the same time, tempers the abnormalities that would inevitably stem from a successful woman composer.

[82] Reich, *Clara Schumann*, 68.

This piece restricts her compositional efforts to the pianistic portion:[83] the woman has provided the portion of the composition that is surrounded by and subsumed within its "masculine" orchestral counterpart.

Even though the artist grounds her musical education and expertise within a masculine complement, the inclusion of this piece also calls attention to the normative goals of the virtuoso: to compose pieces designed to exhibit the performer's proficiency and pianistic skill and, most importantly, to excite an audience and bring them to applause. Correspondence in 1837 between Robert and Clara further elucidates this objective:

> Robert: Are you playing your concerto of your own accord? There are brilliant ideas in the first movement—it didn't make a strong impression on me, however. When you're sitting at the piano, I no longer know you—my judgment is quite a different matter.[84]
>
> Clara: My second concert today was another triumph. Of the many pieces I played, my concerto was received the best. You ask whether I play it of my own accord—of course! I play it because people have liked it everywhere, and it has pleased the music experts and the average concert goers alike. Whether it satisfied me, that is another question. Do you think I am so unaware that I don't know the faults of the concerto? I know them well, but the people in the audience don't know them, and they don't need to know them….You should hear the storm of applause here.[85]

Clearly, even though this piece has "faults," the performer sacrifices musical integrity in favor of virtuosic appeal.

Not only does this work symbolize her ability to please the public successfully, but it also holds emblematic associations with Clara's own career. She premiered the entire concerto on November 9, 1835 under the direction of Felix Mendelssohn, and the excerpt shown in the Giere portrait showcases the finale's opening theme (played only by solo piano). Claudia Macdonald argues that the longer, more harmonically stable finale serves to

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[83] Clara Schumann, *Concerto for Piano and Orchestra in A Minor, op. 7*, ed. Janina Klassen (Weisbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1990), vii.
[84] Schumann, *The Complete Correspondence*, I: 52.
[85] Ibid., 57-58.

"balance" the unconventional key changes that occur during the first and second movements: from A minor to A-flat Major and back to A minor. More specifically, she claims:

> Wieck uses A-flat major not only in the middle movement, but also in the beginning of the development section of the first movement. Significantly, in both instances this unusual key signals the reappearance of thematic material derived from the principal theme of the first movement…In the development an easily recognizable transformation of the principal theme in the tenor is accompanied in the discant by its own further transformation; in turn, a transformation of the discant melody begins the second movement. The principal theme of the final, which was composed before the other two movements, is yet another transformation of the very same melody….The thematic connection is one that is certain to appeal to an audience, and, therefore, help them register the formal significance of the unorthodox key….As a result [she] sacrifice[s] the autonomy of the individual movements or parts of the concerto for the greater integration of the whole.[86]

By including the finale theme, the artist knowingly calls attention to the fantastically exciting finale, and unknowingly intimates the "normalization" of the entire concerto's key changes. The final movement may be significantly longer, and its opening theme the most "exciting" because of its rhythmic complexity and loud octaves, but this theme also overtly invokes the unification of the entire concerto. This movement sacrifices its autonomy (its freedom) for the benefit of the demanding audiences. We could apply this same intention to Clara Wieck herself; by posing with this particular sampling, the artist can call attention not only to her superb technical abilities, but also to her ability to integrate into the "whole," rather than functioning outside of it. Even she, in her unorthodox public performances, can be transformed into an element that audiences can "register" and, therefore, embrace.

Coupling these images with textual descriptions from around the same time furthers the distinctions between trivial and serious music, while highlighting Clara's difficult position as a public female performer and the complexities of correctly understanding her visual

[86] Claudia Macdonald, "Critical Perception of the Woman Composer: The Early Reception of Piano Concertos by Clara Wieck Schumann and Amy Beach," *Current Musicology* 55 (Fall 1993), 31; 34.

presence. This excerpt also suggests another way we might be able to interpret the connection between her "captivating spirit" and her physical self. In 1833, the journal *Caecilian* published a six-page feature on Clara Wieck, which included the following excerpt:

> At first glance, Clara seems to be a quite lovable thirteen-year-old girl…and one thinks no more about it—but, observed more closely, everything seems quite different! The delicate, pretty little face with the somewhat strangely shaped eyes, the friendly mouth with the touch of sentiment that now and then draws up in a somewhat mocking or wistful way, particularly when she answers. And the mixture of grace and carelessness in her movements—not studied, but it goes far beyond one of her years. All this—I confess it openly—stirred quite a peculiar feeling in me when I saw it. I know of no better way to describe it except as "an echo of Clara's mocking-painful" smile. It seems as though the child could tell a long story, a story woven out of joy and pain—and yet—what does she know? Music.[87]

Here, the author describes Clara as pretty but suggests innate unhappiness, longing, and an unnaturally mature piano technique.

Although she is obviously a technical virtuosa (who can "stir" her listener's *body*), the text attempts to couple this ability with an interior and intellectual understanding. Even if, at first glance, Clara deceives him by seeming overly feminine and "loveable," her true nature eventually reveals itself; the writer moves to negate her female body by situating her physical expression as overly mature, uncontrollable, and interior. Her gestures even seem outside of her own understanding, as she is "grace[ful]" and yet "careless." The author eventually positions Clara in relation to a conflicted, deeper, and more mature force—something mindful rather than bodily. Although she seems childlike, feminine, and beautiful externally, she is ultimately—without her comprehension—internally conflicted. This conflict (between her childlike and mature characteristics) essentially questions the femininity of her musical presentation.

In a statement by the Duke of Weimar in 1832, this notion of a melancholic and tortured inner soul was quite explicitly related to her musical abilities.

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[87] Reich, *Clara Schumann*, 52.

> One takes an interest in her without wanting to, and if she does not succumb early to some lingering illness, she will not have much need of beauty in order to become a tempting siren. Poor child! She has a look of unhappiness and of suffering, which distresses me; but she owes perhaps a part of her fine talent to this inclination to melancholy...[88]

While noting her inherently diseased state that works to her artistic advantage, this text also reveals the complicated nature of Clara's public performing. She is a performer he makes every effort to ignore, and without his "wanting to," she somehow affects him sexually. The duke emphasizes this potential by suggesting she will become a "tempting siren." Here, Clara's technical skills are themselves feminine enough to tempt and seduce the listener, which in turn, makes her a suitable and desirable wife. In spite of this characterization, the duke detracts from this feminine excess and exceptional virtuosity with his sympathetic cry, "Poor child!" He notes her constant sadness and physical weakness with pity: so, even if Clara successfully performs in public, it is at her own mental and physical expense. This source suggests that her talent—something innate and inward—balances her femininity and, therefore, her body. The young performer, it seems, does not (or cannot) exhibit the normal outward emotionality expected (and demanded) of women.

By coupling her sorrowful state with her talent, the Duke obviously correlates the two and gives her the body of a "genius…[with] a power that [burned] internally."[89] If geniuses can only be masculine, a female experiencing this inner turmoil would instead be on the brink of madness and hysteria. Here, however, the writer clearly sees this internal turbulence and melancholy as an inherently threatening, but positive trait, which facilitates her artistic and musical abilities. By suggesting these are positive characteristics, the Duke gives Clara an inner "masculine self" that overwhelms any outward expression of femininity; although she plays virtuosic pieces, he successfully resituates her virtuosity as an *inner*

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[88] Ibid., 50.
[89] Chua, *Absolute Music*, 138.

expression. The visual evidence here attempts to position Clara in non-threatening guises—as an overly feminine, domestic and beautiful figure with an inner expression that balances and negates this femininity.

Figure 3.11

Michelle Ferdinande Pauline Viardot-Garcia, 1838/39
Friedrich Wieck, Clara Wieck and Two Unknown Girls
Sächsische Landesbibliothek; Dresden, Germany

It is ultimately the correct management or removal of Clara's femininity that allows her to cultivate such a successful career. Importantly, this negotiation began in the very early stages of her performing life and continued throughout her long career. To summarize these ideas, I would like to discuss an image that consolidates the various aspects of Clara's early career. A sketch, that at first seems to be a random drawing of the personalities involved, positions the performer underneath her father and alongside two other young female friends. Drawn by Pauline Viardot-Garcia, a close friend and someone with whom Clara

shared an somewhat suprirsingly similar career, the significance of this image rests primarily in both the melancholy expression on young Clara's face and her physical distance from both her father and female companions. Although this image comes from a time during which Clara's relationship with her father was quite strained because of her liaison with Schumann, this drawing focuses more on Clara's friendship (or lack thereof) with other women. As the two friends sit close together and share secrets, the artist positions Wieck physically between his daughter and her female companions. Essentially, her father separates her from normative relationships with other women. By isolating Clara and placing her underneath Wieck, Viardot-Garcia potentially suggests not only Clara's isolation and uniqueness from other females, but also that a masculine figure perpetually hovers over and controls her. Her exceptionality required micromanagement, which her father provided.

The artist also makes an important choice for Clara's attire. In order to further emphasize their business and pedagogical relationship, the artist draws Clara in a loose fitting travel cloak. This clothing obviously contrasts with the two other young women. Moreover, by portraying the impresario father in profiled, "monocular vision," Viardot-Garcia emphasizes his focus on his daughter's career and success. The hovering father looks into Clara's lucrative (and thus his) future without even seeing his daughter, while Clara emotively looks out "binocularly" at us with drooping eyes and a slight frown. She seems nostalgic for her lost childhood, and all that remains is her father pushing her forward. Her sorrowful facial expression shows us a young performer who maintained little real agency in her career and who was in a state of perpetual submission to an authorial and ever-present masculine presence.

While these portraits and writings create a convoluted and somewhat conflicted image of the young performer, Figure 3.11 helps to pull together many of the concepts permeating Clara's visual appearance: her highly virtuosic career, her separation and

differentiation from other women, her constant micro-management by a masculine figure (thereby domesticating her), and her perpetual melancholic state. Even though Clara's entrance into the public sphere was most acceptable as a *Wunderkind*, the visual still seeks to balance her domesticated body with her (potentially) hysterical spirit. This complex negotiation gave Clara a kind of autonomy that released her from public criticism and, instead, positioned her safely alongside her contemporaries. As argued earlier, images also speak to her programmatic choices, and in so doing, conflate the performer's being with her musical repertory. This association—between her visual self and her programming decisions—becomes even more overt during her marriage.

Clara Schumann, Wife and Mother: Iconography in the Middle Stages of her Career

After marrying Robert Schumann in 1840, we note a quite dramatic change in Clara's programming and overall appearance in imagery. Schumann affected her repertory, accompanied her on tours, and gave her advice on her musical interpretations. As Robert took the place of her father in many ways, Clara was required to perform because of financial necessity. Even though Robert wanted his wife to tend to her newly ascribed domestic duties and cater to his compositional needs, his pieces, especially at the outset of their marriage, did not receive the acclaim and public acceptance that was necessary to support the growing family.[90] Obviously, because of this financial anxiety, Clara needed to perform for money. Given her now married and frequently pregnant condition, it is potentially this time in Clara's life that should have created the most social anxiety regarding her public performances.[91] Visual images reveal ways she maintained popular public

[90] Litzmann, *Clara Schumann,* I: 255.

[91] Reich, *Clara Schumann*, 155-156: "Between 1840 and 1854 Clara Schumann gave at least 139 public concerts, and during those years she was pregnant almost continuously. At a time when respectable ladies were expected to remove themselves from public view when their pregnancy became obvious, Clara continued, like her mother before her, to teach, practice, and perform, sometimes up to one week before the birth of a child."

support, fostered her own artistic integrity, successfully changed her concert programming, and relaxed social anxiety; the figures here suggest Clara's focus on inner expressivity (rather than virtuosity), her proper domesticity, her validation by the male composer, and the negation or removal of her female body.

"We have similar features and figures, but she is pretty whereas I am ugly."[92] The infamous 1842 statement Clara Schumann made following a comparison with a famous Danish actress sets out to settle any discrepancies regarding the qualities or importance of her physical attributes. Although we rarely encounter Clara's own words regarding her visual appearance, this comment seems telling of how she not only saw her own attractiveness, but how she might have positioned herself in contrast to another female performer. The absence of beauty might free Clara from having a body meant for the male gaze and separate her from the dainty, fashionable, and feminine exterior so prized by the bourgeoisie. In effect, she attempted to undermine what should have been one of her most important assets. Although she is similar to this woman, *something* essential sets them apart—Clara does not fully embrace her sexual and feminine nature.

This separation from the feminine seems additionally evident in her programming. After her marriage, the virtuosic show pieces all but disappeared from her programs; she instead consistently chose the works of Bach, Beethoven, Chopin, Mendelssohn, Schubert, and Schumann to dominate her performances. This shift away from virtuosic, bodily, and, therefore, feminine music, coupled with her marriage to a composer promoting romantic ideals and compositions, greatly affected her visual presence.[93] Specifically, images serve to

[92] Ibid., 152.

[93] According to Ludim Pedroza: "[Clara] considered herself, and eventually was viewed by the public, as indeed an intermediary between the elusive quasi-religious realm that the composer sought to depict and the public. Her situation was remarkable in that she considered herself to be the soul companion of the composer; she was so close to him, the quintessential musical creator, that she could by extension look into the souls of other composers and render the bridge of communication that the public needed." Ludim Rebecca Pedroza. "The Ritual of Music Contemplation: An Anthropological Study of the Solo Piano Recital as Cultural Performative Genre" (Ph.D diss, Texas Tech University, 2002), 67-68.

objectify the artistic work rather than its performer. Figure 3.12, an anonymous lithograph of Clara and Robert, visually demonstrates the dramatic shift in her programming to include more serious works of art, while also situating Robert as the masculine compositional authority over his wife's musical performing. The pianist sits at the piano, but the space seems somewhat ambiguous. The elaborate drapery and decorative upright piano suggests a private space, whereas the lack of musical score and dark black concert attire hints at a public space. This ambiguity captures Clara's various roles—as performer, wife, and mother. For this image, the discourse between the two spaces comes to the fore: on one hand, the lithograph accentuates Clara's denial of her femininity and on the other, it suggests her acceptance of it.

Figure 3.12

Anonymous Lithograph printed after a Daguerreotype of 1850, 1859
Clara and Robert Schumann at the Piano

The more androgynous elements of Clara's career manifest themselves in several ways. To hint she plays more serious music, her left hand—resting below middle C—would likely play accompaniment figures, bass lines, and chords, which support and harmonically ground the melodies of the right hand. By showing *only* harmonic and structural elements, the image insinuates that her playing contains more than mere melodic virtuosity. Coupled with this "masculine" suggestion, in the shadows of this performance—indicated by the darkening of color in the background—Robert stands with his composing-hand resting at his chin. Her husband's presence insinuates he approves of her performing: he is, in a sense, allowing his wife to enter the public sphere.

His inclusion also invokes his compositions, especially by the clear appearance of his right hand. By this time, Schumann's writings on "trivial music" in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* would have been well known, especially since he was one of the first critics to capture in his criticism the "aesthetic problem posed by the existence and spread of a kind of music that is neither poorly written nor capable of ranking as art."[94] Robert's compositional authority and critical influence seems further obvious in the direction of Clara's body, which is partially disengaged from the instrument and instead angled to face the composer. Further emphasizing these masculine aspects, both figures possess what we now might understand as a romantic gaze, focused away from the viewer and into the infinite. In her public presence, the composer-husband solidly stands in the background to confirm and dictate his wife's "serious" musical expression, which thereby soothes any social anxiety over Clara's public presence.

So how might the viewer manage the feminine elements, most noticeably invoked by the private space and her accented body via the low neckline of her ornate dress? Here, I am suggesting that although Clara performed in public, she positioned herself (or was

[94] Dahlhaus. *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 317.

positioned) as no direct threat to the existing gender structures, given that she did not "lack social outlets for sexual expression [that might throw her] into a state of hysteria."[95] Discussed earlier as a gaze of romantic longing, their stares might be read another way. If we follow the directions of their gazes, Clara seems to look at Robert's groin and he at her breasts—the most obvious markers of her maternal nature. This situation could indicate that her sexuality is directed towards the appropriate recipient—her husband—who reciprocates and allows. His right leg steps forward and, in this dynamic movement, he accepts both her sexual and musical expressions. Robert claims all responsibility for her musical output, therefore controlling the space Clara inhabits and her subsequent musical expression. The balance of the feminine—through her clothing, expression, and engagement with the musical setting—and the masculine—the presence of her husband and serious music—authorizes and confirms her musical capability and action within the public sphere.

A contrasting portrait, Figure 3.13 (perhaps the only image of her performing) offers another perspective. Again, the intention here focuses on creating a gender neutral space during her performance, by relying both on a non-virtuosic musical piece and the presence of a male performer—one of Clara's dear friends, Joseph Joachim. The program for the concert consisted only of Bach, Beethoven and Schumann, which all clearly mark the program as "serious" repertory.

Part One
Bach: Prelude and Fugue for Organ
Beethoven: Piano Sonata, C-Major, Op. 53
Beethoven: Violin-Romanze, G-Major
Bach: Sarabande and Double for Violin
Bach: Bourée und Double for Violin
Schumann: *Fantasiestücke* for Pianoforte and Violin, Op. 73
Part Two
Bach: Andante and Allegro from 3 Sonatas for Violin
Schumann: Romanze, Op. 28,
In der Nacht, *Des Abends*, Op. 12, Nrs. 5, 1

[95] Mary Jacobus, Evelyn Fox Keller, & Sally Shuttleworth, *Body Politics (*Routledge: New York, 1990), 58.

What listeners are *hearing* here—how this image reflects the change in Clara's programming to more serious, absolute music—is most evident by von Menzel's portrayal of her body.

Figure 3.13

Pastel on Paper by Adolph von Menzel, December 20, 1854
Clara Schumann and Joseph Joachim in Berlin
Museum Folkwang; Essen, Germany

Most importantly, the angle of the piano affects our ability to see her hands, and Clara's somewhat shapeless body undermines her femininity. Although her dress is quite ornate, we are unable to make out exact details because of the blurry and indistinct portrayal. By hiding her hands from us, Menzel thwarts any possible suggestion of virtuosity or examination of her technique. Her arm does not even have a clear shape or comparative color with her face, with its somewhat swollen and almost pasty, corpse-white color. What links to her hands, and therefore the musical instrument, it seems, becomes masculine,

indistinct, and dead. The artist, furthermore, does not contain this masculine body, for both performers' bodies extend outside of the image's frame. This could suggest the unknown realm their musical performances take: by partially disembodying the performers below their waists, von Menzel detracts from the body's importance and confirms the music exists outside of the body.

Just as the *kind* of music possibly affects this portrayal, the artist also attempts to create a hierarchy between the performers to demarcate clear male authority and female subservience. Most obviously, the artist positions the performers somewhat awkwardly. Rather than Joachim remaining in the bend of the piano, he stands in the foreground to the right of his accompanist. For Clara to interact with him musically, she would need to turn her head and body, which could potentially pull her from the piano and affect her technique and form. Joachim, the masculine figure, controls the musical piece and, subsequently, its projection to the listener. His bow positioning further indicates this role, as it aligns with Clara's forward, angled back. The almost parallel alignment equates the bow with her body. In this gesture, this artist links her with the male-controlled musical object, thereby removing her agency and deeming Clara an unthreatening public performer.

Figure 3.14 continues this portrayal, and again, I would like to conclude this section with an image that summarizes the visual referents during this phase of her career. Radically different, this portrait sets out to create an idealized and Madonna-like interpretation of the performer, while simultaneously incorporating somewhat suggestive aspects of Clara's performing career. This image fits nicely within the visual idealizations of the nineteenth-century domestic woman and contains many of the signifiers that showcase her femininity and her bourgeois status: Clara wears a transparent lace coverlet that highlights both her domestic modesty and sexuality, her expansive dress fills up the entire frame, and she sits on highly ornate furniture. Alongside with these details the artist superimposes aspects of her

performing career. Significantly, rather than placing Clara's hands in a static position in her lap, her hands seem to twist and move. This active movement contrasts sharply with the generally stagnant nature of this portrait. Her awkward hand positioning draws our attention, and, in this artistic gesture, her hands seem separated and distinct from her body itself.

Figure 3.14

Oil Painting by Carl Ferdinand Sohn
Clara Schumann, Düsseldorf 1853
Robert-Schumann-Haus; Zwickau Germany

The artist emphasizes this disparity through the draping of her dark coverlet—the folds of superfluous fabric reminiscent of household drapery or covers—almost completely

to her wrist; against this dark fabric, her pale hands conspicuously stand out. Although this image hopes to situate Clara as properly domestic, by highlighting the disparity between her hands and body the artist demarcates her hands as a separate entity. Since a public pianist must make use of her hands, they remain somehow estranged from the rest of her body, which sits as a stoic icon of bourgeois domesticity. In essence, this inconsistency between her body and hands establishes that her femaleness perhaps remains insignificant to her performing persona. Rather, her vacant body serves as merely the vessel through which music can be channeled. Aside from the activity of her hands, her musical output remains firmly entrenched *inside* of her body, and her exterior appearance reflects little of her artistic talent. In fact, even her facial expression, devoid of any real emotional content, gazes off into the romantic distance. Since the music does not throw her body into a hysterical state, she cannot infect her listeners with her feminine poison. The artist, then, ultimately situates Clara as unthreatening, properly domesticated and controlled, and capable of emptying her feminine body for the autonomous work.

Clara Schumann, Widow: Iconography in the Late Stages of her Career

In a letter dated August 19, 1873 to Rosalie Lesser, Eugenie Schumann (Clara's youngest daughter) offers an opinion on the concert artist's performance at the Bonn Schumann festival. This festival was organized to fund a new tombstone for Robert Schumann.[96]

> Then came Mama. I cannot find any words in which to describe this moment. The whole audience stood up, clapped, and shouted, there was a flourish of trumpets, and then all at once Joachim stood up on his desk and waved his handkerchief. His face was radiant with enthusiasm, and he looked extraordinarily childlike and beautiful. You can easily imagine that every pocket-handkerchief in the audience now made its appearance. At last Mama was allowed to seat herself at the piano. She looked so beautiful—like a young girl, a bride, a child. Her dress was lovely, and

[96] Reich, *Clara Schumann*, 177.

> the effect was heightened by the rose in her hair. She was not at all nervous, and Brahms himself said that he had never heard the concert so well played.[97]

By all accounts, this correspondence seems intent upon situating Clara not only as childlike, virginal, and bridal, but the letter also insinuates that the pianist intentionally tried to achieve this effect (by putting flowers in her hair).[98] Her bridal image, however, coincided with a festival commemorating the life and death of Schumann. This characterization, then, more than likely reiterates Clara's sexual allegiance to her husband and his constant presence in her life. When Clara Schumann—the widow—played, her husband was inevitably referenced, and (especially in this case) she performed primarily for his benefit. While this letter seems somewhat contradictory when compared to the frequently stoic and homely portraits of the widow, another account by a former student, Adelina de Lara, offers a version more consistent with the performer's portraits throughout this time of her life.

> My memory of her entering the music-room remains vivid to this day: a tall, massively built woman dressed in black, with black lace draped over her head. Her face was impressive rather than beautiful, a very serious face with large blue eyes, and she had an unexpected smile that flashed out suddenly and warmed one's heart.[99]

In contrast to Eugenie, de Lara emphasizes Clara's imposing physical size, unattractive but striking face, and spontaneous and sudden smiles. Although we have heard these types of characterizations before, in her old age Clara still seems capable of drawing both physical reactions (a loudly applauding audience) and emotional reactions (warming the young student's heart with her smile). During this phase of her life, what is unique about this interchangeability is the cultural practice to attribute these emotional reactions to Clara's visual presence—before she played any music.

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[97] Litzmann, *Clara Schumann*, 300.

[98] Although we need to be cautious when using a source clearly romanticizing the subject matter, the fact that this letter attempts to construct an image of Clara by citing specific characteristics makes it a useful and interesting primary source.

[99] Adelina de Lara, "Clara Schumann's Teaching," *Music and Letters* 26, no. 3 (July 1945), 144.

Clara Schumann's widowhood was obviously the longest "period" in her life. Spanning 1856 to 1891, the artist had successfully secured her reputation, was internationally renowned, and was able (or so we assume) to have full artistic freedom in the programming and organization of her concerts.[100] She continued to perform Schumann's works, and surprisingly, after his death she premiered his pieces with more frequency than when he was alive.[101] By 1880 she had shortened her programs to make them more homogeneous, which "allow[ed] for greater concentration on each work."[102] We can safely assume, then, that her concerts continued to center primarily on the cultivation of the listener and their comprehension of the music, rather than focusing on her playing. Given the security and stability of her career during this period, it is not surprising that images of her are much more consistent in pose, dress, and expression than the portraits from before and during her marriage. Ultimately these portraits, while highlighting her domesticity and class status, seem intent upon situating her solidly within the tradition of serious music and cultivated listening.

In a letter written to Brahms on March 14, 1859, Clara discusses Figures 3.15 and 3.16, which were created as complements for one another.

> I have been very kindly received by the Bendemanns—He really is an excellent artist. He has done a beautiful drawing of Robert for me from a daguerreotype, and he is now doing a companion picture of me. I am sorry to say that I have only once been able to go to the Picture Gallery.[103]

Bendemann's sketch not only reiterates the constant presence of Robert Schumann, but this interdependence between the husband and wife furthers the dialectic between their musical roles. Not surprisingly, just as Schumann influenced Clara's programmatic choices, he also remained able to dictate the provenance of an image of his wife: the artist completed her

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[100] Reich, *Clara Schumann*, 260.

[101] Ibid., 270. More specifically, Reich questions why this delay occurred: "Clara Schumann, who repeatedly declared that her mission was to bring her husband's work to the attention of the public, did not, in fact, perform many of his works until years after his death; indeed, some of them she never played publicly at all."

[102] Ibid.

[103] Litzmann, *Clara Schumann*, II: 171.

portrait only *after* he had finished Schumann's. In Figure 3.15 Schumann sits contemplatively with one hand (potentially calling upon his compositional vocation or emphasizing more of a "thinker pose") clearly on display for us. This portrayal, coupled with Clara's vacant gaze, allows the artist to correlate Schumann's compositional activity with the wife's interpretive capabilities—she can bring a thoughtful, yet emotionally controlled performance of his works. Furthermore, even though Clara will never again be able to physically look upon Schumann's face in reality, the portraits insinuate that she will forever look in his direction, and subsequently, she will be perpetually influenced by his musical stature and compositional output. The artist subtly suggests this point by abstractly positioning Clara's eyes towards Schumann, who in turn, gazes out into the distance. She ultimately tells us that through her performances and interpretation of his music she can be emotionally fulfilled and made physically whole.

Figure 3.15

Figure 3.16

Drawings by Eduard Bendemann, 1859
Robert-Schumann-Haus; Zwickau, Germany
Kat. Nr. 6024-B2 & 6025-B2

This possibility seems even more likely, given that after Schumann's death every drawn portrait of Clara disembodies her and shows only her upper torso.[104] In this portrayal, another important element is removed: these images consistently sever her hands. In so doing, these portraits overtly reference the changes her career has made—her programmatic choices more solidly promoting German "serious" music and the conservative interpretive nature of her performances. The focus on her head (and mind) suggests that Clara now consistently grounds her musical performances in her intellectual and mindful understanding, rather than in her technical and physical capabilities.

The visual drives this point further by completely eliminating her sexual organs. This "hysterectomy" removes her most important gender "marker," while simultaneously pronouncing her sexual (and, therefore, musical) allegiance to Robert Schumann. We can infer, then, that Clara's sexuality has "died" along with her husband, and this implication undermines any potential of a vulnerable or sexually available widow. The artist further substantiates this claim through Clara's androgynous appearance. While a dark bow holds her hair back and small earrings adorn her ears, because both feminine decorations blend so carefully with her hair and skin, their subtle presence does little to accentuate her femininity. Not only does Bendemann neglect to include strong symbols of Clara's womanhood, but because she wears a high collar, the attention the artist does afford to the body implies its complete coverage. More than any of the others, these images serve to deemphasize Clara's body, thereby undermining any potential societal threat created through her public performances; these drawings achieve this effect by focusing on her intellectual interpretations and emotionally stoic performances that are ever under the direction of her husband's constant supervision.

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[104] Photographic portraits continued to show Clara's entire body.

We can also map these conclusions onto Figure 3.17, which shows Clara in fashionable travel attire. While the decorative furniture, luscious drapery, and elaborately detailed dress all speak to her social affluence, her clearly displayed ring and covered body all establish her sexual unavailability. In contrast with the previous portrait, however, this photograph seeks to balance the feminine with the unfeminine. The coquettish hat adorned with flowers carefully propped to facilitate a view of her styled hair suggests her concern for her outward appearance and beauty,[105] and yet her bulky traveling clothes do nothing to accentuate her figure. Significantly, these clothes ignore the goals of fashionable dress: to flatter the woman's body. "The hips, the outline of the figure, and even the legs were considered important components of physical beauty that fashion could emphasize," and yet Clara ignores every inkling of physical beauty in favor of physical mass and the complete masking of her body.[106] Rather than flattering her figure, her clothing choices detract from it, and the bulky fur-lined coat layered over her dress makes her body and arms appear much larger than they probably are. The frame itself cannot even contain her completely, and the right corner of her dress slips just outside of our view. Her physical vastness places her decisively in the domestic enclosure within which she poses, while her traveling clothing recognizes her ability to move freely outside of it.

The artist explains her faculty to move so easily between public and private spaces, by the exposure of her carefully posed hands. Her uncovered hands confuse us, especially because her other clothing insinuates that she will soon be braving the cold, outdoor weather. This intentional choice not only allows us access to her wedding band as previously mentioned, but also to the sheer largeness of her hands. Ungloved and framed by her large, oval, and fur-lined coat sleeves, the clothing demarcates her hands as something almost

[105] Steel, *Fashion and Eroticism*, 64.
[106] Ibid., 117.

exterior and separate—an effort again to remove aspects of her agency and ability. These parts of her body are present, but they do not negatively affect the rest of her fashionably domesticated body. Her hands do seem almost masculine in their appearance given their surprising size, and their gloveless appearance only accentuates this feature.

Figure 3.17

Photographic Portrait by H. Prothman, Königsberg, 1864
Porträt Clara Schumann
Robert-Schumann-Haus; Zwickau, Germany
Kat.-Nr. 99.91

Instead of ignoring her performing capabilities, this image seeks to reaffirm that Clara can perform unlike other women (and possibly like a man) because of her large hand size; yet, because they are loosely fisted and unopened, the image only subtly emphasizes this point. Clara Schumann is not a technical virtuoso wishing to flaunt her assets—even if she did have extraordinary musical attributes. We can confirm her hand size (and the abilities

this size gave her) by again consulting her daughter and former student. Eugenie comments on the largeness of her mother's hands in her memoirs:

> They were supple and large—she played tenths from the wrist; the fingers tapered slightly; the thumb was beautifully curved, and the little finger, probably through early training, very little shorter than the third…When she grew older, her hand resembled Goethe's more and more, so that, seeing a case of his, people exclaimed, "That is Frau Schumann's hand!"[107]

De Lara also confirms that Clara had unusually large hands, which gave her a greater pianistic facility. "I remember, too, her large, well-shaped hands, which could run up a scale in tenths as those of other pianists can play in octaves."[108] By modestly calling attention to her hands, the image hopes to balance between her continued and successful entrance into public spaces and her omnipresence in the private sphere.

While Figure 3.17 seeks to reaffirm the diverse nature of her career, Figure 3.18 was created for Clara's children in 1878.

> Went to see Lenbach, who wants to paint me—the children are so anxious to have a good portrait of me, and Lenbach is a genius and has a wonderful power of catching likeness…A remarkable first sitting, nothing but being "on view" without canvas or palette—it was very funny. He wanted to study my face before beginning. He thinks he will want only one day for the picture, either it will succeed at once, or not at all. I am very curious about it. I cannot get over the fact that I am really allowing myself to be painted in my old age. I certainly would not do it for my own satisfaction—what do I care for my old face?—but I am glad for the children's sake."[109]

At age 59, Clara wears a black dress, and she covers the back of her head with black lace. The large and impressionistic strokes of this portrait hinder our ability to make out any coherent body shape, and yet by using this technique, Lenbach focuses all of our attention onto her face. Even though we can see parts of her body (whereas in Figure 3.17 we could not) this image proves that even if it had been present, it would have remained shapeless and

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[107] Schumann, *The Schumanns and Johannes Brahms*, 91-92.
[108] De Lara, "Clara Schumann's Teaching," 144.
[109] Litzmann, *Clara Schumann,* II: 337.

secondary. The area near her left breast becomes transparent, and the artist fails to fully complete her black dress. The detail Lenbach affords Clara's face, which looks directly at us with world-weary eyes, further establishes the performer as perpetually melancholy and emotionally distinct. Although her smooth forehead has no wrinkles to speak of, her left eye seems to brim with tears, and a shadow encompasses the left side of her face.

Figure 3.18

Pastel Drawing by Franz von Lenbach, Munich 1878
Clara Schumann, Brüstbild
Robert-Schumann-Haus; Zwickau, Germany
Kat. Nr. 10095-B2

It seems as if we have come full circle, since this characterization harkens back to the Duke of Weimar's comments in 1832. This perpetual propensity toward emotional instability is somewhat confusing. Why is Clara consistently discussed this way throughout her life, and why is this quality eventually documented so pointedly in this late portrait (and

one that was commissioned by her children)? Importantly, Lenbach chooses to only *fill* one eye with tears, rather than showing her with tears streaming down her face; this artistic choice implies that even as a storm overtakes her (the slowly encroaching shadow), Clara can control her emotions. She has not, as we might want to conclude, fallen into a state of female hysteria. If this were the case, it would have been impossible for her to enter the public sphere so continually. Somehow, Clara can withstand the storm and "frowningly survey [her] kingdom."

> It is the straight, serious, magisterial male that Lavater has defined as "the earth's lord" who frowningly surveys and observes his kingdom. It is the male who "stands erect" as the storm bursts around him. The typical and ideal "Woman trembles at the lightning, and the voice of distant thunder; and shrinks into herself, or sinks into the arms of man." [110]

Although it would have been impossible for Clara to be considered a *true* genius within the nineteenth-century definition of the term, her constant propensity for melancholy, and her ability to channel her hysteria correctly into her performances and artistic gestures, situates her surprisingly close to a "surrogate *male*" self.[111]

> The genius was a male—full of "virile" energy—who *transcended* his biology: if the male genius was "feminine" this merely proved his cultural superiority. Creativity was displaced *male* procreativity: male sexuality made sublime. Females, however, were represented either as lacking sexual drive, or as incapable of resisting their sexuality. The creative woman was an anomaly that simply introduced complications into the patterns of exclusion. A woman who created was faced with a double bind: either to surrender her sexuality (becoming not *masculine*, but a surrogate *male*), or to be *feminine* and *female*, and hence to fail to count as a genius.[112]

We have teetered awfully near to this classification throughout these analyses, and yet it is in her widowhood that Clara finally gets closest to this characterization. This final portrait gives an image of the aged performer to her children, and to us. What Lenbach wants us to

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[110] Battersby, *Gender and Genius*, 96. Although Lavater wrote in the late eighteenth century, his impact reverberated throughout the nineteenth century.

[111] Chua, *Absolute Music*, 138: "In this kind of logic, there can only be men of genius because only geniuses were sublime. Women were simply excluded—naturally."

[112] Battersby, *Gender and Genius*, 3.

remember is that the performer comes incredibly similar to her masculine counterparts. Even though her femininity often overtook her visual portrayals, her inner suffering (or disease) was ever present and (critically) always controlled.

Ultimately, these images show us two crucial aspects of Clara's career: how her changes in programming—from highly virtuosic to highly romantic works—and her male relationships, while validating her public performances, presumed authority over her musical expression. She often appeared properly domesticated and controlled, and yet artists often gave special attention to her hands in effort to subtly separate her from "normal" women. Eventually, this disconnection between Clara and other women resulted from one of the most important aspects of her musical career—her interpretive capabilities. Her denial of her feminine self in these musical performances manifests itself in the visual through the emphasis on an overwhelming inner spirit estranged from her physical body. Portraiture seems to work differently for Clara than for other women: it becomes intent on trying to equally reveal to us both her physical and emotional selves. Her youthful performances predetermined the shape her career ultimately took, as the critics, writers, and artists repeatedly pushed towards positioning Clara as a musical "genius" with an inner comprehension of music. This characterization followed her throughout her life, and became an important way audiences understood, heard, and *saw* her performing techniques and choices. The visual becomes a particularly important way of assuring the social public of both her "safe" femininity and her reasons for performing.

Chapter Four

Constructing a Bourgeois Model

Themes in the Reviews of Clara Schumann

Now, my dear Robert, would you kindly put in the journal that I (and Mr. Holzmiller, too) had the honor of playing at the grand duchess's in the presence of her majesty the Czarina of Russia, Princess Wilhelmina of Prussia, that on the following day of the grand duchess invited me again to play for the immediate family (Holzmiller was not there), that the grand duchess presented me with a beautiful, expensive present in recognition of my talent and invited me to come back soon, or any way you see fit. Can you manage to get the *Preussische Staatszeitung* to print that, too? It matters a lot to me because Father thinks I can't do anything without him. Send me the page it's on. I may seem quite vain to you, but you'll forgive me for a little vanity; I want to be sure that the people remember me after such a long time.[1]

~Clara Wieck, August 13, 1840

Given the increasing reality of publicly performing female pianists during the nineteenth century, critics had to come to terms with, or create the terms for, these artists. Despite the presence of successful women players in the first decades of the century, Ellis notes that an observable change in Parisian critical writing did not happen until the middle of the century.[2]

> Male critics were forced into uncharted territory in which they had to develop critical rhetorics with which to evaluate the increasing numbers of professional female pianists participating in all the public arenas of Parisian concert life. Because of their status as interpreters primarily, rather than composers, women pianists not only challenged traditional ideas about the meaning of pianistic virtuosity, but were also central to the development of the keyboard repertory toward chronological and stylistic range on the one hand and historical specialization on the other. Compared with most of their male colleagues, however, women were at a disadvantage; they became caught in a web of conflicting ideas concerning the relative value of particular keyboard repertories that were themselves gendered, either explicitly or implicitly. Aside from the question of repertory, criticism of the period was

[1] Schumann, *The Complete Correspondence*, III: 233.

[2] Ellis, "Female Pianists," 355. Ellis argues, "Despite Clara Schumann's visits to Paris in 1832 and 1839…and the burgeoning of Marie Pleyel's career during the same period, the series of events that made pianism a credible vehicle occurred only in 1844-45: a sudden rise in concerto and recital performances by talented women, and Pleyel's return to Paris as an international soloist."

> saturated with problematic notions of the use of the body, feminine attitudes (or otherwise) at the keyboard, and appropriate levels of acting in performance. It was a disquieted male gaze that beheld women's public display of that most appropriate female domestic accomplishment: playing the piano.[3]

This "disquieted male gaze" approached women performers with a variety of rhetorical strategies. Accordingly, Ellis examines how women performers challenged the entrenched language of musical critics, and how these writers coped with the inevitable problems of public femininity and spectacle of the female body. The focus on the feminine, or lack thereof, in the reviews of Clara Schumann helps us further understand how this most obvious characteristic came into play (or was ignored) by critics, and therefore, how her femaleness reverberated throughout the entire gamut of critical discourse.

The reviews of Clara Wieck Schumann, while obviously extraordinarily varied, do contain instances of consistency and regularity.[4] One of the most central (and most confusing) themes reiterated the needlessness of critical reviews or any real analytical discussion of Clara's career. Beginning as early as 1839,[5] an excerpt from the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* published December 3 argues that the young performer had already gained significant exposure and was, in turn, internationally recognized and supported. Following a performance in Berlin, this writer states:

> Die vollendete Beherrschung des Instruments versteht sich bei einer Virtuosin wie Clara Wieck schon von selbst; über ihren reizenden Vortrag, den eigenthümlich-schönen Geist ihres Spiels will ich nicht wiederholen, was die Welt schon anerkannt hat.
>
> The complete control over the instrument by a virtuoso such as Clara Wieck goes without saying; of her charming performance, I do not want to repeat what the world has already recognized, the peculiarly-beautiful spirit of her playing.[6]

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[3] Ibid.

[4] I have limited my review selections to three cities Clara performed in the most frequently: Berlin, Vienna, and Leipzig.

[5] Again, I would like to note that my source material is primarily limited to music journals, which creates substantial limitations on these analyses.

[6] *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 11/45 (3 December 1839), 179-180.

Another review written December 21, considering an 1841 Leipzig performance, takes a very similar position.

> Es wird wohl Niemanden aufällig erscheinen, wenn ich wider Gewohnheit nur die Facta des heutigen Concertes berichte, da ein kritisches Referat, ob lobend oder tadelnd, stets Mißdeutungen unterliegen würde; zudem ist das Urtheil über Mad. Clara Schumann wenigstens in der musikalischen Welt längst festgestellt, und hat nicht mehr auf den Schluß kritischer Controversen zu warten.
>
> Perhaps it will not appear noticeable to anybody when, against habit I report only the facts of today's concert, because a critical report, whether laudatory or reprehensive, would always be subject to misinterpretations; furthermore, the judgment regarding Mad. Clara Schumann, at least in the musical world, is long established and has to wait no more on the conclusion of critical commentary.[7]

Both passages place the purpose of the musical review moot in regards to Clara's career; they argue that critical commentary is unnecessary, redundant, and potentially damaging. More specifically, these stances contend that she had long ago established an international career in the musical community, while simultaneously reiterating Clara's longevity, established reputation, and the unproductive nature of any real evaluation of her performances. Whether writers draw attention to her international fame, overwhelmingly welcoming audiences, or unrivalled artistry alongside all other performers, this kind of review seeks to validate Clara as an established and undisputable musical *tour de force*.

The insistence that critics had long ago exhausted any real examination of Clara's career suggests that there might be something *preventing* dialogue. What was the story of Clara Wieck's early career that the critics could not write? What was it that the world over could validate and understand, but could not (or need not) be recorded? What aspects of Clara's early performances muted and silenced later criticism? How would these early career attributes reverberate throughout her career? A hypothetical account, circa 1833, attempts to give voice to qualities that critics most ardently avoided:

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[7] *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 15/50 (21 December 1841), 198-199.

> Always closely escorted by her managerial father, Friedrich Wieck, Clara performed several selections with perfect technical proficiency. Under the vigilant eye of Hr. Wieck, this young performer is developing into a shining talent. It is quite surprising that with her young age, petite body type, and immature self she is able to complete such accomplishments. Watching this young girl perform creates a range of reactions in her listener, especially given the difficult virtuosic and physical feats she accomplishes through her playing. The repertory itself comes secondary to Clara's performance, as she captivates her listener in ways only a young girl could. For that matter, it is impossible not to be aware of her technical and interpretive abilities, given the unsolicited reaction she provokes in her listeners. Her unnatural wisdom takes us aback, and yet we cannot ignore her musical presence. Her interpretive ability, coupled with her deep-set eyes, blossoming physique, slender waist, and perfectly styled hair, are obviously desired by men and envied by women. How could this young girl have so completely and successfully captured the musical stage the world over?

Writing a fictional account of what Clara's critics *would* have narrated if they *could* have is obviously an impossible exercise, even as I incorporate language of her physical presences that resonates with those tropes outlined in Chapter Three. Nonetheless, my fictional "review" centers on speaking the words that were rarely publicly acknowledged. Most obviously, this endeavor points out the attractive aspects of her body, her complicated relationship with her father, her physical technique, obvious sexual availability, and how she affected her listeners in decidedly musical and non-musical ways. Given that I *can* make these statements, my "review" gives voice to one of the most possible points of contention: Clara's physical self. Although her unnatural maturity could have been positioned in a positive way, her body was, and would always be, inevitably problematic. Specifically, Clara's sexual childishness and inexperience might have created unwanted and problematic sexual reactions in her listeners.

While listeners' confused comprehension of her musical development possibly influenced her career, this reaction was inevitably coupled with her status as a child prodigy. The novelty of a young performer cannot be denied, but the potential for sexual infatuation with a young female performer could (most certainly) never be vocalized or discussed in a critical forum. Importantly, the uncomfortable nature of very young performers would have

affected all of Clara's early performances, thereby creating an inherently difficult task for the critic. As Carolyn Abbate has argued:

> Perhaps we are disturbed by the spectacle of adult thought perfectly reproduced by the small laborer, who, we assume, cannot experience the emotions he or she mimics…Prodigies make us uncomfortable, and we tend to wish that they would die or grow up…By their unalloyed resemblance to puppets, these children suggest the illusory quality of our own autonomy.[8]

The impression of emotional maturity is, according to this author, deceptive; in this fraud we are disillusioned to think of the child in unnatural and adult-like ways. In this particular case, to articulate the effect a young girl had on her listeners would have been fraught with this trickery and, therefore, plagued by dangerous commentary. Ultimately, this *Wunderkind seemed* emotionally mature, which could trap her listeners into desiring her.

Not only might Clara create controversial, sexual reactions in her listeners through her adult-like expression, but there was also the possibility that she would, quite literally, never develop her most important assets. While Clara was consistently praised as a diligent student of her instrument, this dedication could have adverse affect on her physical maturity. As late as 1872, Thedor von Bischoff, a professor at the University of Munich, still argued that educational study could stunt pubescent development of girls. According to Albisetti:

> In [Bischoff's] view, scientific research had shown not only that women were physically weaker on the average than men but that their "entire organization had reached a less advanced state of evolution."…He warned that young girls who studied hard during their years of puberty would probably suffer "deep and permanent injury" to their reproductive systems.[9]

Consequently, the desire for Clara was inevitably burdened by the possibility that she would ruin or undermine her marriageable assets long before she was ever able to make the commitment.

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[8] Carolyn Abbate, "Outside Ravel's Tomb," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52 (Autumn 1999), 480-481.

[9] Albisetti, *Schooling German Girls and Women*, 126.

What critics could *not* say, therefore, possibly invaded all of Clara's criticism. Her early career, and the lack of critical discourse surrounding the problematic nature of her body (that prompted socially unacceptable sexual responses in her listeners), created the framework for other critical writings and dialogue. Most obviously, sexualized images of Clara rarely infiltrate her analytical commentary. This denial of her sexualized feminine self potentially freed critics from having to consistently revisit this trope; seeming to ignore this problem at the beginning of Clara's career, critics could challenge its very existence. While her "female problem" was of course obvious, by disavowing its presence and the problems associated with femininity at the early stages of her career—especially during (or directly following) a time when she was sexually developing and available—critics sought to destabilize and essentially overlook its dangerous presence. Ergo, the characteristics and qualities reviews *do* highlight give us insights into the methods writers *did* employ to fold Clara into the realm of acceptability. Here, I am focusing on several themes that cannot be separated from Clara's femininity, but that lurk outside of this immediate scope. Whether reviewers focus on her work ethic, nationalistic associations, or supernatural experiences, each theme falls under the larger umbrella of situating this female performer as an acceptable, and often model, bourgeois member. Her performances are positioned in the safe locus of upper middle class morality, so her listeners are not only protected from her feminine wiles when exposed to her musicality, but they are also affected in ways that positively enhance *their* individual development and cultivation.

The Ideal of Economic Progress

In *Cultivating Music* Gramit argues that for the German bourgeoisie, the public concert became an ideological arena for advocating and (potentially) achieving the goals of social development. Within this setting, as outlined in Chapter Two, many factors determined the success of the event's musical and social hopes. For Gramit, several types of

relationships reveal themselves within the frame of the performance ritual, and an examination of these interactions possibly speaks to the aspirations of the bourgeois ideal.

> The processes of defining boundaries and establishing hierarchies, of advocacy and exclusion, that we have seen in more peripheral areas of musical culture were equally active at its center….For the formal concert too can be viewed as the locus of both overt and covert human relationships—overt ones between members of the audience, between the audience and performers, among performers, and even between people who participate in the concert and people who do not, and covert ones represented as relationships to works or among works themselves.[10]

Ultimately, the dynamics between the performers, and the performers and the audience, create an interesting kind of communicative network. How these relationships are negotiated and understood helps the historian to parcel the dynamic of the public concert; furthermore, these connections potentially comment on the public personalities of the musicians, and how the audience perceived their performances.

Clara Schumann frequently collaborated with other performers, and many reviews discuss how she interacted with or compared to these musicians. While I previously argued in Chapter Three that the following image, Figure 4.1, held signifiers pointing to Clara's serious programmatic choices and constant micro-management by a masculine authority, I would like to reexamine the drawing here, with an eye to considering how visual signifiers characterize partnership. Most significantly, this image seems to create a connection between the performers that illuminates a bourgeois economic ideal; with technological progress and capitalistic mores rapidly expanding throughout the lands (most ardently by the upper middle classes), this portrayal would help further envelop Clara into the larger bourgeois value-systems. As I reasoned earlier, von Menzel positions Clara as a referent to her male counterpart, Joachim: her body aligns with his violin bow, and her interaction with him would be physically awkward should she have needed to turn in his direction. These

[10] Gramit, *Cultivating Music*, 126-127.

artistic choices, however, could also imply that Clara is both musically and physically aligned with Joachim. The artist perhaps insinuates that the pianist has no need to turn in his direction—she can anticipate and intuit the violinist's musical decisions without a specific visual indicator. Similarly, Joachim's eyes move towards the left, away from Clara and her instrument, and instead focus outside of the frame. It seems neither performer is overtly concerned with the other's abilities; simply put, both demonstrate a sense of certainty and assurance in the way they interact with each other.

Figure 4.1

Pastel on Paper by Adolph von Menzel, December 20, 1854
Clara Schumann and Joseph Joachim in Berlin
Museum Folkwang; Essen, Germany

Von Menzel undermines our confirmation of Clara's technique (by blocking our view of her hands with the piano), and instead, he brings attention to the instrument on

which she performs—and on the space in which she interacts with the piano. The artist has chosen an angle that shows the large side of the piano, rather than her performing hands, and goes further to accentuate this separation, as the pianist is isolated from the violinist by the imaginary border extending from the top of the chair back, Clara's back, and candelabra. This division might not even exist, however, given that Joachim's bow parallels this boundary, and while his bow creates the barrier, it simultaneously occupies Clara's space. Conversely, the angle von Menzel has chosen allows Joachim's left hand partially to obstruct our view of his instrument. So, just as the artist's viewpoint has undermined our access to one performer's hands by an impeding instrument, so too has this viewpoint privileged the other performer's hands by hindering our full view to the other instrument. This symbolic connection between the musicians continues in the framing of both the instruments and artists. Just as Clara and Joachim are "disembodied," so too are the instruments themselves.

Whereas I have already suggested that the performer's disembodiment could serve as a metaphor for the "otherworldly" nature of the music itself, this artistic choice also seems to accentuate important parallels between the performers and that on which they perform. Perceptibly, the artist frames the performers in the same manner as he does the piano and violin. This analogy, therefore, could signify a close connection between the players and instruments, as all elements become intertwined within one another and work together to create an ideal musical product. Rather than showing a clear hierarchy between a player and her "tools," there seems to be some effort at equalizing the apparent musical elements. This remains consistent in the observable labor of the players as well; the pianist leans into her instrument, and the violinist seems to be actively pushing his bow across the strings. The performers work not only together, but their interactions suggests they use their "tools" to the best of their advantage.

A review of a Berlin concert published in the *Neue Preußische Zeitung* on December 7, 1869 corroborates these cooperative possibilities.

> Frau Clara Schumann gab gestern unter Mitwirkung des Herrn Joachim ihr zweites Concert in der Singakademie. Das Zusammenspiel der beiden Virtuosen in Mozarts E-Moll und Beethovens A-dur-Sonate war musterhaft. Sie wetteiferten miteinander in der Sauberkeit und Klarheit der Ausführung und waren einig in der sich den Tonwerken anschmiegenden künstlerischen Auffassung.... Das Künstlerpaar wurde durch enthusiastischen Beifall geehrt und wiederholt hervorgerufen.
>
> Frau Schumann performed her second concert at the Singakademie yesterday with assistance from Herr Joachim. The collaboration of both virtuosos in Mozart's E-Minor and Beethoven's A-Major Sonata was exemplary. They competed with each other in the neatness and clarity of the execution and were one united artistically to the tone-work's concept. The artist-pair was venerated by enthusiastic applause and repeatedly called forth.[11]

Here, the author seems most interested in emphasizing the nature of the performing relationship between Clara and Joachim. Moreover, by coupling their cooperation with competition, this excerpt calls attention to the competitive dynamic inherent within another predominant, rapidly expanding economic system: capitalism. The division of labor within this system marked this structure as decidedly different than the preceding methods of production, especially given that all labor components served to promote one, final product. As Friedrich Engels famously theorized in the later nineteenth century, the modern industry conflated the work of all individuals for the good of "one single activity:"

> In a society [where the means of production control the producers] each new lever of production is necessarily transformed into a new means for the subjection of the producers to the means of production. This is most of all true of that lever of production which, prior to the introduction of modern industry, was by far the most powerful—the division of labour….In the division of labour, man is also divided. All other physical and mental faculties are sacrificed to the development of one single activity….The machinery of modern industry degrades the labourer from a machine to the mere appendage of a machine.[12]

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[11] *Neue Preußische Zeitung* (7 December 1869).

[12] Friedrich Engels, "On the Division of Labour in Production" in *The Marx-Engels Reader*, ed. Robert C. Tucker (New York W.W. Norton & Company, 1978), 719.

Theoretically, the bourgeois economic model of teamwork and market competition (grounded within capitalism) successfully created the best product possible; this process, however, generally falls under the regulatory structure of the means of production. In this case, we might position the artwork's artistic concept as that which controls and dictates the performers' interactions. If we extend this metaphor further, the value of the work itself grows through its repeated performance and consumption, and similarly, the stability and wealth of the capitalistic economy increases with efficient production. Thus, just as the owner of the capital benefits, so too does the musical piece itself profit from recurrent performances and eventual acceptance into the canon. In this analogy, the performers, their instruments, and their frequent performances all work together for the primary "profit" of the musical piece and composer, who "owns" or dictates their performances. This reading, where all elements come together under the management of a primary profitable goal, possibly gains currency when we consider the "order" necessary in a formal concert, which I have alluded to in Chapter Two.

> The ideal of the concert focused all attention on the works presented in it….Achieving that centrality, however, required that the elements that constituted the event and those who participated in it to be properly ordered. If that ordering is implicit in discussions of the concert repertoire, it is fundamental to considerations of the concert as an event.[13]

Accordingly, audiences could recognize the inherent order of the formal concert by considering the performers as highly functioning and interconnected elements all working together (in perfect efficiency) to present the work of art to the audience. Ultimately, we could interpret this hierarchy in a variety of ways, but by underscoring the success of the concert as a direct result of a productive and cooperative relationship, the reader seems expected to correlate the performers with an idealized, efficient, and observable work ethic

13 Gramit, *Cultivating Music*, 143.

that literally affected the value of the works of art and, subsequently, the influence of the concert.

A March 24, 1860 excerpt reviewing a Viennese concert offers more specific evidence of this possibility:

> Im ersten wurde von Frl. Julie v. Asten mit der Concertgeberin (Clara) die Sonate in D-dur für zwei Claviere von Mozart gespielt, ein Werk, welches nur selten im Concertsaal erscheint. Die beiden Damen brachten durch äußerst präcises Zusammenspiel und gleichartigen Anschlag das liebliche Stück auf's Beste zur Geltung, und erfreuten Alle, die sich noch für Mozart's Claviermusik interessiren.
>
> First, the Sonata in D-major for two pianos by Mozart was played with Frl. Julie von Asten and the concert-giver, a work, which only seldom appears in the concert-hall. Both women performed the lovely piece to its best advantage by exceedingly precise teamwork and similar touch and pleased all those who still continue to be interested in Mozart's piano music.[14]

Seimar Bagge's language places Mozart's piece as the most important aspect or goal of the review, primarily because the performers' efforts support the public's interest in his music. Yet, this achievement is successful only through "precise teamwork," which also facilitated their analogous "touch" on the piano. Given the tone of these descriptors, each of which could be easily associated with efficiency, accuracy, and perfect collaboration—all the components of a successfully mechanized bourgeois economic strategy—it seems fairly reasonable to correlate aspects of successful industrialization with their performance.

What I am trying to suggest is that by calling attention to these aspects of the performance, both images and reviews seem to promote a somewhat mechanized ideal. The performers "labor" together as they control and maneuver their instruments, all in order to achieve a coherent and effective rendering of the musical piece. Essentially, every part of the performance promotes a cohesive and efficient working environment, similar to a capitalistic machine par excellence. Accordingly, Clara's performances could potentially offer a view on

[14] Seimar Bagge, *Deutsche Musik-Zeitung* 1/13 (24 March 1860), 102.

how economic development gradually infiltrated all aspects of upper middle-class life, and how this class worked within this now capitalist framework. As Max Weber has theorized,

> For when asceticism was carried out of monastic cells into everyday life, and began to dominate worldly morality, it did its part in building the tremendous cosmos of the modern economic order. This order is now bound to the technical and economic conditions of machine production which today determine the lives of all the individuals who are born into this mechanism, not only those directly concerned with economic acquisition, with irresistible force.[15]

In Weber's thesis, all components of the social sphere become affected by the mechanized world, even those not immediately involved with capitalistic goals and economic achievement. Given the enormous influence that Germany's rapid economic expansion had on the country as whole, it makes sense that signifiers for the expanding economy, specifically those associated with the bourgeoisie, would make an appearance in many cultural and social outlets. As Sheehan has argued,

> No aspect of nineteenth-century German history is more important than the economic expansion that took place during the century's middle decades. Through a complex combination of physical resources and social institutions, Germans were able to develop the productive capacities of both industry and agriculture, assume the lead in a number of key industries, and later on, challenge Britain's economic hegemony. This economic growth touched every facet of life, from the conduct of war to the character of sexual relations, from the organization of the state to patterns of recreation, from what people believed to what they wore. The nature and rhythm of work changed with the spread of machines, the meaning of time and space was altered by new forms of communication, the length as well as the quality of life was affected by the availability of new commodities and modes of production.[16]

This association with a highly efficient musical "machine," per se, could not only confirm Clara's inclusion within the bourgeoisie (which she was simultaneously challenging through her public presence), but it could also further publicly elucidate her attachment to the growing social bourgeois ways of life. Her faculties to cooperate, surrender parts of herself,

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[15] Max Weber, "The Spirit of Capitalism and the Iron Cage" in *Social Theory: The Multicultural & Classic Readings*, ed. Charles Lemert (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993), 113.
[16] Sheehan, *German History*, 731-732.

and work diligently and professionally with other performers suggest that critics were attempting to highlight certain bourgeois qualities through her interactions with others, as well as draw attention to the *bürgerlich* message of these public events.

We can see further evidence of this negotiation in a January 14, 1865 review of a Berlin concert; here, the *Niederrheinische Musik Zeitung* explicitly stresses the necessity of uniformity between the performers.

> Das am Samstag den 7. Januar von Frau Clara Schumann und Herrn Stockhausen veranstaltete Concert hatte die Räume der Sing-Akademie bis auf den letzten Platz gefüllt. Eine seltene Gleichartigkeit das gesammten Wollens und Könnens, die innerste Verwandtschaft der künstlerischen Gesinnung und Richtung vereinigt die Beiden, die hier verbunden vor dem Publicum standen. In der technischen Unfehlbarkeit, wie in der stets dem Idealen zugewandten Auffassung und Behandlung, jener stilvollen Weise des Vortrages, die, frei von jedem Zufälligen und Subjectiven, mit treuer Beflissenheit sich nur in das Wesen der Sache versenkt, in allen diesen Beziehungen erscheinen die Pianistin und der Sänger einander durchaus ebenbürtig.
>
> The concert that took place on Saturday the 7th of January by Frau Schumann and Herr Stockhausen filled the spaces of the sing-academy to the last seat. A seldom equality of complete wants and abilities, the innermost connection of the artistic dispositions and direction unites both, who stood united before the audience. In technical infallibility, like the constant orientation towards the ideal in interpretation and attendance, the very stylish mode of performance, which is free of all coincidental and subjectivity, immerses itself with loyal keenness only into the being of the concern; in all of these connections the pianist and the singer together appear quite equally.[17]

This author highlights elements of artistic interior connection, and yet simultaneously draws attention to the performers' equalized abilities and approaches to the work of art. Even though this excerpt is obviously about a singer and accompanist, the reader does not receive tangible confirmation of the *kind* of relationship until the very last sentence confirms the presence of "the pianist and the singer." While audiences would have immediately recognized the names of Schumann and Stockhausen and obviously been aware of the

[17] *Niederrheinische Musik Zeitung* 8/2 (14 January 1865), 13-15.

pairing of piano and voice, up until the last moment, the writer seems intent upon establishing a connection between the two musicians that is highly organized and professional but not demarcated (or hierarchically controlled) by their respective instruments. This delay perhaps suggests that the writer was concerned with making sure his readers were foremost aware of the complete homogeneity and uniform ordering among the two performers.

Linking Clara's relationships with other performers to a perfectly running, independent, and interconnected structure could further align her with a bourgeois audience.[18] Given the constant desire to define the parameters of the bourgeois personality, the formal concert would have been one of the prime locations to highlight successful aspects of the bourgeois economic strategy.[19] Parakilas makes this point quite explicitly in his discussion of how industrialization and mass marketing affected piano production.

> Industrialization was more than a means of production; it was also a way of thinking systematically about scale, efficiency, organization, and control in any operation. Above all, it was an inclination to embrace many activities that had previously operated on their own into a single system, operating under a single roof, subject to a central control.[20]

By connecting Clara to one of the most obvious facets of bourgeois life—the drastically changing economic and industrial structure—reviews could further ensconce her within codes of bourgeois normalcy. Additionally, this placement shows the female performer as positively affecting this musical machine, if you will, in positive and principled ways.

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[18] Richard Leppert, "Cultural Contradiction, Idolatry," in *Piano Roles*, 252: "During the middle decades of the century throughout most of Western Europe, especially the industrial north, the economy and social fabric increasingly reflected bourgeois interest and control. At the same time, this newly triumphant middle class was self-consciously—and obsessively—working to define the parameters of its own identity on an ideology base defined by various conceptions of individuality."

[19] This assertion is certainly nothing new. Public concert houses have long been a site of the display for public wealth and to showcase, sometimes quite specifically, wealth, methods of social decorum, or social (and economical) status within society. See James Johnson's *Listening in Paris* or Melanie Lowe's *Pleasure and Meaning in the Classical Symphony* for examples of this phenomenon.

[20] James Parakilas, "Thinking Industrially," in *Piano Roles*, 182.

Although I am arguing that aspects of the economic were intentionally mapped onto performers, the problematic relationship between a performer's mechanization and the formal concert cannot be swept aside. Given the rejection of overly technical virtuosity, which I outlined in detail in Chapter Two, it seems somewhat counterproductive to now attempt to re-map these kinds of ideals onto the concert in order to reason that this technical presence produced a reputable, ideal work of art. The dangerous associations with the lower classes, grounded in working-class overtones, have been well documented, and yet reviewers are choosing to discuss Clara's performances in terms that potentially draw attention to symbols of economic change. Here, this conclusion possibly further bolsters the controversial nature of the nineteenth-century performer and, more pointedly, that the

> virtuoso anchored a broad range of paradoxical, often contradictory meanings…These polarities not only define people's obsessive fascination with the virtuoso in the nineteenth century but also mark the virtuoso at the epicenter of the cultural and social issues that characterize modernity itself.[21]

Essentially, symbols of modernity were constantly in flux and could be linked with performers in a variety of different, and often contradictory, means. These insinuations, therefore, could foster a glamorization of capitalism and the economic successes of the bourgeoisie, and they could just as easily undermine and problematize it. Signifiers associated with the work ethic of performers could be aggrandized as important symbols of this growing bourgeois work ethic.

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[21] Leppert, "Cultural Contradiction, Idolatry," in *Piano Roles*, 281. Wolfgang Kaschuba hints as the notion of bourgeois variability as well: "Bürgerlichkeit, understood as a socially determined but culturally formed habitus, was a cultural model, multi-layered and variable, but in its basic principles a binding cultural model that contained the decisive elements of social identity within itself. It mediated bourgeois self-understanding and consciousness, defined through the use of material goods, the acceptance of ideal values, the adherence to certain cultural patterns of conduct, all of which, taken together, constituted a complete Lebenswelt. It embodied the second nature of the bourgeois, habitualised the appropriate norms and forms, and established for 'culture' a dual function: as identity model and as means of distinction." Wolfgang Kaschuba, "German Bügerlichkeit after 1800," in *Bourgeois Society in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Jürgen Kocka and Allan Mitchell (Oxford: Berg Publishers Limited, 1993), 399.

While this trend might be most obvious in Clara's performing relationship, there are also instances where as an individual, she is positioned firmly within a now industrialized sector. In a December 9, 1863 review of a Leipzig concert, the author attempts to place her alongside clear economic symbols:

> Der Besuch der Frau Clara Schumann ist für jede Stadt Deutschlands, wo man sie einmal schätzen gelernt hat, ein musikalisches Fest, um so mehr für Leipzig, wo sich an ihr Erscheinen so vielfache Erinnerungen einer früheren Zeit knüpfen; sagen wir auch: einer—schöneren Zeit; denn das Zusammentreffen und Wirken verschiedenartiger wirklich bedeutender künstlerischer Persönlichkeiten, das ist es doch, was einer Stadt wahren Reiz und frisches Leben verleiht. Doch zurück zu Frau Schumann! Wir sagten, ihr Erscheinen bereite immer ein musikalisches Fest. Dabei vergessen wir nicht etwa, was in Büchern und Zeitungen gegen sie und ihre Spiel, zum Theil in recht hämischer Weise, vorgebracht wurde; auch wollen wir nicht gesagt haben, dass ihr Spiel immer tadellos und frei sei von Schattenseiten. Dennoch betonen wir mit vollem Bewusstsein das Festliche ihrer Erscheinung.
>
> For every city in Germany where one has learned to appreciate her, the visit of Frau Clara Schumann is a musical celebration, all the more so for Leipzig, where her appearance is attached so often to memories of an earlier time; we also say: a more beautiful time; that the meeting and activities of really diverse important artistic personalities, that it is, however, that bestows to preserve charm and fresh life on a city. But back to Frau Schumann! We stated her ready arrival always causes a musical celebration. Although, we do not forget for instance, what books and newspapers have brought forward against her and her playing, in part in a pretty malicious way; also we want not to have said that her playing would be always flawless and free of mistakes. Neverthless, we emphasize with full consciousness the celebration of her appearance.[22]

This passage, while calling attention to the celebration Clara incites, also quite overtly emphasizes her presence in books and newspapers. Essentially, her *bürgerlich* character was being displayed and discussed in a public and highly industrialized forum. Moreover, the writer explicitly invokes how modernity has altered the world, by claiming "her appearance is attached so often to memories of an earlier time." Bagge's argument is directly preceded by a brief mention of her ability to travel to many cities. This review's language points to a Germany that has drastically changed, and while the author could be referencing a host of

[22] Seimar Bagge, *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 1/ 50 (9 December 1863), 849-50.

differences, he nonetheless connects Clara to several explicit industrialized metaphors. Just as newspapers and books would allow the bourgeois members to remain informed and updated on the latest events and public issues, so too did these sources facilitate the *Bürgerlichkeit* necessity for obvious and apparent consumption of German cultural symbols.[23] For that matter, issues of travel and visiting permitted the bourgeoisie not only to showcase their advanced technology, but also to facilitate cultural education. A multi-faceted symbol of modernity and Utopia, the railway dramatically transformed the codes of public life, as Wolfgang Schivelbusch outlines in his introduction to *The Railway Journey*:

> Nothing else in the nineteenth century seemed as vivid and dramatic a sign of modernity as the railroad. Scientists and statesmen joined capitalists in promoting the locomotive as the engine of 'progress', a promise of imminent Utopia….Once it appeared, the machine seemed unrelenting in its advancing dominion over the landscape-in the way it 'lapped the miles', in Emily Dickinson's words—and in little over a generation it had introduced a new system of behavior: not only of travel and communication but of thought, of feeling, of expectation. Neither the general fear of the mechanical and the specific frights of accident and injury, nor the social fear of boundless economic power entirely effaced the Utopian promise implicit in the establishment of *speed* as a new principle of public life.[24]

Furthermore, the icon of travel sat at the locus of Germany's industrial movement, given that alongside textiles, the steel and coal industry remained one of the strongest emblems of German commerce and engineering.

> Iron and steel made possible the rapid growth of the metallurgical and engineering sectors, and they in turn provided the heavy goods that were characteristic of this phase of industrialization: pressed steel and metal pipes, boilers and factory machines. At the centre of everything was the railway, an insatiable consumer of coal, steel track and the locomotive now turned out in their thousands by manufactures like Borsig in Berlin….Not only coal, steel and engineering, but other branches that ranged from carriage-making, wood and upholstery to quarrying and glass were beneficiaries.[25]

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[23] Several sources expound on this concept quite elaborately. See Blackbourn's *History of Germany 1780-1918* and Kocka and Mitchell's *Bourgeois Society in Nineteenth-Century Europe.*

[24] Wolfgang Schievelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1986), xiii.

[25] Blackbourn, *History of Germany 1780-1918*, 137.

In publicly acknowledging Clara's ability to travel across Germany—or to those cities who have had the opportunity to appreciate her artistry—Bagge capably connects her to one of the most important symbols: a now mechanized society.

By emphasizing values of cooperation, modernity, and progress, the bourgeoisie could not only distinguish itself from the upper and lower classes, but simultaneously attempt to promote its place within the social order as an agent of universal change.[26] Essentially, elements of bourgeois leadership could, and would, enter many aspects of social life, and at the heart of this promotion of economic ideals sat the inevitable consequences these principles would have on other social categories. More specifically, Geoff Ely argues that German bourgeois ideals eventually came to be seen as a model for other classes:

> The underlying principles of bourgeois life—economic, social, moral—were publicly acted out and consciously institutionalized into a model for other classes, particularly the petty bourgeoisie and the working class, who became the objects of philanthropic support and cultural edification.[27]

This claim of social leadership and primacy was often grounded in the potentially difficult goals of universality,[28] and the German bourgeoisie's ability to integrate their objectives

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[26] Jürgen Kocka, "The Middle Classes in Europe," in *The European Way: European Societies during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Hartmut Kaelble (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004), 29. Kocka, although giving a general overview for the European bourgeoisie, offers a succinct and informative understanding of some important middle-class characteristics. "Membership in voluntary associations—based on an emerging common culture and centred on family and work—ideas of progress and a strict moral code, education and sometimes religion held these middle-class groups together. This culture implied a postaristocatic, modern vision of life, frequently advocated with outright criticism of the old order and the aristocracy. Out of this culture the programmes of liberalism grew and were translated into different demands and campaigns in local, regional, and national politics….The middle class was on the rise, and its main challenge was against what had survived of the old order of privilege and autocracy."

[27] Geoff Eley, "Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures: Placing Habermas in the Nineteenth Century," in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999), 298.

[28] Blackbourn, *History of Germany*, 203-204. "Like the market system, legal codes, voluntary associations, the subscription concert hall, and the public zoo were not exclusively founded, operated, supported, and patronized by sociologically copper-bottomed bourgeois. That was precisely the point. It had been the hallmark of the corporate state and society that the different estates had different, prescribed forms of material expenditure, sociability, and edification. The law, in turn, underwrote this state of affairs. The point of bourgeois society was that such prescriptions and proscriptions fell, to be replaced by the formally non-prescriptive disciplines of the market."

naturally and organically into the social, economic, and moral fabric.[29] Within this system, then, the public concert could more effectively—and covertly—perpetuate the bourgeois value system throughout society. Wolfgang Kaschuba reiterates this point.

> In terms of bourgeois self-conception, the promotion and spread of one's own values and norms of conduct throughout the rest of society was a central function of the culture. As a style of life and code of conduct, bourgeois culture claimed universal social validity for itself. It saw itself as a point of reference for all other social groups. It developed not on the basis of its own inner continuity and exclusivity, but exhibited its greatest vitality in its dialogue with other group cultures and in the constant change and exchange that this involved.[30]

These "models" existed in concert society because of the elevation of the musical—in other words, the music needed a performer that could match its cultivated nature. As evidence of this necessity, the relationship between the performer and the audience came to be gradually redefined throughout the course of the century.

> As the concert developed its identity (at least in the ideology of the advocates of serious musical culture) as a site of performance by musicians before a public from which they were clearly differentiated, the model of interaction of the concert's participants took on new significance as well.[31]

In conclusion, we see this cooperative ideal, grounded in modernization and coupled with the importance of the performer-as-model, in a review from March 27, 1847 in the *Berliner Musikalische Zeitung*, evaluating a Berlin performance.

> Den 22. Zweites Concert der Frau Clara Schumann, geb. Wieck, im Saale der Sing-Akademie. Die Concertgeberin trug mit dem Concertmeister Hrn. Ries und den Kammermusikern Herren Ronneburger, Richter und Griebel das schon in ihrem ersten Concerte ausgeführte und bei dieser Gelegenheit besprochene Quintett von Rob. Schumann vor, ausserdem die grosse F-moll-Sonatae von Beethoven, Carpriccio in E-dur von Mendelssohn und Reminiscences aus "Lucia" von Liszt. Unser Urtheil über ihr Spiel fand neue Bestätigung. Frau Clara Schumann nimmt einen hohen Rang unter den Virtuosen ein und dürfte manchem Manne durch ihr gediegenes, ungekränkeltes, männlichest Spiel als Vorbild dienen. Im reinen Einklang mit ihrer Künstlerschaft steht immer ihr Concertprogramm.

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[29] Ibid., 204-205.

[30] Kaschuba, "German Bügerlichkeit after 1800," 397-398.

[31] Gramit, *Cultivating Music*, 155.

> Frau Clara Schumann, born Wieck, performed her second concert in the Hall of the Sing-Akademie on the 22nd. The performer performed with the Concert-master Hrn. Reis and the chamber-musicians Herr Ronneburger, Richter, and Griebel, the Quintett by Robert Schumann—already performed in their first concert and reviewed at that time—in addition [to] the large F-minor Sonata by Beethoven, Capriccio in E-minor by Mendelssohn, and Reminiscences from "Lucia" by Liszt. Our judgment about her playing found new affirmation. Frau Clara Schumann captures a high rank among the virtuosos and [this] has allowed her to serve as a role model to many a male through her tasteful, inoffensive, highly masculine playing. Her concert programming always stays in a pure line with her artistry. [32]

By beginning this brief review with an act of negotiation between the many [male] performers and the concert master, the writer seems most intent on characterizing Clara's self as secondary; she can compromise and peform with a wide range of players, and in so doing, she gives up some of herself to become part of the (more important) comprehensive musical machine. The performer-as-model, which the reviewer explicitly invokes, speaks quite directly to the goals of universality and cultivation. Concurrently, Clara's work ethic, which has allowed her to "capture a high rank among the virtuosos," has allowed her to not only become a "model" to "many a male," but her cooperation affords a kind of playing that is "highly masculine," "inoffensive," and of "good-quality"—all characteristics associated not only with the serious-music concert, but explicitly with aspects of the bourgeois public personality.

A Warrior of the Collective

Historians have long documented the prevalence of violent themes and heroic actions in the playing of Franz Liszt. This dynamic performer is characterized in a variety of ways, but reviewers repeatedly call attention to his militaristic, aggressive, dominant, and hyper-masculine virtuosic feats. Drawing upon Gay's *The Cultivation of Hatred*, Gooley describes Liszt's virtuosity as

[32] C. Schr. *Berliner Musikalische Zeitung* 7/2 (27 March 1847), 6-7.

> possess[ing] a raw physicality—violent, dominating gestures into the keys, and a drama playing out in the heroic conquering of a resisting force (figured variously as sound, instrument, or orchestra)…But traces of violence pervade written evocations of Liszt's playing—praised by his fans, lamented by his opponents—and military prowess was one of its leading metaphorical expressions. Liszt's audiences applauded him in the belief, supported by the alibi of art, that this civilized them, while in fact they were applauding those very aggressive impulses against which civilization poses itself.[33]

While Gooley does a fine job of succinctly summarizing the argument of cultivating hatred, Gay's more specific trajectory in this volume of *The Bourgeois Experience* reasons that:

> The nineteenth century understood intuitively, decades before Freud proposed theoretical formulations to account for it, that while culture must police aggression no less energetically than sexuality, there are territories in which the writ for emphatic self-assertion runs without challenge, to general applause. But the proper place and the proper boundaries for aggression remained problematic all through the ages. Many Victorian bourgeoisie, in many situations, took specific forms of aggressive expression as a hard-won privilege to be cheerfully enjoyed; more of them, more of the time, perceived such forms as an acute danger to be anxiously warded off. In an age of drastic upheaval in virtually every dimension of life from finance to transport, morals to politics, art to architecture, the problem of aggression proved just another, if critically important, ground for confusions, hesitations—and controversies. [34]

Overall, this line of reasoning rests on issues of individual cultivation—particularly the elevation of the masculine—within the upper middle classes, and the roles militaristic concepts and violence played within this structure. Like many other elements of society, aggression itself came to be civilized and cultivated, and the bourgeois male was the ultimate target for this enriching "education."[35] Gooley maintains that Liszt was so often associated with violence because of three main overarching aspects of his performances that

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[33] Dana Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 116.

[34] Peter Gay, *The Cultivation of Hatred: The Bourgeois Experience from Victoria to Freud* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1993), III: 5.

[35] Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, ed. Eric Dunning, Johan Goudsblom and Stephen Mennell, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1994), 161-162. "[Aggression] is confined and tamed by innumerable rules and prohibitions that have become self-constraints. It is as much transformed, 'refined,' 'civilized,' as all the other forms of pleasure, and it is only in dreams or in isolated outbursts that we account for as pathological that something of its immediate and unregulated force appears."

"communicated violence:" his "merciless" attacks on the "piano-as-object;" his frequent convulsing and overly physical performances in efforts to dominate and control the "resisting enemy" of the instrument; and his combative relationship with the orchestra, which then placed him firmly within the "broader cultural practice of celebrating conquering heroes" to reinforce the moral fabric of bourgeois society.[36]

Clara, on the other hand, while rarely enacting the virtual violence, seems to instead the benefits instead—the proof of the battle, thus, appears foremost evident in the final, often victorious, result. There is no marked struggle, as such, but she is consistently positioned by writers as having won, celebrated a victory, and completed a heroic feat. Rarely does anything in reviews of her performance even remotely compare to the kinds of violence relayed in the reviews of Liszt. This careful negotiation—being positioned as the victorious warrior who never actually *sees* the battle—releases her from any overt masculinity and instead, firmly places her as the benefactor of this violence and honor.

We see suggestions of this possibility first hand in a brief report reviewing a concert in Leipzig, published December 17, 1859.

> Frau Clara Schumann gab, nachdem sie schon im siebenten Gewandhaus-Conzert grossen Triumph gefeiert hatte, am 6. Decbr. noch eine musikalische Soirée im Gewandhause; ein gedrängt voller Saal brachte der Künstlerin den lebhaftesten Enthusiasmus entgegen.

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[36] Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt*, 105-106. Gooley justifies the inclusion of offensive aggression by depending on Gay: "These aggressive behaviors were accepted—indeed promoted and celebrate—as long as they were coupled with a sanitizing 'alibi' that figured them as ultimately of positive ethical values." More specifically, Gooley outlines these three different constructs this way: "Liszt turned the virtuoso concert into a spectacle of cultivated aggression, and his unprecedented popularity can be attributed in part to this fact. The aggressiveness of his playing was protected by the alibi of 'art,' with its much-trumpeted civilizing mission, and this alibi continues to shield Liszt's virtuosity from full view. I will consider separately three different 'axes' along which Liszt's performing style communicated violence. First and most simply, Liszt's extensive vertical attacks into a motionless, passive instrument—the 'piano-as-object'—appeared to be merciless. A second kind of violence emerged when, because of Liszt's convulsive bodily motions, the piano seemed to be a resisting enemy to be dominated or tamed. This pattern of struggle and domination could also emerge in Liszt's relationship to his accompanying orchestra, thus forming the third axis along which his playing could figure violence."

> Frau Clara Schuman performed on December 6 another musical soiree in the Gewandhaus after she had already celebrated a great triumph at the seventh Gewandhaus concert; a crowded, full hall showed the most active enthusiasm for the artist.[37]

This review, here shown in its entirety, serves to situate Clara as a heroic conqueror who has performed frequent musical ventures; the author seems foremost concerned with establishing a successful trend for Clara, but at the same time he wants to draw attention to her past "triumphs." The writer gives the readers no specific details about what had transpired within the performance, and yet, he offers victorious results. Surprisingly, however, the pianist seems only in competition with herself, as the author reflects on Clara successes from past performances. Similar to her first performance, perhaps, her second soiree sees Clara primarily achieving a "crowded, full hall." The emphasis on the capacity perhaps suggests that this performer has continued on her victory march of sorts by essentially causing spaces to (continually) become "packed" or "crowded" to capacity. With each victorious performance, the audience arrives en masse; her earlier "triumph" thus perhaps incites a very specific result—a confirmed, excited following—within which she becomes subsumed.

A "crowded" and "full hall" creates an image for the reader that not only celebrates the performer but also draws attention to the larger collective. The idea of the "community," and the importance of the communing public, saw increased significance throughout the nineteenth century, primarily as a way of understanding the basis of art and more effectively demonstrating the nationalistic traits or purposes of music. For example, not only did the ideal of communing (and subsequently, excluding) appear in Hoffmann's early writings ("the artist knows the artist") but this concept was also, according to Marc Weiner, prevalent in Wagner's writings:

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[37] *Rheinische Musik-Zeitung für Kunstfreunde und Künstler* 10/51 (17 December 1859), 396.

> For Wagner, the art of social cohesion is the very raison d'être of the superior work of art, and it is based on the metaphor of reflection. In his theoretical tracts, Wagner time and again draws attention to the function of the theater in classical Greece as a vehicle for the visual confirmation, that is, for the recognition, of a *previously known* communal truth reflected in its representation through aesthetic signs. The etymological affinity of the German verbs *kennen* and *erkennen*, which Wagner so often exploits in his essays, underscores the idea that to 'know' something in this system of thought is to 'recognize' it through one's innate, *predisposed* familiarity with it. The Self knows itself by recognizing itself and by seeing itself reflected in the theatrical embodiment of a community to which it belongs and hence that also appears familiar….In 'Die Kunst und die Revolution' and other post-revolutionary essays, it is clear that the act of recognizing oneself is based on one's status as a member of an established and sharply circumscribed group, which for Hoffmann was the community of artists and for Wagner a larger community sharing common ties.[38]

For nineteenth-century critics, public concerts were increasingly becoming a locus for communal activity and, thus, spaces to create and forge social and national ties. In this particular review, the writer links Clara's performative triumphs with her ability to create an enthusiastic, communal gathering of the public. Even so, while he positions Clara as a community-maker through her warrior-esque/triumphant acts, this passage also possibly diminishes the effects of this heroism by refusing to discuss the events that produced this characterization.

In a review from December 3, 1839 of a Berlin performance, the discreet exchange between celebrating her playing as victorious, while seeming to ignore the aggressive or violent acts, seems quite evident.

> Wir kommen jetzt zu dem ausgezeichnetsten musikalischen Evenement der diesmaligen noch jungen Saison, zu den Meisterleistungen von Clara Wieck und Carl Müller aus Braunschweig….Clara Wieck, seit fast drei Jahren in Berlin nicht gehört, spielte im Opernhause die Liebestrankvariationen von Henselt, und die abscheulich-schwere und gar nicht in dem Grade effectuirende C-Moll-Caprice von Thalberg Op. 15. Bei diesem letztern Stück war durch eine unvorsichtige Stellung der Armleuchter die Claviatur oben und unten ein Paar Octaven breit voll Wachs getropft…Im Concertsaale spielte die Künstlerin außer dem erwähnten Duo mit Müller, das

[38] Marc A. Weiner, *Richard Wagner and the Anti-Semitic Imagination* (University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln, 1995), 38-39.

> geistvolle H-Moll-Capriccio mit Orchester von Mendelssohn und die Moses-Phantasie von Thalberg. Bei dieser Piece—immer bei Thalberg!—passirte ihr das Unglück, daß eine Saite sprang, aber nur am Schluß und wie ein Siegesschrei. Die vollendete Beherrschung des Instruments versteht sich bei einer Virtuosin wie Clara Wieck schon von selbst; über ihren reizenden Vortrag, den eigenthümlich-schönen Geist ihres Spiels will ich nicht wiederholen, was die Welt schon anerkannt hat.
>
> We come now to the most distinguished musical event of this still young season, to the superb performances by Clara Wieck and Carl Müller from Braunschweig…In the opera house Clara Wieck, who has not been heard for almost three years in Berlin, played the *Liebestrankvariationen* by Henselt and the detestably-difficult *C-minor Caprice* by Thalberg Op. 15. In this last piece, it was through a careless placement of the candelabra above and below the clavier that bright, thick wax dripped down onto a pair of octaves…In addition, to the aforementioned Duo with Müller the artist played, the profound *H-Minor-Capriccio* with orchestra by Mendelssohn, and the *Moses-Fantasy* by Thalberg in the concert hall. Her misfortune happened in this piece—always by Thalberg!—that a string broke, but only at the end and like a victory cry. The complete control of the instrument by a virtuoso like Clara Wieck goes without saying; I do not want to repeat what the world has already recognized, the peculiarly-beautiful spirit of her playing.[39]

The use of the broken piano string, which echoes like a "victory cry," could have been easily associated with Liszt,[40] especially given that torn strings and shattered instruments were so common in his concerts that he often required two pianos on stage.[41] In fact,

> Because [Liszt] broke strings so easily, he usually had no choice but to continue playing (in mid-performance he once pushed a technician who was trying to repair the instrument off stage). In this situation the spectator was never allowed to forget Liszt's aggressive relationship to the piano-as-object: whether or not the instrument-victim would survive became an issue to be worked out in the course of the virtuosic drama.[42]

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[39] Friedrich Hieronymus Truhn, *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 11/45 (3 December 1839), 179-180.

[40] Litzmann, *Clara Schumann,* I: 150. In the spring of 1838 Clara herself even comments on Liszt's violent displays and laments her own abilities aside of his. "Liszt played Weber's Konzertstück, (he broke 3 brass strings in the Conrad Graf, at the outset). Who can describe him?…My playing seems to dull to me now…and I do not know why, but I have almost lost the desire to travel any further. Since I have heard and seen Liszt's bravura I feel like a school-girl."

[41] Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt*, 107. Gooley refers to reviews between 1838 and 1844 that frequently cite his ability to completely complete mutilate the instrument. Thus, the connection between Liszt and the "piano as victimized object" as Gooley contends, would have more than likely been quite a strong one.

[42] Ibid., 109.

If we compare the tone of the reviews that document Liszt's overwhelmingly violent displays to this one calling attention to Clara's broken string, the goals of each seem decidedly different.[43] This 1839 review mentions her string breaking and then surmises that this event was like a "victory cry;" the author, Friedrich Truhn, moderates this result first, however, by declaring the event a "misfortune." For that matter, by prefacing the breaking string with a discussion of the candelabra dripping on the piano, the reviewer removes any victimization away from the instrument, and instead, via his emphasis on external objects affecting her performances in adverse ways, possibly positions the performer as the victim. This characterization extends further in the conclusion. Truhn quickly moves to confirm Clara's "complete control" of the instrument, and in so doing, suggests that Thalberg was, instead, to be blamed for this performer's "misfortune." Rather than positioning Clara as the instigator of the violence or as a conqueror of misfortune, this analysis seems to suggest that these events occur around and to her. Nevertheless, her bad luck—at least for this writer—translates into a warrior's "victory cry." So, even though she seems simultaneously both in and out of control of the elements she interacts with during this performance, the author positions her as a victor. To further this ideal, Truhn more firmly positions her within a collective, as he references the "world," and its ability to "already recognize" the "beautiful spirit" of Clara's playing. He claims her victorious and in control, especially given that a larger, collective entity confirms her abilities; significantly, the reviewer feels no need to elaborate on this point further.

This assessment, then, again allows Clara to become part of the collective—she can revel in the victory of some sort of (military) success, but she does not have to participate

[43] Ibid., 108. Some review excerpts, which Gooley uses to make his point, show the authors as in awe of Liszt's violent treatment of the piano, which is obviously one of the most important aspects of his performance. From the *Humorist* on April 21, 1838, Gooley quotes: "After the concert, Liszt remains like a conqueror on the battlefield, like a hero at his chosen post of honor.—The conquered piano lies at his feet. Broken strings appear here and there like shredded standards. The horrified instruments take cover in their cases."

directly in the hyper-masculine tradition. Her true "control of the instrument" cannot really be disputed, even in subversive circumstances deemed "misfortunes." The distinction, between ideals resting on an individual's triumph, *instead* of an individual's inclusion into a larger collective, perhaps lingers at the crux of the difference between the cultivated aggression of Liszt and Clara. Violent metaphors of Liszt focused on "extreme individualism constructed on the foundation of the hero," which was one of the most crucial components of his public persona.[44] Instead of Clara being hailed merely as an individual hero, reviewers often claim victory inside a group-like entity with no overt heroic action to support their arguments.

This artist's inclusion into a cooperative environment seems further emphasized in a December 26, 1839 Viennese concert review. The writer both begins and ends this passage with references to a particular "city" and concludes by placing Clara in the universal collective space. In both cases, the pianist arises victorious.

> Clara Wieck spielte—was sage ich spielte---sie feierte in unsere Stadt am heutigen Tage einen wahrhaften Triumph. Wäre in diesen Blättern nicht schon häufig über ihre Genialität ausführlich gesprochen worden, so könnte ich einen langen Artikel über sie schreiben, so viel Stoff gährt in mir; ich müßte gleich hervorheben die seelenvolle Auffassung des Großartigen der Compositionen, die sie spielt, so wie die eigene schaffende Beigabe ihres außerordentlichen Vortrages, womit sie andere weniger hoch stehende Stücke belebt und verschönert, wie sich von Bach (der himmlischen Mathematik), bis auf Lißt (der irdischen Regellosigkeit), von Beethoven (der genialsten Leidenschaft), bis Herz (dem Salon – und Conversationsphlegma) – wie sie diese verschiedenartigen Sphären mit aller Kraft ihres hohen Künstlertalentes durchfliegt, ohne dabei ihrer vollendeten Mechanik u. weiter zu erwähnen....Wie oft sie gerufen wurde, habe ich nicht gezählt, daß aber ihr Name in Aller Munde ist, bedarf keiner weiteren Bestätigung, wenn man Zeuge von der Sensation ist, wie sie seit Paganini und Thalberg kein Künstler in solchem Grade erregt hat.
>
> Clara Wieck played—why am I saying "played"—she celebrated in our city on the present day a veritable triumph. If her brilliancy had not already been elaborately discussed frequently in this periodical, then I could write a long article about it, so much stuff it ferments in me; I must immediately stress the soulful concept of the

[44] Leppert, "Cultural Contradiction, Idolatry," in *Piano Roles*, 278.

> brilliantness of the compositions that she played, her own creative addition of her extraordinary performance, whereby she revived and embellished less high-standing pieces, as from Bach (the heavenly mathematic), as well as Liszt (the earthly irregularity), from Beethoven (the ingenious passion), to Herz (the salon—and conversations-phlegm)—that she flies through these diverse spheres with all the strength of her high artistic-talents, but without mentioning her accomplished mechanics and further….How often she was called, I did not count, but that her name is in all mouths, demands little wider affirmation when one is witness to the sensation—how since Paganini and Thalberg no artist has aroused to such degree.[45]

Given the framing of the review, which rests on ideas of collective acceptance and achievement, the writer brings the reader through more localized understandings of her talent, to a decidedly more universal recognition. By moving from a "city" at the beginning of the review, "in all mouths" at the articles conclusion, and then finally to a standing alongside Italian and Vienniese virtuosos, we perhaps get a sense of the disparity, yet close connection, between limited (city) and unlimited (international) contexts. More specificially, it is in these smaller, contained spaces of the local that Clara's audiences reiterate her appeal; in these scenarios, she creates a musical experience that "ferments" in her listeners. This turmoiled state causes the audience to pronounce Clara's primacy to the larger universe. She continues an established tradition in the vein of other famous virtuosos and creates a community extending beyond localized boundaries to exist "in *all* the mouths." Clara completes a triumvirate and perhaps, becomes the distinctive German link alongside the Italian (Paganini) and Viennese (Thalberg).

The reviewer further hones her appeal in his discussion of the performance itself. Significantly, the writer focuses on Clara's abilities to absolve conflict through methods that are potentially more community-oriented in context. In her playing of the works by Bach, Liszt, Beethoven, and Herz, the writer argues that the performer can successfully "fly through [the] diverse spheres" of the compositions. Significantly, rather than someone embroiled in conflict, the writer positions Clara as someone who can compromise and create

[45] *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 7/51 (26 December 1837), 204.

cohesiveness—she can, in fact, somehow dissolve the disparity inherent across various musical styles and virtuosos. So, while she celebrates a triumph, she simultaneously undermines any violent act by approaching inherent disagreements in ways that do not necessitate cultivated aggression. This point seems even more accentuated by the use of the verb "flying." By using choosing a physically impossible feat, the author perhaps invokes militaristic ideas of avoidance and evasion—flight. In this case it seems as if there is no need for force or direct contact—Clara can achieve her triumphant goals through somewhat peaceful mediation.

In calling attention to cultural negotiation alongside suggestions of military retreat, the reviewer potentially underscores one of the fundamental differences of German nationalistic efforts and ideals: that of cultural differentiation and superiority, not necessarily military prowess. As Bonds argues

> Through various public and semi-public associations, then, Germans were able to sublimate political expression through philosophy, literature, and the arts…The seemingly insurmountable political fragmentation of German-speaking populations helped to make early German nationalism all the more cultural rather than territorial. Indeed, many German nationalists of the early nineteenth century considered it to be the mission of any future German state to provide a model of cosmopolitanism for the rest of the world, a state based on cultural rather than territorial or military might…Germany as a nation was to become the cosmopolitan state par excellence, not through its territorial power but through its accomplishments in music, art, philosophy, literature, and the sciences.[46]

By stressing the idea of "flight" and the absolution of conflict through a cosmopolitan negotiation of pieces from both Germany and elsewhere, the reviewer potentially calls attention to aspects of nationalism directly outside of, but closely associated with, aggressive and militaristic tendencies.

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[46] Bonds, *Music as Thought*, 82.

This negotiation between an individual and the larger state possibly resonated with the political landscape of the 1830s.[47] To be more precise, during this decade, the German land began considering how it fit within a larger worldview, especially given the incessant unrest on the continent.[48]

> To think and act politically people have to make a connection between their personal condition and their public affairs. This connection is at once intellectual and institutional. It requires a set of ideas through which men and women can see how the immediate realities of their lives fit into a larger world, and a set of institutions with which they can co-ordinate and sustain their efforts to influence this world.[49]

To reiterate, by simultaneously shifting between the importance of the localized city and universal community, the author could then bring attention to this ever-changing concept and directly appeal to the listener in ways that would enlighten and connect their personal experiences to "a larger world."

As we move into the 1840s, the possibility that Clara's placement within the tradition of "cultivated aggression" again takes on more suggestive nationalistic overtones.[50]

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[47] Sheehan, *German History*, 604. This decade began with important revolutions, which had "an immediate impact" on the German state. Internationally, "there was more than enough going on in 1830 and 1831 to feed reactionary fears and liberal hopes. From the Iberian peninsula to the Russian frontier, social conflicts and political demonstrations threatened public order…Few German states escaped some measure of unrest, which ranged in severity from minor clashes with the police to full-scale rebellion."

[48] Lorie A. Vanchena, *Political Periodicals and the Shaping of National Consciousness in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000), 16. "European political developments in 1830, the fall of the Bourbon monarchy in France as well as the Polish, Italian, Greek, and Belgian struggles for independence, resounded within the German territories. Political activism was spurred not only by national, liberal and constitutional demands and protests, but also by revolts of the lower classes against unemployment, low wages, and hunger. Most demonstrations, mainly isolated occurrences quickly squelched by the military, had limited political effect. Austria and Prussia, the two most powerful states, remained largely untouched by such agitation. Nationalism, however, emerged as the common denominator for the liberal, constitutional, and social movements."

[49] Sheehan, *German History*, 589. To further contextualize this claim, Sheehan continues in this way: "As we have seen, it was by no means easy for Germans to acquire either the ideas or the institutions necessary for effective political action. Throughout the first half of the century, the forces of repression remained strong, habits of difference hard to break. But slowly, and often at considerable cost, Germans created the intellectual systems and associational networks upon which participatory politics could be based. As a result, the character of public life was fundamentally altered."

[50] Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt*, 157. As Gooley as argued, there are some authors who disagree with the use of the term "nationalism" during this period, given the lack of political unification. I, however, agree with Gooley in that "'nationalism' ought *not* to apply only to political objectives."

Published April 24, 1841 and reviewing a Leipzig performance, this quite lengthy editorial begins with a resounding proverb:

> „Vox dei, vox populi," sagt das Sprichwort; und es hat sich bewährt!….seit einer längeren Reihe von Jahren ihr Talent der Vaterstadt entzogen.
>
> "The Voice of the People is the Voice of God" says the proverb; and it has stood the test of time!….for a long succession of years her hometown has been deprived of her talent.[51]

This opening passage makes use of a partial excerpt from an ancient quote, "*vox populi, non vox Regis, vox dei*," meaning "the voice of the people, not the voice of the king, is the voice of God." By using this phrase, even inverted in this case (*vox dei, vox populi)*, the author draws attention to the collective, public democratic ideals and equates their literal "voice" with the "voice" of God.[52] Given that

> Public opinion is part of the ideoscape or mental horizon, and most of the time we do not react to it consciously, taking it for granted like the air we breathe. It helps us to locate ourselves in relation to a larger community whether it be a social group, region, or nation.[53]

By calling attention to public voice, the author of this review creates a collective community about the success of public entertainment among his readers; in so doing, he closely connects his audience with the actual listeners present at the performance.[54] If we consider the political climate within which this review was written, following the 1840 Rhine Crisis

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[51] 9.2, *A*llgemeine *Wiener Musik-Zeitung* 1/49 (24 April 1841), 204.

[52] Slavko Splickal ed., "Publicity, Democracy, and Public Opinion," in *Public Opinion and Democracy: Vox Populi—Vox Dei?,* ed Slavko Splichal (Cresskill: Hampton Press, Inc., 2001), 25-26. "Regardless of whether public opinion was considered as originating from rational discussion or merely as a widespread diffusion of elite opinion, even by coercion; or whether "public opinion" presupposed the public either as a corporate social entity or merely a (statistical) aggregation of individuals; or it was even conceived without any specific actor—it was always assumed that public opinion is (at least) publicly expressed opinion that in some way represents the will of the (majority of) people or citizenry."

[53] Ibid., 103.

[54] Splichal, ed. *Public Opinion and Democracy*, 25. "Since its very beginning, the press played an important role in conceptualizations of public opinion. It delivered not only information to the public and, thus, was an important element in the process of public opinion formation, but it was also the main means of expression of the public, constituting a virtual public…However, newspapers not only express the opinion of the public, but also influence public opinion. In reality, newspapers are neither organs of public opinion nor are they identical with it."

and the shift of the Prussian throne to Friedrich Wilhelm IV, the call to unite the populous seems all the more likely.

> [The Rhine Crisis] aroused very intense patriotic and anti-French emotions among the people of the Rhineland, and these emotions eventually spread to other parts of Germany. Whereas previously nationalism had been cultivated primarily among the educated and prosperous middle classes, it was now spreading to the population as a whole and becoming a mass movement. The Rhine crisis has even been called the origin of modern German nationalism….The wave of nationalist feeling that followed the Rhine Crisis was complemented by the ascension of Friedrich Wilhelm IV to the Prussian throne in October 1840. His apparent commitment to reforming the outdated monarchical style of his predecessor, and his promises to address more directly the needs of the German people, inspired euphoria and optimism among German liberals.[55]

By calling attention to the "voice of the people," it is probably that the writer wanted to implicate the importance of the *Volk*, and their critical role in the changing musical, social, and political landscape.[56] Moreover, by only linking two entities (god and people), the various political movements become subsumed under *one* identity—that of humanity. Nonetheless, in this case, Clara's birthplace—her "hometown"—is highlighted and brought to the fore. She has been away for a "long succession of years," potentially traveling the world, causing her to "deprive" Leipzig of her talent. In emphasizing Clara's absence in relation to her "hometown," while preceding this lament with a boundless call to humanity, this review (again) positions Clara at a juncture in that it is decidedly wide-ranging, but nevertheless focused on the collective in a variety of ways.

This cooperative entity took on a different kind of significance as the century wore on. While up until this point in time nationalistic tendencies were a result of resounding

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[55] Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt,* 165, 166.

[56] Sheehan, *German History*, 598. "At the centre of liberal ideology was the *Volk*….liberal theorists gave the *Volk* a constitutional function: within the context of their ideology, the *Volk* became the focus of their efforts, the foundation of their movement, and the source of their claim to set the course for the German future…In this sense, liberalism was not *an* opinion, but *the* only rational opinion, not *a* party, but *the* party representing the whole, the common good, the 'real' *Volk*."

international conflict, the 1860s saw more consistency in regard to patriotic ideas and supporters.

> For much of the nineteenth century, political nationalism was the concern of an elite few. Occasionally, however, dramatic events abroad—the Rhine crisis of 1840, Italian unification and the Schleswig-Holstein crisis—prompted more widespread outburst of nationalist feeling and testified to the existence of a less explicitly politicised nationalist consensus. By the 1860s, a combination of political agitation by the *Nationalverein* and mass demonstrations of cultural nationalism, in the shape of national gatherings of the singing, shooting and gymnastic movements, meant the perceived pressure for change had become almost irresistible.[57]

In an essay published December 9, 1863 analyzing a Leipzig performance, we see this idea of "mass demonstration" congeal, which is then coupled with a pointed effort to correlate and connect the imaginary Germany.[58] Discussed earlier in regards in relation to industrial symbols, this excerpt also speaks to Clara's broad influence and appeal within Germany.

> Der Besuch der Frau Clara Schumann ist für jede Stadt Deutschlands, wo man sie einmal schätzen gelernt hat, ein musikalisches Fest…Doch zurück zu Frau Schumann! Wir sagten, ihr Erscheinen bereite immer ein musikalisches Fest.
>
> For every city in Germany where one first came to appreciate what she is worth, the visit of Frau Clara Schuman is a musical celebration….But back to Frau Schumann! We stated, her appearance always causes a musical celebration.[59]

By beginning this long review with an exclamation of how Clara is able to appeal every city in a way that generates celebration and excitement among her admirers, the author speaks directly to the idea of national collectivity and unity. She becomes the catalyst to create this cohesiveness, as "her arrival always causes" unified reactions, not only within specific cities but also across city boundaries. This pianist incites consistency and uniformity with her performances, and she fosters a unified and cooperative response that audiences from all German cities can enjoy. The use of "German city" is also an interesting choice, given the

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[57] Abigail Green, *Fatherlands: State Building in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 60.

[58] While I used an excerpt of this review when discussing the trope of industrialization and economic advancement, this excerpt also seems to speak directly to issues of collectivity and nation-building.

[59] Seimar Bagge, *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 1/ 50 (9 December 1863), 849-50.

rise of Bismark and the opposition towards "Austrian attempts to assume the initiative in German affairs during 1863."[60] By calling attention to Germany—especially since it was Germany that *first* appreciates her—the author makes an overt attempt at differentiating these cities from their European counterparts. The collective among whom Clara creates enthusiastic results becomes possibly subsumed within rhetoric attached to a specific geography.

In conclusion, the sentiment of the collective, coupled with Clara's nonviolent, yet heroic results, resounds in late reviews from 1875 and 1876, following German unification.

> Die Namen der beiden Solistinnen des Abends, Frau Dr. Clara Schumann und Frau Peschka-Leutner waren die Magneten, welche eine so zahlreiche Zuhörerschaft herbeigezogen hatten, dass nicht nur der Hauptsaal, sondern auch die Gallerien und der Nebensaal bis in die äussersten Räume gefüllt waren. Erstgenannte Künstlerin riss durch die unvergleichliche Poesie ihres Spieles und die unbedingte Sieghaftigkeit ihres Geistes, mit der sie jeden Gedanken der unter ihren Fingern zum reinsten Tonleben aufblühenden Compositionen stets in das rechte Licht zu stellen vermag, das Auditorium zu enthusiastischem Beifallssturm hin.
>
> The names of both soloists of the evening, Frau Dr. Clara Schumann and Frau Peschka-Leutner, were the magnets, which had attracted such a large audience that not only the main hall but also the galleries and the auxiliary hall to the outermost room were filled. The first-mentioned artist entranced the auditorium to enthusiastic applause through the unrivaled poetry of her playing and the unconditional victorious quality of her spirit, with which she is able to place all thoughts always in the right light under her fingers for the purest tone-lives of the blooming compositions.[61]

In this instance, there is no specific need to draw attention to the German states, and yet the tension could be inherent given that the singer, Minna Pescha-Leutner was born in Vienna.[62]

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[60] Sheehan, *German History*, 888; 889. Sheehan goes on to argue that "These difficulties remind us once again that the Austrians' German policy was always inseparable from their other interests and obligations, in Europe and within the monarchy itself. Economically, diplomatically, and politically, Austrian Germans may have been too German to regard the rest of German Europe as foreign, but they were too Austrian to consider becoming part of a purely German nation-state."

[61] *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 10/45 (11 October 1875), 717-718.

[62] Notable Women International, "Commemoratives of Famous Women 25 October 2008," http://www.fembio.org/english/biography.php/woman/notable-women (accessed November 18, 2008). While information on Minna Pesch-Leutner is quite limited, I found her birth date and location via a website that references this book of portraits as their source: Ehrlich, A., *Berühmte Sängerinnen der Vergangenheit und*

This article hinges on an imagined conflict between the soprano and the pianist, who have both "attracted" a large following; not surprisingly, however, Clara comes out the victor. By calling attention to her "unrivaled" playing and the "unconditional victorious quality of her spirit," the author suggests (and somewhat promotes) "battle" between the two artists—one cannot even be rivaled. Yet, this "spirit" does not spark any real disagreement, rather it facilitates Clara's ability to place her thoughts "in the right light under her fingers." While this performance has the potential for serious conflict, none ever surfaces. In a review of a Leipzig performance published on December 13, 1876, her win is again coupled with the importance of universality.

> Im achten Gewandhausconcerte, Donnerstag den 30. November, rangen die Damen Frau Dr. Clara Schumann und Frau Hopkapellmeisters Schmitt-Czaniy aus Schwerin um den Lorbeer…Ohne aber der letztgenannten Künstlerin zu nahe treten zu wollen, so müssen wir doch bekennen, dass Frau Schumann durch ihre universellere Künstlerschaft, wenn wir so sagen dürfen, den Sieg davontrug.
>
> In the eighth Gewandhaus concert on Thursday the 20th of November, the ladies, Frau Dr. Clara Schumann and Frau Hopkapellmeisters Schmitt-Czaniy from Schwerin vied each other for the laurel wreath…However, without wanting to tread on the last-named artist's toes, we must still admit when we are really allowed to say, that Frau Schumann in her universal artistry won the day.[63]

While Clara can here "vie" or compete for recognition and the ultimate crown of victory, her "universal artistry" distinguishes her as the "winner." Often, Clara's association with the collective—whether localized or limitless—facilitated her "victories" in these somewhat imaginary battles. By pushing this idea further, her "universal artistry" attached lofty, idealistic goals to the Germanic artist, thereby hinting that the "universal" possibly has a point of origin (Germany) and, subsequent innate, natural qualities (because this fact needs no explanation or evidence). This distinction, between universality and individuality, also

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Gegenwart: Eine Sammlung von 91 Biographien und 90 Porträts (Leipzig: Payne, 1896). Given that only four libraries own this item worldwide (one in Germany and three in the Netherlands) it would be very difficult to obtain an official copy.

[63] *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 13 (13 December 1876), 798.

starkly separated her from the likes of Liszt, whose ego-driven performances came to be the hallmark and, in fact, one of the most important defining elements, of his early performance career.

The Angel in Dreams

While critics associated Clara with areas directly aligned with bourgeois reality, perhaps the most obvious theme to surface in these reviews related to ways the bourgeoisie could escape these livelihoods via vicarious supernatural experiences. The delicate balance (and paradoxical relationship) between the materialist and religious aspects of the romantic musical work stands firmly at the center of most discourse on nineteenth-century music. Clara Schumann was no exception. As Chua conjectures,

> Having deified music out of material existence, the Romantics had to redefine how actual earth-bound pieces could capture and reveal the infinite within their finite enclosures. For instrumental music to have any meaning at all, it had to re-order the co-ordinates of real music between zero and one as both an encapsulation and an endless participation in the divine process of pure productivity.[64]

This contradiction extended directly to the performers as well, as critics redefined the player's relationship to the musical work, composer, audience, and society. Subsequently, Clara's performance commentary centered on many contradictory, yet interrelated aspects of bourgeois life. While she came to be associated with aspects of the bourgeois work ethic, industrialization, and nationalism (or "community building"), she could just as easily create an almost supernatural and paranormal world that allowed her listeners to escape their rapidly modernizing realities. The appeal of the supernatural throughout the nineteenth century has been well documented by many strains of scholarship, and scholars of gothic literature in particular draw a firm correlation between modernity and the increased interest

[64] Chua, *Absolute Music*, 176.

in magical worlds. One of the most obvious reasons for the public's keen interest in the otherworldly was the overwhelming and rapidly industrializing world.[65]

While discussing the appeal of the gothic novel in Vicotiran England, the authors nonetheless give a more comprehensive understanding of the appeal of otherworldly elements that resulted from the increasingly "supernatural" state of the world.

> The Victorians were haunted by the supernatural. They delighted in ghost stories and fairy tales, and in legends of strange gods, demons, and spirits; in pantomimes and extravaganzas full of supernatural machinery; in gothic yarns of reanimated corpses and vampires. Even avowedly realist novels were full of dreams, premonitions and second sight. It was not simply a matter of stories and storytelling, though, for the material world they inhabited often seemed somehow supernatural. Disembodied voices over the telephone, the superhuman speed of the railway, near-instantaneous communication through telegraphy wires: the collapsing of time and distance achieved by modern technologies that were transforming daily life was often felt to be uncanny. The mysterious powers of electricity, the baffling feats of mesmerists and apparently real communications from the dead elicited by Spiritualist mediums made the world seem as if it were full of invisible, occult forces.[66]

Here, industrialization and its material components operated as some of the primary social forces encouraging and supporting the appeal of the supernatural, especially because of the "magical" items found in everyday life.[67]

Gothic novels are thus able to foster "a union between our spiritual curiosities and venial terrors, and mediate between the world without us and the world within us;"[68] the supernatural in music facilitated a listening experience that readily aligned with romantic

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[65] Elizabeth A. Fay, *A Feminist Introduction to Romanticism* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 1998), 112. For a more specific study of Gothic literature in Germany see Michael Hadley, *The Undiscovered Genre: A Search for the German Gothic Novel* (Berne: Peter Lang, 1978).

[66] Nicola Brown, Carolyn Burdett, and Pamela Thurschwell, ed., *The Victorian Supernatural* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1. "Interpreted in its social context, the Gothic novel is a subtle and complex aesthetic expression of the spirit of Europe in revolutionary ferment. It is the most characteristic literary expression of the orgy of mental and emotional excitement that accompanied the French Revolution and grew out of the Industrialization of Britain."

[67] Devendra P. Varma, "Quest of the Numinous The Gothic Flame" in *Literature of the Occult: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. Peter B. Messent (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1981), 46.

[68] Ibid.

transcendence. This stance grew out of a disenchantment and simultaneous enchantment with modernity itself.

> Something from within modernity needed to legitimise history, to become its absolute and stand as an eternal emblem that could mark the progress of humanity and stabilise the vision of the future; the elevation of 'Art' as some kind of divine utterance, purged of all function and fashion, seemed to provide modernity with the meaning it needed; 'Art' became a religion of modernity, and absolute music, as the condition to which all art should aspire, was its god. And so, like God, this music exists outside history to make history; it transcends fashion to endorse progress.[69]

So, at a time when it seemed modernity had no legitimate path to progress,[70] music came to be a sign that was able to stabilize, or balance, the downfall of modernity itself. The removal of "function and fashion" from music, and thus from its performers, allowed the performer to substantiate the new status of "art," and this position was, perhaps, promoted in a variety of methods, one of the most important of which was the removal of a modern "reality" from the listening experience.

> Disinterested contemplation, otherwise described as a free play (*Spiel*) of imagination or fancy, was increasingly described as isolated not only from our everyday concerns, but also from our rational faculties. If aesthetic contemplation was to have any response associated with religious, moral, or emotive 'awe', it was to be elicited through pure aesthetic intuition or through the irrational, and not through some rational or cognitive justification or any other sort of worldly justification.[71]

Thus, critics could engage the romantic imagination by emphasizing specific aspects of "disinterested contemplation," and, therefore, encourage and direct the listeners in escaping the rational world (and reality itself). In other words, just as Clara's technical facility connected her to aspects of bourgeois industrial characteristics, critics could just as easily

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[69] Chua, *Absolute Music*, 8-9.

[70] Ibid., "Or rather, humanity failed to make the future it hoped for. Seventeen eighty-nine turned out to be the catastrophe of history as the ideals of the Revolution collapsed into the barbarity of the Terror. By the end of the eighteenth century, modernity had lost faith in itself; the promises of the Revolution, the progress of technology, the Utopian visions of the Enlightenment were no longer inevitable truths that time would unfold. Rather, history became more contingent and the future less attainable."

[71] Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum*, 170.

disregard this ability; in so doing, writers virtually undermined the specificities of production and focused on the effect of the performance instead.

Given the nature and significance of the supernatural in nineteenth-century aesthetic discourse, and the inevitable importance (or unimportance) of the body within this dialogue, the presence of a female form would unavoidably complicate things. Thus, reviewers and writers had to use certain strategies to cope with the expected complication that the deficiencies the female body posed for the entire musical experience. By focusing on the piece, via the listener's supernatural experience, critics could alter Clara Schumann's physical being as a site emptied and filled with spirits, or they could completely remove the body's influence over the performance. These critical strategies (hoping to undermine or transform Clara's physicality) delicately infiltrate most reviews that include otherworldly listening experiences.

Ultimately, at this juncture I am most concerned with what kinds of supernatural tropes were used in Clara's review history, and how these subjects might have affected the creation and careful cultivation of her public persona. Why were these kinds of events included in these editorials and what larger significance (if any) might these characterizations have held for Clara Schumann's career? More pointedly, passages associated with supernatural listening experiences seem to revolve around one primary theme—dreaming—which then allows the critic to move in a variety of directions. Although the topic of dreaming does stress the more obvious and traditional elements of the romantic narrative, the dream world's wide scope allows for plenty of interpretive exploration and analytical findings outside of our more conventional (and somewhat redundant) understandings.

Supernatural and fantasy worlds allowed critics and writers to position Clara in many ways, and the specific use of dreams and dreaming affirms the pervasiveness of this idea throughout the nineteenth century.

> Although speculation about the nature of dreams had formed a current in Enlightenment thinking about the nature of the human mind, this developed in the course of the nineteenth century into an explosion of interest in the nature of dreams, and it became an important issue in debates over the nature of consciousness and the relationship between the mind and the external world. At the centre of these debates was the problem of whether dreams and, by extension, the human mind are supernatural or material.[72]

The discussion regarding the mind's relationship to the external world, and the dream's central place within this debate creates an exciting intersection for us here.

> At one level…[the dissolution of the carnal self] allowed sleepers to enter into a realm of knowledge and experience beyond the compass of their own lives. At a second and parallel level, this breakdown rendered the dreamer vulnerable to the entry of alien desires and ideas. In many Victorian communities the sleeping mind was held up as an arena in which demons, angels, night hags, fairies and the ghosts of dead and dying friends acted out their nocturnal adventures.[73]

The state of the mind came to be particularly important when women were involved, because their mind was predominantly influenced by their toxic bodies; therefore, the use of dream worlds and the creation of supposed "unconscious" intellectual experiences *by* a woman would have been problematic. In this state, Clara would have held some sort of direct link to her listeners' minds: her performances might have forced her audience into unconsciousness—a condition that the nineteenth century largely demarcated as feminine.

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[72] Nicola Brown, "What is the Stuff Dreams are Made of?" in *The Victorian Supernatural*, ed. Nicola Brown, Carolyn Burdett, and Pamela Thurschwell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 159. Brown goes on to posit that, "Because the boundaries between the supernatural and the material were both contested and obscure, the debate was not simply a question of whether dreams had a supernatural origin or not. On the contrary, theorists repeatedly discussed the origin of dreams in order to elucidate the relationship between the mind, body, soul and spirit, and between our human consciousness and whatever supernatural forces or beings might surround us." Closely related to these arguments, Maureen Perkins argues that . "Dreaming and day-dreaming, its related activity, were on the very borders of respectability…The dominant scientific opinion at the end of the nineteenth century was that dreams were an indication of disturbance and that they did no occur in the deep, normal sleep of a healthy person." Maureen Perkins, "The Meaning of Dream Books" in *Dreams and History: The Interpretation of Dreams from Ancient Greece to Modern Psychoanalysis*, ed., Daniel Pick and Lyndal Roper (London: Routledge, 2004), 129.

[73] Rhodri Hayward, "Policing Dreams: History and the Moral Uses of the Unconscious" in *Dreams and History*, 162. "The sleeping mind did not produce its dreams, rather it was dreamt through by invading spirits. Moreover the disturbing desires and beliefs inculcated by these nocturnal visitors could not be traced back to any explicit source. Instead the theory of Divine connection suggested that their origins lay beyond knowledge and language in the mind of God, whilst the theories of angelic guidance and demon obsession surrendered the dream to a great cast of fleeting spirits, whose continued movements left ideas and images orphaned and untraceable within the sleeping mind."

> In the nineteenth century, men who would admit to premonitory dreams were challenging the norms of middle-class masculinity of their day. Dreaming was predominantly associated with mental or physical disturbance. In the latter half of the century, women's association with hysteria and altered states of consciousness was depicted by medical opinion as connected with menstruation and physiological weakness, and disturbed sleep was part of this pattern of neurotic disorder.[74]

The dreamer's association with femininity and hysteria, however, could simultaneously symbolize the highest form of romantic listening. In effect, dreaming experiences perhaps give us another instance what Chua has determined as the female body being "hijacked by the male ego."[75]

Importantly for us, dreams offer countless interpretive possibilities; some of the most volatile arguments are concerned with the feminized state of the dreaming mind, the potential for madness within the condition, and the abilities of the conscious and unconscious mind.

> This view—that dreams were either identical with, or analogous to, the state of madness—was to traverse the nineteenth century and persist well into the twentieth….There is a paradox here: the mental state called dreaming corresponds to madness, and is therefore the antithesis of reason and of beauty; nevertheless it may on occasion come to the aid of reason (problem-solving) or help bring a work of art into being.[76]

The dream held a specific danger and, unsurprisingly, was often positioned in direct opposition to rational, reasonable thought. Nonetheless, this supernatural experience could simultaneously be aligned with artistic creation and performance. This duality, between madness and saneness, offers a complex understanding of why dreams were used in Clara's reviews, especially in light of the apparent danger this state of consciousness could perpetuate. Ultimately, characteristics of the dreaming state (which could create fantasy and

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[74] Perkins, "The Meaning of Dream Books," 129.

[75] Chua, *Absolute Music*, 139. "What had been derided in instrumental music as the sheer delirium of female emotions is now elevated to the heights of the male genius who has subsumed feminine hysteria into the vigour of his own masculinity. In order to come to terms with instrumental music, the female body was hijacked by the male ego."

[76] Tony James, *Dreams, Creativity, and Madness in Nineteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 2.

magical worlds) stood in conflict with the kind of social normalcy promoted throughout the nineteenth-century.

> The inspired dream thus stood as a direct challenge to a Victorian culture that had stressed the integrity of the individual and the presence of the past. The boundary of sleep did not simply divide the conscious life of the individual, it demarcated rival moralities. The waking world of continence and self-control stood in direct contrast to the wild abandon of dreams. A culture in which individuals strove to maintain control over their actions and desires was confronted with a dream world in which the self was surrendered to fickle forces beyond the compass of language, reason or history.[77]

A controlled and moral way of life had come to be vital to the nineteenth-century woman, and so how these dream worlds were created and narrated by the critic could give us insight into another way Clara was critically promoted to her listeners. Given these complicated understanding of dreaming[78] (and its simultaneous association with societal irregularity, femininity, madness, heightened imagination, and genius), references to this state inevitably offer us unique interpretive possibilities.

The following review was published in Robert Schumann's recurring "Museum" column on September 15, 1837 (two days after Clara's birthday) and analyzes her Opus 6. Schumann employs language associated with dream worlds, but takes great care when introducing these aspects into the review.[79] Written by Schumann's personalities—Eusebius and Florestan—well into Clara and Robert's romance, this review, while somewhat unique in its author, was not an exception. This couple corresponded about the journal frequently,

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[77] Hayward, "Policing Dreams: History and the Moral uses of the Unconscious" in *Dreams and History*, 165.

[78] Jennifer Ford, *Coleridge on Dreaming: Romanticism, Dreams and the Medical Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 9. "In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, there was no consensus on the origin and meaning of dreams. Some argued that they were miraculous, potentially divine events. Many believed that dreams revealed the powers of the imagination and that dreaming was a form of poetic inspiration. Others argued that they were entirely attributable to the dreamer's physical or psychological constitution.

[79] Robert Schumann's "Museum" series was a recurring column that included dicussions of recent pieces he deemed worthy of in-depth analysis and discussion.

and occasionally Clara would request he cover her concerts or events.[80] The following review was written a year after the beginning of their relationship, and their letters from 1837 show severe anxiety over Wieck's objections to their eventual union, while also revealing the young couple's resolute devotion to one another.[81]

> Auch ein weiblicher Kopf soll unser Museum schmücken, und überhaupt, wie könnte ich den heutigen Tag, als Vorfeier des morgenden, der einer geliebten Künslterrin das Leben gab, besser begehen, als das ich mich gerade in eine ihrer Schöpfungen versenkte mit einigem Antheil. Sind sie doch einer so ausländischen Phantasie entsprungen, als daß hier die bloße Uebung ausreichte, diese seltsam verschlungenen Arabesken verfolgen zu können, --- einem zu tief gegründeten Gemüthe, als daß man, wo das Bildliche, Gestaltenähnliche in ihren Compositionen mehr in den Hintergrund tritt, das träumerische, in sich vertiefte Wesen auf einmal zu fassen vermöchte.
>
> A feminine head should really adorn our museum, and generally, how could I better celebrate today, as pre-celebration of tomorrow, which gave life to a beloved artist than I myself sank straight into one of her compositions with singular interest. Indeed they really are sprung from such a foreign fantasy that mere practice would not allow us to follow along with these remarkably intricate arabesques from such a deeply grounded feeling that one would be able to seize at once the dreamy, self-absorbed nature whenever the plastic, figure-like aspects of the compositions recede into the background.[82]

This review, even though speaking to Clara's compositions and not performance, brings the supernatural into play in a variety of ways, while wishing for a known practice to tell listeners how to follow her composition. Most obviously, the listener is able to "sink" himself within her creations in a way that creates fantasy figures and dreamful experiences in the "background." Interestingly, however, the assessment begins with a brief discussion of celebration and adornment. By introducing Clara Wieck as an impetus for decorative

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[80] Schumann. *The Complete Correspondence*, III: 233. For example, in a letter from August 13, 1840 (featured at the beginning of this chapter), Clara makes the request quite explicitly. We also know that Friedrich Weick requested Robert Schumann re-publish some of the Viennese reviews of Clara's early successes in that city.

[81] This review, thus, could also be look at as somewhat of a public declaration for Clara by Robert. This excerpt also further aligns Clara with his musical and artistic goals.

[82] Florestan and Eusebius, *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 6/22 (15 September 1837), 87.

commodity to the column, the author immediately draws the reader into a question of feminine presence and what this female occupation might mean for her audience's listening experience, particularly of these compositions. Concurrently, however, this characterization offers Clara inclusivity and acceptance. This interpretive move subtly creates a dialogue about the potential for madness and the dangers of the dreaming worlds, but one that seeks to soothe the listener and destabilize these concerns; in so doing, the existence of the "safe" dream world can serve as a metaphor for the listener's security when experiencing music from the latently mad and, thus, inherently dangerous female performer.

The first statement of this review, "a feminine head should *really* adorn our museum," immediately invites the reader to consider Clara as the conclusive choice for this role, while acknowledging, and then quickly destabilizing, her clearly obvious difference—her womanliness. Just as Schumann's introduction seems intent on reiterating one of the most common tropes associated with women—decoration—he immediately counters this social context by removing what defined the woman most of all: her body.[83] The elimination of her body and focus on her head (and subsequently, her mind) potentially points to the problems inherent in feminine music making and the romantic listening experience. Most obviously, this sterilization of her body also displaced the possibility of the hysterical mind.

> The womb was (literally) the female *sub*conscious: the vapours rising up from it were thought to interfere with her consciousness, and produce delusions and illusions of a perverted type. The hysterical woman was a shadowy (cold, wet, and vaporous) imitation of the fiery melancholic male.[84]

[83] I have also discussed a similar phenomenon in Clara's portraiture during widowhood. In this instance, however, it occurs at the outset of her career.
[84] Battersby, *Gender and Genius*, 33.

Since women were thought to have the high possibility for unpredictable hysteria, especially within musical situations, the removal of the body intimated that Clara's hysteria-inducing uterus would no longer be in control.

> Indeed [women's] nerves were so soft and mobile that they would twitch uncontrollably with every external vibration; they were like musical instruments that were so sensitive that they perpetually went of out of tune. Music for women made them teeter precariously between moral sentiment and pure madness. Because their 'constitution' was more 'flexible, irritable and elastic' than their male specimens', women were susceptible to all manner of derangement, hysteria and bouts of the 'vapours'; and this was compounded by the spasms of her uterus.[85]

The eradication of the body, therefore, allowed the author to weaken further any anxiety over the wide-ranging effects of feminine hysteria.

Schumann's introduction, however, is necessary for both countering the woman's hysterical tendencies and subverting the possibility of a problematic environment for an audience reveling in a supernatural listening experience at the hands of her music. The critic calls for an immersion into her creations, and for this kind of romantic listening to be advocated, Schumann clearly hopes to undermine any anxiety associated with a contagious madness. To reiterate, by calling attention to the normative vocation of women—decoration—and then by hurriedly coupling this behavior with the absence of body and, therefore, a problematic nervous system, Clara's constructions of a seemingly magical and dream-like space for the listener can exist as solely "bring[ing] a work of art into being." Furthermore, by using Clara as the exemplar of this serious listening, Schumann also aligned his future wife with his musical agenda.

Florestan and Eusebius take this posture even further as Clara herself ceases to exist in reality. She goes with her listener into this magical world, and there she and her compositions live together as an "external fantasy." This imagery of Clara's music "rising"

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[85] Chua, *Absolute Music*, 128.

to an external fantasy would, interestingly, linger throughout her career. The ability to hover or rise in space (earlier as "flying through diverse spheres"), coupled with romantic language, formed an angelic metaphor for the performer. An excerpt published as late as November 1, 1871, assessing a Leipzig performance, makes this connection quite explicitly.

> Wie wir schon in vorigem Referate zum Schlusse andeuteten, hat uns das dritte Abonnement-Concert fast vollständig für die beiden ersten entschädigt. Wirkten doch in dem genannten Concerte unsere beiden glänzendsten Sterne an dem weiblichen Künstlerhimmel mit: Fr. Dr. Clara Schumann und Fr. Amalie Joachim. Wo diese Beiden auftreten, vereint oder auch getrennt, da breitet der Genius der Kunst seine Fittige voll und rein aus; man geniesst im wahrsten und schönsten Sinne des Wortes.
>
> As we already indicated in the conclusion of the previous report, the third Abonnement-Concert almost completely compensated for the first two. In this concert, our two brightest stars in the womanly heavens took part: Fr. Dr. Clara Schumann and Fr. Amalie Joachim. Where these two appear, separately or together, there the genius of art spreads his wing, full and pure; one enjoys in the truest and most beautiful sense of the word.[86]

In another excerpt from much earlier, the reviewer likens Clara's hands to "elves" and speaks of "ghostly tensions." Published December 12, 1846 and reviewing a concert in Vienna, August Schmidt writes:

> Noch sitzt sie da am Claviere wie einst, und ihre Finger huschen Elfen gleich über die Tasten, die von diesem geisterhaften Drucke ertönen in sanften Werfen.
>
> Still she sits as before still at the clavier, and her fingers scamper like elves over the keys, which in soft tunes resound to these ghostly tensions.[87]

In both instances, Clara as part whimsical creature facilitates "genius" and supernatural experiences for her audience members. While these descriptors are obviously not unique to Clara, they do deal openly with fantastical or winged creatures—a topic that Jeffrey Kallberg has discussed extensively in his analysis of Chopin's reception history.

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[86] *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 11/44 (1 November 1871), 702.
[87] August Schmidt, *Allgemeine Weiner Musik-Zeitung* 6/149 (12 December 1846), 607-608.

> At about the same time that otherworldly metaphors began to attach themselves to Chopin, many of the same symbols enjoyed a vogue in literary, philosophical, and artistic circles throughout Europe, and especially in France. The chronological overlap is not coincidental and it goes a long way toward explaining some of the particular implications these terms took on for Chopin. For metaphorical representations of him as an angel, sylph, fairy, and elf did not function solely as religious, otherworldly, or supernatural figures of speech. These terms also engaged a complex of unstable meanings having to do with sex and gender, and so ultimately helped forge a changing image of Chopin as an androgynous, hermaphroditic, effeminate, and/or pathological being….But the issue is not so much the sexual identities of the airy sprites themselves as how a metaphorical affiliation with them might be wielded in interpreting the sexual tendencies of a human being.[88]

While Kallberg moves to connect Chopin to effeminate, androgynous, hermaphroditic, and sodomitical tendencies, what I find most interesting in his arguments concerns the use of these figures to confuse or deemphasize sexual identities. By applying terms that had a wide interpretative understanding and social currency, critics could destabilize normative ideas of sexual characteristics and gender constructs. Thus, Clara's sexual distinctiveness, while obviously present, could be subtly confused or disengaged via the supernatural.

This suggestion comes to the fore in a passage from the same year, which looks back on Clara's early career somewhat idyllically. Published on December 17, 1846 and assessing a Berlin concert, this portion of the review seeks to establish Clara's early career as creating a standard that could never be successfully reproduced in her absence. Furthermore, the reviewer fluctuates between wanting to encode this performer with religious symbolism and yet expressly worship the poetic feminine.

> Und es sind Jahre seither in dem Strome der Zeit dahingerauscht, als ein anspruchsloses Mädchen vor uns trat, eine feine, beinahe ätherische Gestalt, die uns durch das Medium der Töne die wunderherrlichsten Märchen kundgab, köstliche Klänge, denen das Herz zujubeln mußte; was kümmerten uns die Millionen Regeln der Kunst, der Theorie, was hatte da aller erotische Schnickschnack für eine Bedeutung, wir lauschten nur andachstvoll…wir hatten eine Sabbatstimmung erlangt.

[88] Jeffrey Kallberg, *Chopin at the Boundaries: Sex, History, and Musical Genre* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 70.

> Und wir hatten seither eine Legion Pianisten gehört, alte, junge, bärtige und unbärtige, Künstler und Handwerker und leider auch viele Pianistinnen (diese waren oft noch ungenußbarer) wir sind den herrlichsten Talenten begegnet, viele davon haben uns sehr befriedigt, sehr erfreut, sogar erwärmt, es sind uns viele poetische Gestalten und Erscheinungen vorgekommen, aber das war, möchten wir sagen, nur eine Poesie der Gedanken, selten die Poesie des Gefuhles—es war darin zugleich immer eine Sorte von Prätension, die sich dinglich als Potenzirung und nicht bloß als Selbstbewußtsein äußerte, nennen wir es am Ende gar die Poesie des Mannes, wenn ihr wolle die Poesie des Weibes in der herrlichsten Bedeutung fanden wir nur einmal und das war—bei Clara Wieck.
>
> And it was years since the rivers of time rushed by, when a modest maiden came before us, an acute almost ethereal form, [and] the heart must rejoice the tones for that which was made known to us by the medium of wonderfully-magnificently fairy tales, by delightful sounds; the million rules of art, of theory, were what had worried us, what possessed all of the sensual rubbish for example, we listened to only prayerfully…we had reached a Sabbath-mood.
>
> And since then we have heard a legion of pianists, old, young, bearded and shaven, artist and handworker and unfortunately also many pianists that were often unbearable, we encountered the admirable talents, many really satisfied us, really pleased, even heated, we found many poetic forms and guises, but these were, what should we say, only a poetic of the mind, seldom the poetic of feelings—it was therein together always a sort of pretension that expresses itself as diluted and not merely as self-awareness, at the end we even call it the poetry of men, when it wants the poetry of women, [and] in the wonderful meaning we found only one and that was—by Clara Wieck.[89]

Here, the critic positions Clara's early performances as "modest;" in this humility, however, the performer is still positioned as an "ethereal form." In fact, it is this combination—her unpretentious and otherworldly appearance—that creates "a Sabbath-mood" within the concert. Suggestions of a virginal and Marian figure allow Clara to create a listening experience that is both a "fairy tale" and a church service, and this experience must be "listened to only prayerfully" by the audience. In uniting supernatural and religious effects, the author can subvert the importance of sexual identity; for that matter, by placing a history of her earlier career in this review, the writer calls attention to and celebrates Clara's former

[89] J.P Kaltenbaech, *Weiner Allgemeine Musikalisch Zeitung* 11/151 (17 December 1846), 618.

virginal state. It was, it seems, in this condition that the performer was most effective in creating a religious, prayerful state for her listeners.

Further compounding this assertion, J.P. Kaltenbaech allows these early performances to color all subsequent experiences by outlining a following wide range, or "legion of pianists." Even though the writer perhaps appreciates some of these players, given that they do incite a variety of reactions in their listeners, the main flaw is (somewhat surprisingly) that these performers do not create a bodily "feeling" or response in their listeners but, rather induce only an intellectual or "mind[ful]" experience. The emphasis on the human, or on the humanity of feeling, perhaps alludes to Chua's assertion that

> The Gnostic secret that is unveiled in the temple of sound: instrumental music names man as divine, because the divine within man is music; and if music is the poetic force of all arts, it follows that…both man and music, like Christ, are fully human and fully divine.[90]

Positioning Clara as an "ethereal" being with *true* "poetic" intent seems to destabilize her sexuality to the point where her body cannot (or should not) threaten her listeners. Most obviously, she does not create a sexual or erotic sensation for her listener; rather, she incites devotion and prayerful consideration that literally affects the mind and body appropriately. In so doing, she epitomizes the romantic aesthetic and becomes the "priestess:"

> It was the central ritual of an art religion in which artists functioned as priests that 'exist only in the visible world'; their task was to mediate the finite and the infinite through the production of their work.[91]

In order to promote the religiosity of the work of art, Clara herself had to be transformed into an otherworldly or celibate figure, which would then ultimately confuse or suspend her sexual identity.

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[90] Chua, *Absolute Music*, 184-185.
[91] Ibid., 174-175.

While dream worlds could create spaces where gender norms were subject to confusion and dismissal, these states also sought to confirm her gender identity, and in so doing, position her femininity as nonthreatening and essential to her performances. Although this next excerpt offers a brief disclaimer regarding the importance of the "poetry of women," the author nonetheless places her poetic interpretation as the most important factor in his reaction. Covering a Berlin performance, this review from December 17, 1846 by Kaltenbaech describes the experience thus:

> Das waren wohl köstliche Stunden, herrliche Erscheinungen, wundervolle Träume, das war auch die entzückende unbewußte Einfältigkeit, die himmelweit von dem raffinirten Bewußtsein der Zeit steht....Die gewöhnlichen Worte über Clavierspiel dünken uns hier stereotype nichts sagende Frasen, wir sind so wonnig gefühldurchdrungen, so begeistert, daß wir diese Gefuhle nicht in Worte fassen können—scheltet uns nicht wenn wir bekennen, daß es die Poesie des Weibes ist, welche uns so mächtig ergriffen und durchglüht hat.
>
> These were no doubt delightful hours, magnificent apparitions, wonderful dreams, that were also charming [and] unintentional naïveté, the vastness of the refined consciousness of time. Here, the common words about piano-playing seem to us stereotyped nothingness, meaningless phrases, we are so lovely steeped with emotion, so enthusiastic that we cannot grasp this emotion in words—do not scold us when we confess that it is the poetry of women, which has touched us so powerfully.[92]

This selection, while bounding straight into the otherworldly characterization of Clara's playing, finally (although, apologetically) reveals what makes this performance so unique: "it is the poetry of women, which has touched us so powerfully." This declaration, preceded by excitement regarding the performance, further reaffirms that the listening experiences were "wonderful," "delightful," and "magnificent" because of the female's poetic interpretation; the writer goes out of his way to assure us that each fantastical experience is most certainly positive. Clearly, by lavishing such obvious praise, the author sets a specific tone for his review—one of adulation and exceptionality. Her feminine "charming and involuntary

[92] J.P Kaltenbaech, *Weiner Allgemeine Musikalisch Zeitung* 11/151 (17 December 1846), 618.

naïveté," however, has affected Clara's performance and musical interpretation. So, even though Kaltenbaech grants Clara a high artistic ability, as evidenced by the magical world her critical listener experiences, she has no real understanding of her performative or musical abilities. While we have seen aspects of Clara's innocence, or lack of interpretive awareness, surface before in Chapters Two and Three, it is critical that the writer apologizes immediately before making this "[confession]." By moving to her poetic ability, only after outlining his surreal (yet safe) listening experience, the writer is able to again ease his readers into accepting and respecting Clara Schumann's ability.

What is also interesting about this review is that the author even claims to be mentally incapacitated—"so enthusiastic"—that he cannot put his experience into words. This characterization resonates with the critical strategy at the outset of her career: Clara really does not *need* criticism. In this case, however, this debilitation strives to position the artist as a poetic interpreter. She silences critics focused on "stereotypical" and inauthentic phrases by rendering their terminology into "nothingness." Clara's performances effectively mute her romantic critics. By suggesting silence or an inexpressible void in critical commentary, Clara is almost able to exist without this entity. In effect, *no one* is actually competent in speaking about her performance in productive or accurate ways. While she works within these boundaries, no words can capably express her performance.

In this highly problematic interpretative move (declaring himself a writer who can no longer write), the critic could also align Clara with what was considered inexpressible and incomprehensible. By locating supernatural elements in her reviews, and connecting her to dream worlds and ethereal beings, Clara herself takes on the characteristics of her repertory; the critic effectively makes her performance indescribable or un-writable, aligning Clara's playing more firmly with the tenants of absolute and serious music. In correlating absolute nothingness with Clara, Kaltenbaech potentially points to the fact that "When music actually

signifies nothing, its empty sign is finally revealed in all its fullness."[93] The invisibility of the musical work, however, rested at the core of the changing nineteenth-century aesthetic. According to Chua,

> The new aesthetic was therefore a kind of purifying agent that cleansed the emotional and pictorial representations that the eighteenth century had for so long smeared into the structures of instrumental music to make it mean something. So whereas the past instrumental music was forced into imitation, now, under the new regime, it disappeared up the hole of its own empty sign…The sudden invisibility of music was an epistemological move to support the subject's ailing powers to ground itself in the visible world. Music became invisible because the visual objects of knowledge that had structured the empirical thought of the eighteenth century had disappeared in an act of subjective reflection. The first thing to go was the subject itself.[94]

The critic thus positions the appropriate reaction to Clara's performance in conjunction with the sharply adjusted aesthetic interpretations of the most serious (and important) of all nineteenth-century musics: that of the absolute. Within this new realm, comparing the musical, and in this case the performer, to anything tangible would perhaps relegate it to mere imitation or fakery.

Even though bourgeois ideals seem somewhat ancillary to the previous reviews, the cultivation of the German listener relied upon aural experiences that promoted a serious, almost religious, contemplation of the music. Critics found ways to elaborate upon and advance this involvement, most obviously through the use of supernatural and dream events. In conclusion, I would like to focus on a final writing that makes a connection to the bourgeois reality, while simultaneously realizing the vital separation between the real and the ethereal. Most obviously, this longer passage of the December 12, 1846 review (that I also discussed earlier) serves to reinforce many of the themes we have just explored.

> Es ist ein schöner Traum, der mich befangen hält; er spinnt die verbinden Fäden zwischen Gegenwart und Vergangenheit, die zur Brücke werden, auf welchen die

[93] Chua, *Absolute Music*, 188.
[94] Ibid., 191.

> angenehmen Erinnerungen, lichte Gestalten, herüberziehen aus der Vergangenheit in die trübe Gegenwart und mit mir schwelgen im freudigen Gedanken einer Zeit schönen Genusses; aber im tiefen Abgrunde der das Einst vom jetzt scheidet, liegen begraben die freudenlosen Stunden, die Sorgen und Kümmernisse, die in langen neuen Jahren im Garten unseres Kunstlebens emporgewuchert. Neun Jahre sind es, daß wir sie gehört, die erste Pianistin unserer Zeit, prangend damals in der Schöne jungfräulicher Anmuth. Ich vernehme sie noch die sanften idyllischen Klänge, die einst mit magischer Gewalt meine Seele gefangennahmen und mir in die Tiefen des Herzens hineindrangen, bis es aufjauchzte in Freude und Entzücken. Allein nur kurz ist der schöne Traum, vergebens will ich ihn festthalten, er entflieht und die kalte Wirklichkeit weht mich frostig an.
>
> It is a beautiful dream that keeps me captivated; it spins the uniting strands between present and past, that becomes the bridge on which the pleasant memories, bright figures, cross over from the past in the bleary present and wallow with me in the joyous thoughts of a time of beautiful pleasures; but in the deep abyss that sparks what was from the now, the pleasure-less hours buried, the cares and worries, which in long new years in the garden of our art-lives rampantly grow up. It is nine years since we have heard her, the first woman pianist of our time, radiant at time in the beauty of young-womanly gracefulness. I still hear then, the soft idyllic sounds, that once with magical sway captured my soul and pushed into the depths of my heart, until in pleasure and delight it shouted for joy. The beautiful dream alone is only short, I want to cling to it in vain, it escapes and cold reality blows frostily at me.[95]

This focus on the relationship between the past and present, fantasy-rich, dreamy, magical, and religious listening experiences dominates this passage. Her performance becomes a "beautiful dream," which emphasizes the contrast between "pleasure-less hours" and the author's own "problems and worries." Schmidt is immediately "captivated," and he allows himself to "wallow" in the memories of Clara Schumann's performances and prepare himself for this long-awaited experience. Most obviously, he notes the change that has occurred during her absence; now he lives in a world of harsh realities and depression. By overtly emphasizing his changed reality, Schmidt draws unambiguous attention to the rapidly modernizing world and the necessity of escape.

Clara's concert does allow her author to leave his "cold reality" and exist, if only for a moment, in a magical world. In order to assure the listeners of a safe listening experience,

[95] August Schmidt, *Allgemeine Weiner Musik-Zeitung* 6/149 (12 December 1846), 607-608.

the author emphasizes the length; Schmidt complains about the brevity of the dream, and he wants "to cling to it in vain, [but] it escapes." The brief experience assures the audience that Clara offers a safe dream world—this performer does not, in fact, control her listeners' unconscious state for long, which leaves little chance for any negative influence. Although her musical expressions and interpretations suspend reality, she only creates "quick," hence, safe, forays into this magical world. Ultimately, while this review reiterates Clara's ability to create magical, dream-spaces for her listeners via her submission to a higher musical power, she also remained tenuously connected to the rapidly modernizing realities. By calling attention to the supernatural alongside ideas of a modern work ethic, this review accentuates Clara's inclusion into all aspects of the bourgeois musical concert.

Critics used a variety of methods to assure their audiences of safe listening experience at the hands of Clara Schumann. Even as they continually subsumed her performances within the dominating bourgeois ideology, they never stopped positioning her as an artist that had found enthusiastic support and a consistent, considerable following. Throughout her career music journals and newspapers would, rather than writing any critical commentary, simply point to the reaction she garnered from her adoring public. Similar to our opening discussion, rather than emphasizing her international renown, however, this tactic sought to consistently reaffirm Clara's performances by pointing to how the public at large consistently accepted and appreciated her. A selection from a November 13, 1885 analysis of a Berlin concert does just that.

> Das erste Concert von Frau Clara Schumann und denn Herrn Joseph Joachim am Sonnabend im Saal der Singakademie hatte ein zahlreiches Publicum vorhin geführt, daß die vorzüglichen Leistungen der beiden bewährten Virtuosen mit großem Applaus aufnham.
>
> The first concert by Frau Clara Schumann and then Herr Joseph Joachim on Saturday in the Singakademie Hall resulted in a large public, that the excellent

> performances of both established virtuosos was proven by the reception of large applause. [96]

Excerpts from the preceding decades, of a Viennese concert review published March 14, 1866 and Leipzig performance published on November 8, 1871, both repeat the importance of inclusivity and positive collective acceptance.

> Frau Clara Schumann hatte hier mitten in der Carnevalszeit einen Cyklus von Concerten begonnen, deren Erfolg ein in der Jetztzeit beispielloser zu nennen ist. Der Musikvereinssaal war bei jedem der sechs Concerte ausverkauft, und der Empfang, welcher der Künstlerin allenthalben zu Theil wurde, war ein ungemein herzlicher und auszeichnender.
>
> Here in the middle of Carnaval-time Frau Schumann has begun a cycle of concerts, whose success be called in the present time unprecedented. The Musikvereinssaal was sold out in each of the six concerts, and the reception, which was in part the artist, was extraordinary, affectionate, and distinguished.[97]
>
> Also Montag Abend den 23. Oc. Concert im Saale des Gewandhauses, gegeben von Fr. Dr. Clara Schumann und Fr. Amalie Joachim, welches ein zahlreiches und dankbares Publikim fand, das jede Nummer mit stürmischem Beifalle aufnahm. Es war aber auch ein Concert voll der schönsten, herrlichsten Gaben, wie es hier selten geboten ist.
>
> Thus Monday evening the 23rd of October Concert in the hall of the Gewandhaus, given by Frau. Dr. Clara Schumann and Fr. Amalie Joachim, which found a numerous and thankful Public, that every number was accepted with stormy applause. It was, however, a concert full of the most beautiful, magnificent gifts, as is seldom presented here.[98]

The regular attention to Clara's favorable reception by large listening audiences would, most obviously, promote a cooperative and homogeneous understanding of her performances. By primarily remarking on how popular and widely accepted Clara was, listeners could feel at ease attending her performances. Whereas we have seen critics reassure their readers in a variety of critical strategies by underscoring elements of the bourgeois work ethic, nationalism, and supernatural events in her concerts, Clara Schumann's critical reviews all

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[96] *Neue Prußische Zeitung* (3 November 1855).
[97] X, *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* (14 March 1866) 1/11, 88.
[98] *Allgemine Musikalische Zeitung* (8 November 1871) 11/45, 717-718.

sought to create an image of the performer that both conformed with bourgeois standards and morals, and at the same time hope to assure her listeners of her safe musical performances. Clara performed and worked with a cohesive social collective that needed consistent and constant affirmation of her musical ambition.

Chapter Five

Programming the Woman and the Woman in the Programming
A Closer Look at Clara Schumann's Programmatic Choices

As for performers, we hear little about them either, at least not as creators of musical meaning. It seems that they can clarify or obscure a work, present it adequately or not, but they have nothing to contribute to it; its meaning has been completely determined before a performer ever lays eyes on the score.[1]

~Christopher Small

Part One
Programmatic Murmurings: Clara at the Crux

In *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste*, Weber hopes to untangle the complex web of meanings, implications, and consequences that the reorganization of musical life held for all of those in its wake.

> Between 1800 and 1850 European musical life underwent a fundamental transformation in values, practices, repertories, and institutions. The expansion of musical life in that period brought about more new kinds of music and taste than could coexist within the "miscellaneous" program or within the musical community as it had been traditionally defined.[2]

During a time where musical structures were destabilized and reorganized, and the public concert structure, as it had existed, was dissolving—Clara Schumann was an impetus, benefactor, and casualty. Given the new significance of this event and the increasing bourgeois emphasis on musical appropriateness or inappropriateness, some critics and performers, as I have argued, fought vigorously for a specific *kind* of repertory in certain public spaces. A concert's aesthetic meaning, cultural influence, quality, and organization hinged carefully on the repertory and its performance in light of the grave social consequences. Again, Gramit offers a most helpful explanation:

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[1] Christopher Small, *Musiking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1998), 5.
[2] Weber, *The Great Transformation,* 85.

> Widely recognized as that culture's essential event, at once the proof of its claims to transcendental value and the forum through which those values were reproduced, the concert constituted the center toward which musical education would lead those who received the benefits of proper cultivation. Within the musical sphere, it embodied the universal values attained by those who had successfully reached beyond both the limitations of their particular upbringings and the common understandings of music, tainted as it was by fixation on the merely sensual. Because of this central role and the pervasiveness of the dangers that threatened it, the concert became the object of a rich (if widely diffused) literature that sought to define it, establish its significance, and secure both its position in society and its purity.[3]

The idea of "purity," while extending throughout many details of a concert, would come to rest dynamically on repertory and concert programs, particularly because the *kind* of music performed held severe implications for both the concert's audiences and performers. This "purity" can be traced to several important facets of the performance, not the least of which involved the movement of "musical understanding away from 'extra-musical' toward 'musical' concerns."[4] According to Weber, the transition towards the absolutely musical irrevocably influenced the public concert's programmatic bent, which was intent upon establishing an imposing "classical music" hegemony:

> The acquisition of formal musical learning became the touchstone of idealistic values. Traditionally, listeners were thought to absorb knowledge informally and incrementally in the concert hall. Now, it was said, listeners needed to learn systematically if they were to understand what they heard correctly. The change resulted partly from the extension of concert repertories back into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, requiring that musicians help the public learn more about unfamiliar music. But ultimately the new valuation of musical learning sprang from a new authority being attributed to such learning….Indeed, classical music taste now became a conservative rather than a reforming movement. The idea that "great" music should be the focal point of concert life had begun as a utopian agenda aiming to transform musical culture fundamentally.[5]

This more conservative programming had great affects on the structure of the public recital; furthermore, as I have discussed at length elsewhere, the kinds of repertoire performed came

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[3] Gramit, *Cultivating Music*, 125-126.
[4] Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum*, 122.
[5] Weber, *The Great Transformation,* 239-240.

to define the event in ways that would alter not only the musical works heard, but also the way the event came to be organized.

With this new urgency to educate listeners to hear "properly," the musical program was almost explicitly aligned with this conservative agenda.

> The rise of the solo recital coincided with a general recentering of concert programming away from the fashionably new toward the classic. By the late nineteenth century, the formulas of the classical piano recital as we know it today were all being explored, from the single-composer program (all Beethoven sonatas, say, or all Chopin in various genres) to the conservatory model (a roughly chronological program proceeding from Bach preludes and fugues to a Beethoven sonata through works of Chopin or Liszt or Schumann to whatever counted as new).[6]

Reflecting on this time of rapid musical and recital reformation, historians often put Clara at the center of nineteenth-century public concert history; alongside Liszt, scholars often agree that she held a formative, if not the *most* influential, position in shaping public recitals.

How musicologists have interpreted (and continue to interpret) Clara's programmatic choices illuminates the role her repertoire has played in the history of the public concert, while simultaneously exposing the generalities and limits of this argument. Although I have pointed to specific moments of change in Clara's programs to clarify instances in her career, in Chapter Three for example, I have used those examples in conjunction with other primary sources to show how her programmatic decisions overtly (or obviously) affected the public perception of the performer. In the current understanding of nineteenth-century musical culture, Clara's formative position cannot be denied or understated; here, I would like to at least attempt to engage critically with her repertory choices in a way that allows us to address other social and musical possibilities. Rather than simply pointing out that her programs realized a decline in the trivial and an increase in the serious (which obviously cannot be refuted), what are some of the elements of the *performer* that programmatic choices might

[6] Stephen Zank, "The Piano in the Concert Hall" in *Piano Roles*, 247.

illuminate? How did her repertoire change over time, and how did these modifications fit within a variety of nineteenth-century analytical frameworks?

Even though I have used Clara's conservative or virtuosic musical choices to help explain somewhat drastic changes in her public perception (especially in regard to portraiture), I want to take these more comprehensive conclusions to examine the influence of repertory upon the performer more generally—or to look at the repertoire as a way to understand Clara's musical choices as they engage with the larger social and musical currents. As Small argues, we must take the steps that at least hope to discover the concept of musiking within the human experience—rather than simply understanding the work as the axis upon which the performer revolves. How can we invert our normative approach to privilege the participants, and is this exercise even possible?

> It is not enough to ask, *What is the nature or the meaning of this work of music?* To do so leaves us trapped in the assumptions of the modern Western concert tradition, and even within those limits, so narrow when one considers the whole field of human musiking, it will give answers that are at best partial and even contradictory…Using the concept of musiking as a human encounter, we can ask the wider and more interesting question: *What does it mean when this performance (of this work) takes place at this time, in this place, with these participants?* Or to put it more simply, we can ask of the performance, any performance anywhere and at any time, *What's really going on here?*[7]

Often, historians have looked to Clara's programmatic choices as a way to understand her fierce musical integrity, loyalty to her familial ties, and regard for audience expectation and enjoyment. She becomes the *definitive* musical example, who created a career that other performers could easily emulate. How can her repertoire be understood to fit (or disavow) other categories of bourgeois musical experiences? As a point of reference for this chapter, the following arguments clarify some of the most prominent conceptions of Clara's programming; in particular, all of these authors largely situate the *work* as the most dominant

[7] Small, *Musiking*, 10.

of all of her musical relationships, and in so doing, ultimately mirror the nineteenth-century "serious" aesthetic itself.

In her well-known biography, Reich argues, "Clara had considerable influence on repertoire and programming throughout the nineteenth century," and immediately moves to position the performer as one of the strongest proponents in the fight for a more serious, homogeneous recital format.

> Though she was not the first pianist to play Bach fugues and Beethoven sonatas in public concerts, she was certainly one of the first to program such works consistently after the 1840s. The pattern still followed by recitalists today—a work by Bach or Scarlatti, a major opus such as a Beethoven sonata followed by a group of shorter pieces by Schumann, Chopin, Mendelssohn—was pioneered by Clara Schumann. The works she performed were generally new to audiences accustomed to opera transcriptions and flashy variations….In the 1850s a new generation of pianists—Carl Tausig, Hans von Bülow, Anton Rubenstein—emerged; their programs and repertoire were modeled after those that Clara had popularized in the 1840s.[8]

For Reich, Clara's programmatic choices created an historical model that has, subsequently, reverberated throughout musical history. This inevitable result, however, seems ancillary to the ultimate cultivation of the listener; for this author, Clara performed unfamiliar works in order to counter the proliferation of opera transcriptions and gaudy variations. Positioning this performer similarly in his comprehensive examination of nineteenth-century concerts, Weber writes, "Clara Wieck Schumann exercised major leadership in shaping the repertory and the aesthetic significance of the recital."[9] More specifically, this author describes her as someone who gave equitable attention to both serious musical goals and popular selections in an effort to satisfy both her public and personal musical goals.

> Clara and Robert Schumann put on particularly pure examples of idealistic programming in the 1840s, marking a major change in her programming….The concert began and ended with chamber works Robert had written and blended piano works by Bach and Beethoven with his songs, which were thus defined as art works….In her own concerts, Clara moved toward a middle ground between the

[8] Reich, *Clara Schumann*, 265.
[9] Weber, *The Great Transformation*, 163.

> highly specialized programs of 1843 and what most piano virtuosos were offering. A concert in Leipzig in 1841 included Liszt's *fantasie* on *Lucia di Lammermoor* and the four-hand version of *Hexaméron*. But in 1846 she gave a concert that included neither *fantasies* nor classics, playing instead Mendelssohn's Concert in G Minor, a barcarolle by Chopin, a *Lied Ohne Worte* by Fanny Hensel and her own *Scherzo*. Thus she did display special talent as she negotiated between new musical ideas and music the general public could appreciate.[10]

In this case, Weber aligns himself with Reich's interpretation, while simultaneously emphasizing the performer's veneration of her own aesthetics and the expectations of her listeners.

Closely allied with both of these scholars, Pedroza—in an anthropological discussion of the development of the nineteenth-century piano recital—places Clara's concurrent concern and revulsion for her audiences front and center. According to Pedroza, just as Clara created lofty artistic goals for herself, she just as quickly had to compromise these aspirations in the virtuoso-driven climate of the early century. In fact, the "purity" of her artistic goals seemed to have been in constant conflict with the "real world" expectations of her listeners and the somewhat stark realities of a traveling performer. The idea that Clara could have possibly enjoyed playing the more mainstream, virtuosic pieces is never entertained as a possibility.

> Clara Schumann upheld those she considered the great composers, but many times she was unable to present her precise choice of programming. She upheld the importance of the transcendental and dismissed primal existence and material priorities as insignificant, yet she had to endure dealing with the real world, with the piano salons, with the ticket sales, money, and budgets. She also understood that her ideals, although elitist, had to be publicly championed for them to endure. Paradoxically, she would have to seek "the admiration and love" of the very people she did not wish to please….For her, there was no *conflict*, there were only obstacles, mainly created by the public and the emerging "commercialism," which hindered the complete establishment of mastery and brilliance at the service of art and its gods, the composers…Instead of following Robert's steps in trying to conceptually reconcile two disparate elements—virtuosity and the transcendental—she steered the solo recital in the direction of an event which would suspend the activities of daily

[10] Ibid., 164-165.

> life. Within this space, certain actions had to be taken in order to induce a *communitas* based on the sharing of the composer's transcendental world.[11]

Rather than seeing this performer as someone who compromised, as Weber implies, Pedroza wants to separate Clara completely from even wanting to please her audiences—her artistic goals trump every other performative aspect. For Pedroza, then, Clara's anxiety with the state of the public concert saw her advocating a suspension of "daily life" from commercialism and virtuosity; this dissolution of the listener's reality, however, depended heavily upon the performer becoming *the* agent for the composer and his "transcendental world." This author goes even further to offer imaginary guidelines for what an "ideal recital format" might look like for Clara Schumann.[12] In her invented construction, every aspect—from the acoustics to the clothing—is completely centered on promoting the integrity of the serious, transcendental musical work. In this conceptualized world, Pedroza positions Clara

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[11] Pedroza, "The Ritual of Music Contemplation," 76-77. In specific regards to the solo recital as we now know it today, Pedroza goes on to argue that "Like her father, she considered material comfort only necessary in order to support the search for the artistic ideas; therefore, her performances were devoid of conspicuous luxury. She also denied her own physical persona by wearing dark and modest garments and tried to eliminate the long programs of varied instruments and activities in favor of a more concentrated evening of piano 'masterpieces.' In relation to applause, there is some evidence that she may have been one of the early proponents of placing applause only at the beginning and at the end of the piece."

[12] Ibid., 78. "The following is a summary of the possible ideal format proposed by Clara Schumann's values, and that perhaps she would have liked to build in her public performances:

An acoustically proper physical space. Such space would allow the aural properties to equal the visual ones, or even rise over them.

Silence and reverence in the place of the previous celebratory and subversive atmosphere. Since the musical piece is a complete creative thought from the composer, it demands mental attention; the musical piece is not just dance accompaniment or a virtuoso-skills compendium; it is a creative whole, and it contains potential access to spiritual/subjective knowledge.

Dark clothing. The performer is not the principle attraction of the evening. Looks and fashion are inconsequential to the real object of the occasion, that is, to have a transcendental experience by grasping the meaning of the composer's creation.

No verbal communication. The use of physical gestures like bowing and applause is favored, if used appropriately and with respect to the integrity of the piece. There is little be said; the music contains the message.

Integrity of the creative work of the composer preserved by allowing its complete uninterrupted performance, including multi-movement works. Applause is not due between movements, but only at the end of the musical piece. This permits both the performer and the listener to have an uninterrupted experience.

Shorter and more concentrated programs. The evening is just for the music, not for socializing, eating, and drinking along with listening.

Standard repertoire which includes, for example, Bach, Beethoven, and Schumann. Only the works of the spiritual and honest artists are due the effort of performance and listening.

as *the* antithesis to Liszt. A virtuoso whose career possibly revolved entirely around his own egoism and individuality, Clara's performances were carefully crafted (to be understood by the public) as anti-individualistic and as ever-shifting the focus away from the performer and onto the music itself.

We see the tension between these two performers, and possibly these constructed ideals, in the writings of Schoenberg. In an older (but well-known and oft-cited) monograph—and one that Pedroza places prominently in her dissertation—Schoenberg positions Clara as a classicist and traditionalist.

> The most important "classical" pianist of the nineteenth century, the keyboard equivalent of Joseph Joachim on the violin, was Clara Schumann, née Clara Wieck. Nowhere does this dichotomy between the "pure" musician and the "pure" virtuoso show up. Clara was conscious of her role and took it very seriously. She deliberately set herself up as the keeper of the tradition, and when the name of Liszt was mentioned she picked up her skirt and moved fastidiously away….One thing about Clara: she always *knew* she was right, she had been the great prodigy, she was the great pianist, she had been married to the great composer. Wrapped in this triply secure blanket she always had a tendency to speak as if guided from On High. [13]

While implicating she is arrogant and prudish, Schoenberg nonetheless stays fairly close to the dominant tropes of Clara's programmatic choices; he also litters his discussion of Clara with anecdotes about her disdain for Liszt and empty virtuosity, love for Schumann and Brahms, and overwhelming influence over the nineteenth-century concert.[14] For Schoenberg, however, the attachment to these serious-music archetypes was intricately bound to "Clara the Classicist's"[15] particular kind of anit-Listzian egoism.[16] Nonetheless,

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[13] Schoenberg, *The Great Pianists,* 223.

[14] Ibid., 228. It did not take Clara very long to conquer Europe. She had been one of the pioneers of good music to begin with, and by 1860, four years after Schumann's death, romanticism had been fully accepted by the public. So had "her" type of program.

[15] Schoenberg's title for a particular section on Clara was labeled "Clara the Classicist."

[16] Ibid., 152. For example, Schoenberg writes this about Liszt: "He was an egomaniac and could never bear to have anybody's eyes off him. In concerto appearances he would, during the tuttis, talk, gesticulate, beat time, stamp the floor, wiggle around so that the metals and decorations he loved to wear would clink and clank."

this egoism served to promote her own artistic goals in a way that gave her an authority, and according to this author, caused her to act as if this "direction" were divine.

As Schoenberg implies, her guidance from "On High," though, came from years of public performances and a firmly established reputation as a "great pianist." Similarly, in his article focusing on the disparity between Clara's public and private concerts, especially in relation to her programming of Robert Schumann, David Ferris draws attention to the unique nature of the young performer's programming, and how her repertoire was inherently distinct from other virtuosos as early as 1839. To illuminate this disparity, Ferris discusses a particular moment in her career relating to audience acceptance. Upon her arrival in Prussia, after a six-month visit to Paris, the author calls attention to her anxieties, which ranged from the quality of the piano to the reception of her more creative programmatic choices:

> She was worried about hostile critics, was afraid that she did not have enough new "concert pieces" [*Concertsachen*], and could not remember what she had played on her first trip to Berlin two and a half years before. Despite Wieck's anxieties, the ensuing months turned out to be a period of both professional success and creative growth. She performed publicly in Berlin, Hamburg, Bremen, and several smaller German cities and put together innovative programs in which she supplemented the customary concert fare with rarely heard pieces by Schubert, Scarlatti, and Schumann.[17]

Not to belabor the point (or maybe to do just that), again scholars reference Clara's ability to "supplement" concert programs with pieces of a more serious nature, specifically meant to cultivate or educate the audience. By infantilizing twenty year-old Clara to the point where she seems like a lost child who is scared, worried, and unorganized (probably how her father was hoping to find her),[18] Ferris is perhaps more able to accentuate the importance of these

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[17] David Ferris, "Public Performance and Private Understanding: Clara Wieck's Concerts in Berlin" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56 (Summer 2003), 351-352.

[18] Reich, *Clara Schumann*, 88. "During the next few months Clara began to recognize the depth of her father's hostility. He would permit her to go to Paris without him, but he hoped for her failure and counted on her return from what he predicted would be an ignominious defeat. Fury at her defiance and independent spirit outweight pride in her success; this man would be vindicated at any cost. But in counting on her need for him as teacher, father, protector, Weick ignored all that she had learned from that same source: practicality, self-confidence, and a particular hardheaded stubbornness. And so she decided to go."

serious concert pieces. This immaturity possibly calls greater attention to Clara's main artistic goals: her primary concerns related to interpreting serious works, which, in effect, rendered her unable to stay organized in other, extraneous matters related to the commercial virtuoso lifestyle—critics, flashy pieces, or general concert management. Early on in her career, these more serious repertoire decisions helped Clara achieve a kind of balance between virtuosity and seriousness that was "innovative" and furthered her ability—and overwhelming desire, it seems—to spread the gospel of serious music well before the general public had embraced this music.

Reaching a similar conclusion regarding Clara's programming, in a 2009 article analyzing all 1312 of Clara's concerts, Reinhard Kopiez, Andreas C. Lehmann, and Janina Klassen use a decidedly quantitative method to evaluate the trends in this pianist's programmatic choices.[19] Basing their conclusions on a computer database analysis, these authors establish which pieces and composers were performed most frequently, and they work to situate these repertories into a biographical context. In their general introductory arguments, these authors claim:

> The life of Clara (Wieck) Schumann has been of great interest to musicologists and gender studies researchers alike. She is a fortuitous case for us, because she stepped

[19] Reinhard Kopiez, Andreas C. Lehmann, and Janin Klassen, "Clara Schumann's Collection of Playbills: A Historiometric Analysis of Life-Span Development, Mobility, and Repertoire Canonization" *Poetics* 37 (2009), 53-54. This article, appearing in a scientific journal, takes a methodic approach to the data and outlines its quantitative approach accordingly on page 51: "This study explores the following aspects of Clara Schumann's career development: (a) the influence of critical life events and ageing on her life-span development regarding the frequency of stage performances; (b) her associated geographical mobility and exportation of German music; (c) her canonization of the repertoire and the role of personal constraints and certain aesthetic values (traditionalist vs. modernist); (d) an exploratory comparison with data for other performers. We complement existing scholarly research on programming and canonization by employing a primarily quantitative approach and by focusing on the cumulative effects of an individual performer's programming choices. In our opinion, this the first time ever that such an extensive body of data on a performing career has been analyzed." These authors more specifically defend their use of a quantitative approach earlier in their introduction: "Although repertoire formation in music is a complex historical process, it is amenable to musicological study, in particular, quantitative historical analyses; quantitative methods are a widely accepted approach in historical scholarship. Since the inception of empirical aesthetics, researchers have continuously developed theoretical and methodological approaches to deal with questions of personal and public tastes and their formation. Surprisingly, this has not transpired into the musicological research on performers."

> onto the stage at a time that marks the beginnings of a classical music canon. Her stage career spanned over 60 years….Already in the 1830s she sensed a change in the performance practice and taste and consequently incorporated autonomous art into her repertoire. This was risky, as the audience at large still wanted to be touched and entertained rather than culturally educated. In the 1840s when the culture of the urban burgher became established, she settled down with her husband Robert Schumann and brought up her family. Toward the middle of the century she distanced herself from the aesthetic developments of the "Neudeutsche" Schule with its innovators such as Franz Liszt and Richard Wagner. In the 1870s and 1880s she taught increasingly and became a pioneer of the classical-romantic heritage.[20]

More definitively, this article contends that:

> Analyses showed that the yearly frequency of concerts reflected her personal circumstances and critical life events. Although Clara performed works by almost 40 composers, the most frequently performed four composers (R. Schumann, Mendelssohn, Beethoven, and Chopin) comprised 70% of all performances. Furthermore, although she performed in 160 cities, 50% of her concerts took place in only seven major cities which represented international (London, Leipzig, Vienna) and national (Berlin, Dresden, Hamburg, Frankfurt) music centers. Finally, her influential role in the canonization of classical piano music can be explained by biographical circumstances which resulted in particular choices of traditionalist repertoire after Robert Schumann's death (1856). This included decreasing diversity after 1870 and the avoidance of contemporary composers, such as Liszt, Grieg, Tchaikovsky or Saint-Säens.[21]

Once more, scholars position Clara as a performer whose career was sharply focused upon promoting the canonization of the classics, and in this case, the "data"—coupled with biographical events—facilitates the reasoning behinds these assertions.[22]

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[20] Ibid., 51.

[21] Ibid., 50.

[22] Ibid., 66. In their final discussion section, these scholars point out major life changes, which could be seen as responsible for declines in performances, changes in repertory, and the primacy of certain locations. This section is quite brief, but an example of the "depth" included is evident in the following excerpt: "An important, though not at all surprising, result of our analysis is that the frequency of Clara's concerts varied predictably across her life-span. For example, during the time of her marriage up until Robert's later stages of illness and commitment to psychiatric care, she performed an average of 10.4 concerts a year, which appears to be a comparably low number for a professional artist. Her tender age during the early years and personal obligations once she got married in 1840 (e.g., her pregnancies and the husband's desire to envisage her as the proverbial "Hausfrau" might account for this fact.) While performing 10 and 27 concerts during the 1839 and 1840 season, she only performed once in the season of her marriage (1841). Given that concerts occurred mainly during the winter months, the household was consequently overseen by servants much of the time on weekends—most concerts happed on Sunday according to our data—and even during the week. Especially during the cold season, trips must have been physically extremely demanding. It seemed that Clara concertized most often in large cities with good infrastructure (e.g., railroad) and music publishing houses. This would

Based upon these excerpts, it is quite clear that historians repeatedly call attention to Clara's serious programmatic choices, and, subsequently, her desire to "educate" and "cultivate" the masses, while at the same time offering them a means of escape from their daily realities. This categorization not only sets her apart from other contemporary performers, but it also allows her musical legacy to exist purely within the repertory, while all other aspects are considered secondary or extraneous. Clara's length career obviously affected many facets of public concert life; nevertheless, scholars repeatedly accentuate her influence over the repertoire of public concerts and, hence, the format of the public recital. By looking to one of her most frequented cities, Vienna, and considering the general changes in her repertory alongside a scattering of reviews and accounts from her first three concerts there, I hope to zero in on some of the possible factors that encouraged or fortified her innovative programming, and how these various aspects of the nineteenth-century *Zeitgeist* center back onto the performer to help create a set of public rituals—with the score at its center—that have yet to be destabilized.[23] Her Viennese concerts perhaps illuminate the various aspects of the nineteenth-century musical culture that would enable a general acceptance of her programmatic choices, while concurrently hailing these selections as superior.

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have supported efficient travel as well as help her promote Roberts and other contemporary composers' ambitious music. Clara had such an outstanding reputation as an artist that she could forego giving concerts in small cities where the public only wanted to hear virtuosic pieces for light entertainment and where she could hardly find an adequate concert hall or decent instrument to perform on."

[23] Small, *Musiking*, 108. "Properly understood, then, all art is performance art, which is to say that it is first and foremost and activity. It is the *act* of art, the act of creating, of exhibiting, of performing, of viewing, of dancing, or wearing, of carrying in procession, of eating, of smelling, or of screening that is important, not the created object. Clearly what we choose to create, to exhibit, to look at and so on is significant, as is what we choose to play and to listen to in a musical performance, but it is the object that exists in order to bring about the action, not the other way around."

Part Two
The Barometer of the Viennese

Clara Schumann's first three visits to Vienna have come to serve as symbolic metaphors for the growth and change of her performance career; since these concerts are (for us) conveniently spaced (1837, 1846, 1856),[24] and because these performances have garnered such critical attention, they become useful barometers when examining general programmatic and performative changes. Ultimately, these concerts reveal several critical binaries I will attend to later: virtuosic-interpretive, public-private, old-new, trivial-serious and woven throughout, the inevitable distinction between Liszt and Clara. Clara's first trip to the city in December of 1837 and January of 1838 would position the 18 year-old artist as a virtuosic and musical force to be reckoned with, and scholars continue to hold a certain reverence for Clara's early successes in this musical city. From Friedrich Wieck's standpoint, Reich argues that

> [He] viewed the trip to Vienna as his greatest artistic and financial triumph. Clara's success exceeded anything he had ever dreamed of. She was so immensely popular that Wieck worried through sleepless nights whether she could maintain her position and keep Vienna's hysteria at the high pitch her artistry had inspired…He marveled at the way the money rolled in. The Viennese were storming the box office and police had to be called in to restore order.[25]

Another biographer, Joan Chissel, emphasizes that this concert series was a culminating moment of Clara's professional endeavors—even though her career was just beginning.[26]

> For both father and daughter, these six concerts, together with two further appearances at the Kärthnerthor Court Theater and, of course, many private soirées, were the realization of a lifetime's hopes and dreams. Never had either experienced

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[24] Clara's Viennese first three visits were spaced almost ten years apart: she appeared in December 1837-January 1838; December 1846-January 1847; and January 1856. Following these gapped trips and her success in 1856, she began performing in Vienna with much more regularity, concertizing there throughout the remainder of her life: 1858, 1859, 1860, 1866, 1868, 1869, 1870, and 1872.

[25] Reich, *Clara Schumann*, 79.

[26] While Clara performed at the Leipzig Gewandhaus on October 8, 1828 and again on November 8, 1830, she began performing with much more frequency in 1831; arguably, her career was only a mere six years old.

> a satisfaction as great as knowing that they had this legendary city of music at their feet—formidable box-office profits elated Wieck still more.[27]

Both authors stress the frenetic Viennese reception of Clara, which was inevitably connected to her virtuosic expertise and interpretive maturity; more importantly, however, this first concert series spotlights a moment of transformative programming. These performances, therefore, potentially offer early insight into how certain repertory was embraced or rejected.

During her first Viennese concert at the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* on December 14, Clara performed primarily virtuosic pieces, but Chopin possibly helped create a sense of contrast.[28]

Proch, Heinrich: Overture
Pixis: Concert-Rondo for the Piano
Donizetti: Aria
Henselt: Etude, *Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär*
Chopin: Nocturne, F#-Major
Chopin: Arpeggio-Etude, No. 11
Henselt: Andante and Allegro
de Béroit: First Movement, Concerto
Wieck, Clara: Concert-Variations over the Cavatina from Bellini's *Pirat*

Another concert on January 7, while including similar virtuosic fare, also integrated Beethoven's *Appasionata*. Again, however, Clara concluded the event with her own variations on an operatic theme.

Mozart: Overture, *Zauberflöte*
Beethoven: Sonata Op. 57, F-Minor
Weiß, L.: *Verlorenes Minneglück* for Tenor, Horn, and Pfte.
Chopin: Nocturne, B-Major
Wieck, Clara: Hexentanz, Impromptu
Henselt: *Lied ohne Worte*, A#-Minor
Henselt: Etude, *Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär*
Lafont: Potpurri for Two Violins
Wieck, Clara: Concert-Variations over the Cavatina from Bellini's *Pirat*

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[27] Chissel, *Clara Schumann*, 52.
[28] Clara began playing Chopin as early as 1831 and would program his pieces throughout the entirety of her career.

These concerts, along with subsequent performances in the musical city, all show a trend in her performance trajectory that many authors have repeatedly outlined (as noted earlier): beginning around 1836 Clara gradually began including more "serious" repertory.

In her discussion of Clara's performances between 1832 and 1850, Pamela Susskind Pettler makes this point quite explicitly, while simultaneously correlating programmatic changes with location and audience expectation:

> Her programs of late 1835 show a gradually transforming repertoire and illustrate the art of tailoring a concert program to an audience….Over the next few years the virtuoso pieces gradually disappeared from her programs. No Pixis appeared after 1836; no Herz after 1837. By 1840 her repertoire centered solidly on the works of Beethoven, Chopin, Mendelssohn, and Schumann.[29]

The initial trip to Vienna captures early instances of change, since these concerts featured musical works that potentially stood at opposite performative poles; just as Clara played Beethoven's *Appassionata* sonata in its entirety, Bach fugues, and Chopin Nocturnes, these pieces were easily included alongside others by Henselt, Thalberg, and herself. Her programmatic choices quickly illuminate several possible points of entry into understanding Clara's repertoire, and how this music affected the nineteenth-century concert structure. As evidenced by these two programs, she capably united several somewhat antithetical pieces, and fluently bonded the "serious" with the "trivial," the "virtuosic" with the "interpretive," the "old" with the "new," and the "public" with the "private." While these categories are obviously fairly superficial binary constructs, as I have discussed at length in almost every chapter, these labels were anything but arbitrary throughout the nineteenth century.

Clara's ability to program repertory that represented diverse (and somewhat opposed) dimensions of nineteenth-century aesthetic ideals resounded throughout the local presses. Following her decisive Viennese successes, for example, Josef Fischoff published a

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[29] Pamela Susskind Pettler, "Clara Schumann's Recitals, 1832-50," *19th-Century Music* 4 (Summer 1980), 73; 75. Her statement regarding Pixis is possibly an error given that Clara did perform Pixis during her visit to Vienna in late 1837 and early 1838.

list in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musick* that ranked Clara alongside other prominent virtuosos—Thalberg, Liszt, and Henselt—and set out to assess the strengths of each.

Purity of Style: 1) Thalberg, 2) Clara, 3) Henselt, 4) Liszt
Improvisation: Liszt, Clara
Warmth of Feeling: Liszt, Henselt, Clara, Thalberg
Depth of Innate Musicianship: Liszt, Clara
High-Soaring Spirit: Liszt
Sophisticated Ease: Thalberg
Affectation in Presentation: Henselt (?)
Wholly Self-Determined Originality: Liszt
Withdrawn-Introverted: Clara
Ability to Sight Read: Liszt, Thalberg, Clara
Versatility: Clara, Liszt, Thalberg, Henselt
Musical Judgment: Liszt, Thalberg
Beauty of Touch: Thalberg, Henselt, Clara, Liszt
Audacity: Liszt, Clara
Egoism: Liszt, Henselt
Recognition of Others' Merits: Thalberg, Clara
Objectivity in Performance: None[30]

While this register of sorts suggests subjective ways of understanding virtuosity and pianism, this criticism also helps decipher what was valued and perhaps speaks to which musical pieces might suit Clara's "kind" of virtuosity or pianistic specialties the best. This possibility seems even more convincing when keeping in mind that Fischoff's rankings came in conjunction with a slight programmatic shift—therefore, we might take these strengths to be extraneously associated with her programming. For instance, these categories seem focused on marking Clara as primarily an interpreter, instead of a virtuoso, possibly as a reaction to

[30] Josef Fischoff, *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 8/32 (27 April 1838), 127. "Reinheit des Spieles: 1) Thalberg, 2) Clara W., 3) Henselt, 4) Liβt; Improvisation: Liβt, Clara W.; Gefühle und Wärme: Liβt, Henselt, Clara, Thalberg; Tiefe Künstlernatur: Liβt, Clara; Hochragender Geist: Liβt; Pli und Weltsitte: Thalberg; Affectation im Benehmen: Henselt (?); Originalität ohne alles Vorbild: Liβt; Insichgekehrtsein: Clara; Primavista Lesen: Liβt, Thalberg, Clara; Vielseitigkeit: Clara, Liβt, Thalberg, Henselt; Gelehrt musikalisch: Thalberg, Henselt, Clara, Liβt; Musikalisches Urtheil: Liβt, Thalberg; Schönheit des Anschlages: Thalberg, Henselt, Clara, Liβt; Freie—Thalberg und Clara; Knechtische—Henselt; Den Charakter des Tonstückes gebend, ohne Einfluβ der Individualität: keiner.; Als Mußter aufzustellen: Thalberg und Clara; Leichtigkeit 1) (physische) Thalberg, Clara und Henselt; 2) im Einstudiren: List, Thalberg, und Clara; Liβt, der Repräsentant der französisch = romantischen Schule; Thalberg = = der italienische=schmeichelnden; Henselt und Clara der deutsch-sentimentalen" Joan Chissel also reproduces this list in *A Dedicated Spirit*.

her changing repertory. Classifications focused on the purely technical aspects, "beauty of touch," "sophisticated ease," and "affectation," see Clara unranked or placed lower.

Fischoff orders Clara "first" in only two, somewhat contradictory (yet closely related) categories: "Inwardness" or "Introversion" and "Versatility" or "Many-Sidedness." Of these classifications, Clara's "first-ranking" abilities are to exist inside herself, while simultaneously maintaining great versatility—both categories perhaps speak to similar concerns with and perceptions of her performing style. Her introverted nature emphasizes the predominance of her internal (interpretive) qualities over her technical and physical attributes,[31] while her versatility or many-sidedness seems to suggest that she can, in fact, become anyone or play anything; again, however, this classification draws attention to the capacity of her personality to succumb to other, more dominant or important personas (i.e., the composer). So it seems, these categories converge on a single idea regarding Clara's playing: her (inferior, lesser) self is always subordinated or hidden completely—the listener is, therefore, never affected by *her*, and they are never certain exactly *who* "Clara" is—in turn, she never reveals an "authentic" personality to them.

The lack of any solid internal or external identity could have positioned Clara as one of the most dangerous virtuosos performing in the early nineteenth century, primarily because these characteristics suggest musical emptiness, a well-known criticism of virtuosity;[32] if we take these features at face value, Clara could be filled with anything,

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[31] This characteristic is probably one of the most well known regarding Clara Schumann, her performances, and her artistic goals. We see attention to interpretation in countless numbers of reviews and criticism.

[32] While I have alluded to this issue and will continue to discuss the idea of emptiness in some detail later, a brief explanation is warranted here. Kenneth Hamilton, in the generalized introduction to the virtuoso tradition, offers this explanation: "Harsh criticism of the 'virtuoso school' [has] been penned at least as far back as the nineteenth century heydays of Liszt and Thalberg, whose concert triumphs served as models for many later pianists. Even today, some critics seem unable to utter the word 'virtuosity' without the appendages 'empty' or 'meretricious'. This contrast between playing that somehow metaphysically exposes the soul of music without drawing attention to technical accomplishment, and playing in which tasteless display is paramount echoes Mozart's two-hundred-year-old criticism of Clementi as 'a mere *mechanicus*'. No player, however elevated his interpretive ability, can communicate his intentions without a sound instrumental technique (unless he becomes a conductor), and most of the great Romantic pianists were both interpreters and

anyone, or nothing. Additionally, the deception of her true self to the listener could have been seen as a negative and dangerous trait—especially considering the hidden and ever-lurking unpredictable tendencies associated with femininity and womanhood (which I have discussed at large in Chapters Two and Three). Nonetheless, the writer here goes out of his way to establish these characteristics as, quite literally, "first rate" and, therefore, desirable. The argument that I would like to make here, however, takes this focus on her interpretive abilities one step further in order to correlate these traits with her programmatic choices. Ultimately, the perpetual instability of Clara's internal and external identities came to be celebrated and embraced primarily because of her musical decisions. What pieces she performed and at what point in her career she performed them more than likely affected every detail of her reception and public appeal.

Her consequent visits to Vienna support the inevitable influence of repertory over her concert successes; for example, during her second trip at the New Year of 1846 and 1847, Clara's performances did not receive the same acclaim of her visit ten years earlier. Many authors attribute this failure to her evolving repertory, and how her marriage six years earlier had caused these noticeable programmatic changes. Chissel makes this point quite precisely, especially in regards to the inclusion of Schumann's pieces:

> There was still worse to come on January 1, 1847, when Schumann's Piano Concerto and elsewhere warmly acclaimed 'Spring' Symphony (both conducted by himself) drew so small an audience that they were left with a deficit of 100 florins. After this humiliating occasion Clara could no longer contain herself: although in the company of her friends she gave vent to her indignation so vehemently that Schumann felt obliged to intervene. 'Calm yourself, dear Clara, in ten years' time all this will have changed' were his prescient words. Their immediate *deus ex machine* was Jenny Lind, who having arrived in Vienna just in time to attend this ill-starred orchestral evening, immediately volunteered to sing at Clara's last concert on January 10….Yet as at every Lind concert each seat could have been sold twice over. Instead of returning

virtuosos of the highest order." Kenneth Hamilton "The Virtuoso Tradition," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Piano*, ed. David Rowland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 57.

> in debt, the Schumanns found themselves with 300 thalers in hand to take back home after all expenses for the entire Viennese trip had been paid.[33]

The entire program for her third concert progressed as follows:

Schumann: Symphony in B-Major
Stein, Carl: *Die Nachtigall*
Lewy, Carl: *Reseda*
Schumann: Clavier-Concerto
Chopin: Mazurka, Etude
Schubert: *Fischermädchen*
Schubert/Liszt: *Ständchen*
Mendelssohn: Volkslied
Scarlatti: Clavier Piece

To say the least, Chissel implies, as did Liztmann before her,[34] that Jenny Lind (the famous Swiss vocalist) rescued Clara from an embarrassing and financially disparaging event. For that matter, both scholars emphasize that her unpopular programmatic decisions were largely responsible for the tepid reaction. The excerpt regarding Clara's irritation that Litzmann and, subsequently, Chissel draw from comes from an 1847 account by Hanslick:

> The attendance was very moderate, the applause cool and apparently expended on Clara alone. The piano-concerto and the symphony found but slight approbation.[35] After the concert I and a couple of Schumann's admirers were with him. The minutes passed in uncomfortable silence. Clara was the first to break the silence, complaining bitterly of the coldness and ingratitude of the public. Everything that the rest of us said, endeavoring to soothe her, only increased her vexation. Then Schumann said these never-to-be forgotten words: "Calm yourself, dear Clara; in ten years' time all this will have changed."[36]

Basically, Clara's playing *did* receive acceptance and appreciation, or at least the reviewer implies such, "the applause cool and apparently expended on Clara alone;" Hanslick, and

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[33] Chissel, *Clara Schumann*, 99.

[34] According to Litzmann, the music she performed largely contributed to this negative experience:
"If Clara Schumann had appeared with the same virtuoso-programs that she had played in the old days, she would probably have been feted with the same enthusiasm by the Viennese. They would also have accepted her interpretation of Beethoven with close attention and interest, as they had done then. But the Clara Schumann who brought them Robert Schumann's music meant nothing to them." Litzmann, *Clara Schumann,* I: 413.

[35] Schumann's piano concerto and Spring Symphony

[36] Litzmann, *Clara Schumann*, 415.

later Litzmann and Chissel, insinuate that had Clara's programming followed suit, she would have had no problems pleasing the public or having a successful tour in Vienna.[37] Significantly, however, these authors also claim that she stood firmly beside her musical choices and even berated the ignorance or "ingratitude" of the public. Again, the focus is on the balance of her repertoire with her technical abilities and with her desire to satisfy (or not) the public, while at the same time fulfilling her own musical goals and concerns.

We witness this negotiation first hand in her final Viennese concert on January 10, alongside Jenny Lind.

Beethoven: Sonata, F-Minor
Geraldy: *Canzonetta La Festa*
Bach: Prelude and Fugue, A-Minor
Mangold; C.A.: Two Songs
Mendelssohn: Songs on the Piano
Schumann: *Der Nußbaum*
Schumann: *Traumes Wirren*
Mendelssohn: *Songs Without Words*
Henselt: Etude, *Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär*

While this program continues to showcase ample amounts of Schumann, the concerto is missing in exchange for his Lieder. Clara also includes Adolph Henselt's Etude, which she had played on her visit to Vienna ten years earlier. Ultimately, at this point in her career, while Clara's programmatic concerns had obviously shifted, she was still unable (according to these sources and based on the reception of these concerts) to play what she—or her

[37] Weber, *The Great Transformation*, 165-166. Weber claims that: "The authority of the virtuoso *fantasie* remained stronger in Vienna than in London or Leipzig. Until the mid-1840s it was uncommon for more than two of the eight to ten pieces at a benefit concert to be by classical composers. Liszt led the way in 1838 by performing Beethoven's sonatas in A-flat (Op. 26) and C# Minor ("Moonlight," Op. 27, No. 2). Other pianists followed his example during the following decade; Theodor Döhler, who was thought to imitate Thalberg, surprised the critics by performing the "Kreutzer" Violin Sonata (op. 47), followed by three of his own etudes together. Jenny Lind, who usually offered standard programs of opera selections and virtuosic *fantasies*, invited Mendelssohn to perform the "Moonlight" Sonata at a concert she presented in 1846….Nevertheless, a great deal of Beethoven's music was performed in private homes in Vienna, chiefly under the auspices of Carl Haslinger."

husband—desired. Audience expectation continued to have a firm hold over the performer and her repertoire.

Her third visit to Vienna highlights the importance of this audience-artist balance in Clara's performances, even some twenty years after her initial successes there. For Liztmann, the Viennese public had *finally* learned to appreciate the German romantic composers.

> For the third time she arrived in Vienna, which in spite of their unfortunate experiences nine years before, always had a mysterious, almost magical fascination for both her and Robert. Since her last visit, great changes had taken place; from appreciating Beethoven they had learned to appreciate the romantic movement, and Schumann most of all. The Viennese had discovered that this man, who at first had seemed to them so remote, so obscure, so difficult to place, had an imagination above all limits, which appealed to their own delight in the romantic, and they now responded to his music with unrestrained warmth and vehemence….Nine years ago she had been respected as a virtuoso, but as an interpreter of classical music she had been, if not rejected, in all events only tolerated. Now it was difficult to say whether the method or the meaning of her playing proved the more attractive, whether it was Robert Schumann's music played by Clara Schumann, or Clara Schumann as the interpreter of Robert Schumann that drew people.[38]

Notably, this concert series resulted in one of the most oft-quoted reviews of her professional career, which was written by Eduard Hanslick in 1856. In January and February of 1856, Clara gave five scheduled concerts in Vienna; her first concert on January seventh saw her encored fifteen times.[39] The program for that concert included Beethoven, Schumann, and Mendelssohn:

Schumann: Piano-Quintet
Song
Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses*
Beethoven: Piano Sonata, A-Major, Op. 101
Song
Schumann: Canon in B-Minor, Op. 56,
Des Abends, *Traumes Wirren*, Op. 12

[38] Litzmann, *Clara Schumann*, II: 124.
[39] Chissel, *Clara Schumann*, 134.

This performance shows a complete shift in repertory—with no repercussions or negative reaction from the public. The undeniable success of these concerts prompted her to give a sixth on March second, which heard the following pieces:

Beethoven: Piano Sonata, C-Major, Op. 53
Mozart: Recitative and Aria, *Titus*
Schubert: *Moment musical*, Op. 94, Nr. 3
Mendelssohn: *Scherzo à Capriccio*, F#-Minor
Bach: Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue
Schumann: *Waldesgespräch*
Schumann: *Carnaval*, Op. 9

The following critical excerpts, written by Hanslick, speak unambiguously about the importance of her programmatic choices

> In her second concert, Clara Schumann confirmed and heightened the impression of pure satisfaction, experienced when an ideal project is realized harmoniously and within the appropriate frame. She gives a perfect reproduction of each composition, having first understood it in its entirety and then studied it in the utmost detail. The artistic subordination of her own personality to the intentions of the composer is, with her, a principle. And she is, indeed, rarely qualified to grasp and to identify herself with those lofty intentions. Brought up on Bach and Beethoven, she has become so much at home in the thoughts of august composers that she finds profound beauties where others find only riddles. As a young girl she already stood above the insipid trifles of virtuosity and was one of the first to preach the gospel of the austere German masters. And yet she did not grow stale in the one-sidedness of a single school. She made Schubert, Chopin, Schumann, and, above all, Henselt available to the public at a time when the dawn of their fame had hardly risen above the musical horizon.
>
> Her penetrating understanding of every kind of music—as long, of course, as it is still true music—is such that she can treat the whole range of technique as a matter completely dominated and utterly at her disposition. In one or another aspect of virtuosity she may be surpassed by other players, but no other pianist stands quite as she does at the radial point of these different technical directions, focusing their respective virtues on the pure harmony of beauty. Although mere correctness is hardly her objective, it forms the essential basis on which she builds. To give a clear expression to each work in its characteristic musical style and, within this style, to its purely musical proportions and distinctions, is ever her main task. She seems to play rather to satisfy a single connoisseur than to excite a multitude of average listeners. If one of the latter, however, may have wished for just one small audacious deviation from the pure linearity of the Greek profiles, I cannot blame him. The effect of her

> playing is never to overpower or to transport. It is a most truthful representation of magnificent compositions, but not an outpouring of a magnificent personality. This is not only more appropriate to the true task of virtuosity; it is also its fulfillment, and we should be compelled to declare her playing ideal, if everything human were not imperfect, and if every virtue did not have its deficiencies….
>
> Clara Schumann not only plays well; she also chooses well. We are particularly indebted to her for several performances of piano works by her excellent husband, Robert Schumann. This profound and inspired composer has produced a great number of works for the piano, not only of extraordinary beauty but also, in many cases, of such extraordinary difficulty that only a virtuoso of the first order can master them. Franz Liszt, unfortunately, has never honored this artistic debt. The more courageous and successful, then, the achievement of a woman in fulfilling the double mission of artist and wife.[40]

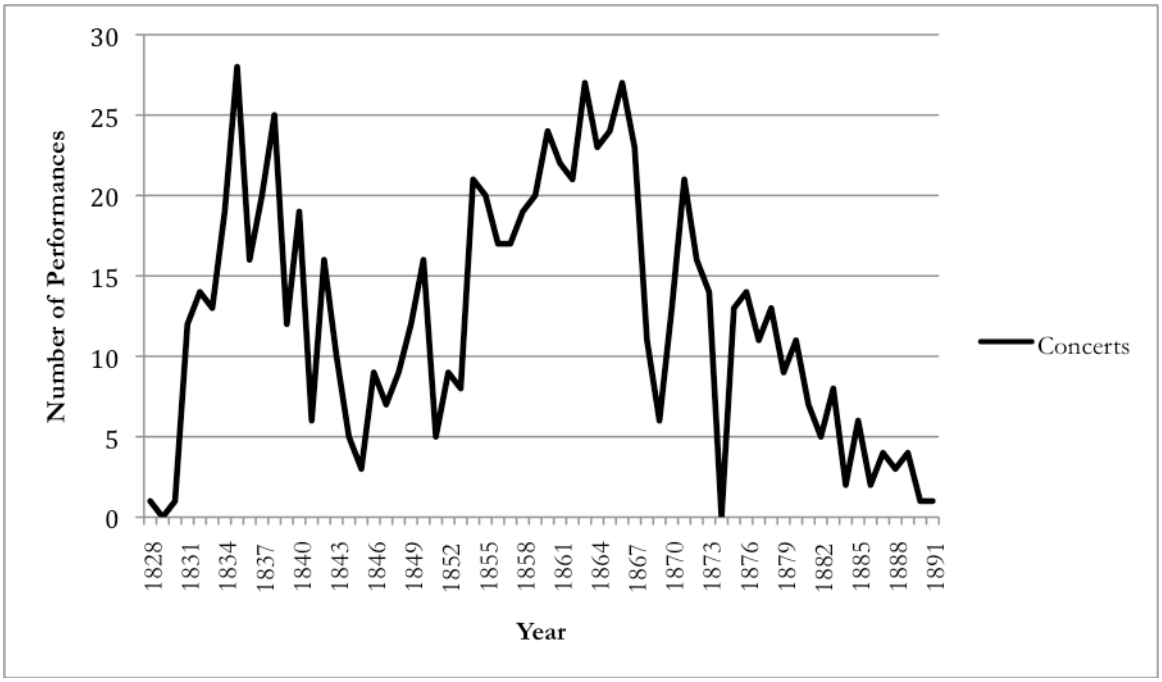
I offer a substantial portion of this passage particularly because excerpts have been repeatedly reproduced, and we rely heavily on Hanslick (one of Clara's most ardent supporters) as an authority for the more conservative German musical traditions. For that matter, this review clearly resonates with how modern biographers talk about and position Clara. Significantly for us, Hanslick spends a considerable amount of ink commenting on both Clara's early and late programmatic choices—all of which he finds critically important, if not almost heroic. She is not only able to choose appropriate pieces from the notable German masters (since she was basically raised on Bach and Beethoven), but she (once again!) "subordinate[s]" her own self to the composition, positions herself within a specific musical "ideal," abhors "trifl[ing]" virtuosity, holds a "penetrating understanding" of only "true" music, performs for the "connoisseur [rather] than to excite a multitude of average listeners," and uses virtuosity for its "true task." Finally, Hanslick concludes his analysis by situating Clara firmly in a particular context—as the wife of Robert Schumann and antithesis to Franz Liszt.[41] Most modern biographers have, in some form or fashion, mirrored all of the sentiments above. So ultimately, we continue to position Clara's performative personality and programmatic ideals the way her nineteenth-century supporters so ardently

[40] Pleasants, ed, *Vienna's Golden Years*, 39-44.
[41] Hanslick also stood with Clara and Brahms against Brendel, Liszt, and Wagner—*Die neue deutsche Schule*.

described and understood her and her musical performances, and we have primarily used her programming to sustain this persona.

Part Three
Turning in a Different Direction

Table 5.1
Clara Schumann's
German and Viennese Concerts



This chapter examines Clara's repertory choices across her 794 concerts in Germany and Vienna,[42] while considering and reconsidering the trope of virtuosity across her own career and in conjunction with that of contemporaneous performers. More specifically, this final discussion offers us a way of understanding Clara's career that brief vignettes—diary entries, images, and reviews—cannot. Table 5.1 shows how frequently Clara concertized in

[42] Table 5.1 shows the number of concerts Clara gave in Germany and Vienna throughout her career. While I will point to certain trajectories during specific moments, it is important to keep in mind how many performances per year she was actually giving.

both German cities and Vienna throughout the course of her career. Using this table to ground our programmatic analysis,[43] it illustrates how her yearly concerts saw a spike around 1833 and then slowly diminished in the years before her 1840 marriage. 1846 and 1849 saw a rapid increase in the number of concerts, and by 1855, Clara was performing with an even greater regularity and capacity than she did early in her career. As she got older, as perhaps to be expected, the yearly concert totals gradually declined.

While I have just spent a significant amount of time outlining sweeping programmatic changes in a particular city, and how the public at large, critical writers, and biographers situated and have continued to position these Viennese performances, this exercise was used primarily to help illuminate areas of inquiry for our examination of Clara's programming. By considering her repertoire choices throughout the course of her life, we might be able to understand more clearly the growth, change, and stasis that reveals itself throughout the entirety of her career. In evaluating her Viennese concerts, how scholars have interpreted these performances, and the kind of critical reception these visits prompted—all in conjunction with the pieces Clara chose to perform—I have attempted to mark some of the most blatant binary categories that will soon help us navigate the entirety of her German concerts: virtuosic vs. interpretative, public vs. private, old vs. new, and trivial music vs. serious music. Inherently, a comparison with another dominant virtuoso, Franz Liszt, will also further clarify Clara's programmatic choices. Nonetheless, while this brief study of Vienna helped to create these binaries, the methodology for attaining these areas becomes insufficient and problematic. In particular, is it possible to consider Clara's repertoire outside of the authority of critics, audiences, and contemporaries? By releasing

[43] I often trace a certain kind of repertory over the entirety of Clara's career; Table 5.1 helps ground those discussions, by letting us know how often certain pieces/composers were performed during years of high or low concertizing.

her musical choices from their control, we might then have the freedom to investigate Clara's programs in new and different ways.

These binary groupings organize my navigation of the social aspects of Clara's concertizing and illuminate the potential influence that programmatic decisions held. Challenging this approach, however, is the inherent conflict in focusing primarily on the works themselves, as Small has noted:

> But even within a literate musical culture such as the Western classical traditional the exclusive concentration on musical works and the relegation of the act of performance to subordinate status has resulted in a severe misunderstanding of what actually takes place during a performance. That misunderstanding has, as we shall see, had in turn its effect on the performance itself—on the experience, that is, of the performance, for both performers and listeners—an effect that I believe to have been more to impoverish than to enrich it. For *performance does not exist in order to present musical works, but rather, musical works exist in order to give performers something to perform.*[44]

If these pieces are, in fact, "giving [Clara] something to perform," how do these works fit within aspects of her performative persona, along with coloring how the public possibly interpreted these performances? These binaries allow us to track general changes in her programming over the entirety of her career, while possibly attaching certain significance to the most oft-performed pieces. Again, while other chapters have considered Clara's performing personality with particular musical and biographical moments in mind, this chapter, rather, hopes to focus closely on the primary source material somewhat independently of those extraneous factors. More specifically, by looking at her repertory in a generalized way, with smaller thematic areas to organize our discussion, we can consider the larger context of her programmatic decisions, how she conceived of a concert, the trends of these shifts, and ultimately, some of the external factors and ideals that possibly held some of the responsibility. Furthermore, these classifications draw attention to some of the most

[44] Small, *Musiking*, 8.

fervent nineteenth-century discussions of pianists; how Clara's programming rebuts or conforms to these categories allow us (once again) to see how her repertory supported such an extensive and prosperous career, while simultaneously giving her easy access to a space and forum to which she should have been denied.

The Virtuosic vs. The Interpretive

The "problem" of the virtuoso has been long recognized by scholars of nineteenth-century music.[45] Nevertheless, two of the most preeminent virtuosos, Clara Schumann and Franz Liszt, were able to succeed in a variety of public contexts and spaces because they somehow unified their fantastic technical abilities with interpretation. The distinction between the appropriateness and inappropriateness of virtuosity helps us examine the methods Clara used to negotiate between the outwardly physical and the inwardly interpretive. Since she was somehow able to escape the disparagement so often attached to early nineteenth-century performer-virtuosos (as was Liszt), trends in her early repertoire allow us to consider how her programmatic choices somehow mediated between and potentially reconciled these two opposing, but inherently interconnected, poles.

Remarkably, the virtuosic concert had been drastically altered by midcentury and was replaced with an event that advocated a performance emphasizing interpretation.[46] As I have argued, one of the ways to achieve this now critical goal was to adjust the programming itself: coupling a homogeneous program with a single performer would facilitate greater

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[45] Dana Gooley, "The Battle Against Instrumental Virtuosity," in *Liszt and His World*, ed. Dana Gooley and Christopher H. Gibbs (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 77. "The battle against virtuosity was neither a centralized movement nor a particularly self-conscious one. It proceeded at different tempos in different places—earlier and more vehement in London, Leipzig, and Berlin than in Paris, Vienna, or St. Petersburg—and its targets ranged from major virtuosos to audiences, publishers, and teachers."

[46] Weber, *The Great Transformation*, 246. "Midcentury proved a major turning point for virtuoso concerts. Although a few solo recitals were performed in the 1840s, they were outnumbered by evolving forms of the traditional "miscellaneous" program. During the 1850s virtuosity had become linked to interpretation of classics within programs strictly defined in taste, as canonic works replaced *fantasies* and serious songs pushed out excerpts from recent operas. The solo recital emerged as a major new performing strategy, chiefly in Britain, initially done almost entirely by pianists."

comprehension and mark the performers as translators, instead of virtuosos. By abandoning certain kinds of pieces and concert structures, virtuosity could then be turned on its head. In this shift, technical greatness would be considered a valuable, essential element of the public concert, rather than as distracting and problematic. While later in her career Clara rejected those pieces so often associated with virtuosity and triviality—variations, transcriptions, fantasies, and self-compositions—by looking to her most brilliant early performances, we can attempt to discern how even *before* the public concert had been overhauled to favor the interpretive, virtuosity was not simply *just* virtuosity.

Clara's early concerts were undisputedly her most virtuosic; in order to understand how she continually mediated between the virtuosic and the interpretive (maneuvers that ultimately allowed her to escape the dreaded label of an empty, merely mechanical performer) we must consider trends in her programming, and how—even at the outset of her career—she and her father took steps to distance the young performer from the damaging "problem" so rapidly consuming the public concert house and publishing market.[47] The attack on the virtuoso gained rapid ground during the early years of Clara's career and was disseminated widely throughout critical discourse.

> Starting in the 1820s and increasing into the 1830s, the vast growth of music periodicals and other forms of music journalism quickly made criticism a powerful force in the battle against virtuosity.[48]

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[47] Plantinga, *Schumann as Critic*, 21. "The flood of piano music turned out by the pianists of Paris and others in imitation of their style quickly inundated the music markets of all Europe. A casual comparison of publishers' lists of piano music in the mid-1830s from France, England, Germany, and Austria reveals startling uniformity. These lists repeat the names of the most famous of the pianist-composers, especially Czerny, Hünten, Herz, and Thalberg, with monotonous regularity; lesser known names vary from country to country. The categories of piano pieces in the lists follow a highly regular pattern: variations, fantasias, and rondos on operatic tunes, and etudes in a similar style—often simplified versions of what the virtuosi played in concerts—predominate overwhelmingly. This kind of music was intended partly for aspiring pianists, but more for the vast company of middle-class musical amateurs. Music in this style was supposed to be as brilliant as possible—but not too difficult."

[48] Gooley, "The Battle Against Instrumental Virtuosity," 80.

A debate almost impossible to disregard, a wide variety of musical factors would be affected—the most important of which was the repertoire itself.

Clara's programs from 1828-1840 expose certain trends that situated the young performer in contrast with some of the most blatant markers of virtuosity. Between her first public concert in the Leipzig *Gewandhaus* October 20, 1828 and her September 12, 1840 wedding to Robert Schumann, Clara's programming (a total of 179 concerts in Germany and Vienna) exhibited traits easily affixed to the identity of the touring virtuoso; however, subtle programmatic distinctions also demonstrate ways she balanced the virtuosic with the interpretive or attempted to distance herself from preconceived notions of the ostentatious performer. Notably, she possibly navigated this treacherous classification via two programmatic trends: first, Clara's early repertoire exhibited a certain reverence for the composer by playing a wide variety of his pieces; and secondly, programming revealed an effort to undermine Clara's own individualized "self" to challenge the concept of the composer virtuoso.[49] Table 5.2, while only minute samplings of Clara's early programmings, will nonetheless guide us through the repertory choices and changes within the first twelve years of her career. This table includes both cities of repeated performances and those places visited very rarely.[50] While many factors certainly affected how Wieck and Clara selected repertory, especially when considering how smaller cities were quite different than

[49] Janet Ritterman, "Piano music and the public concert, 1800-1850" in *The Cambridge Companion to Chopin*, ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 12-13. "At the beginning of the nineteenth century, most of the works that leading pianists performed in public concerts were of their own composition. It was generally assumed that an established pianist would wish to perform his own music, and that this was so devised as to demonstrate not only his facility and imagination as a composer but also the individual features of his keyboard technique."

[50] For Clara Schumann's entire concert programming, see Appendix I. Out of the 179 concerts during this phase of her life, the overwhelming majority of her concerts occurred in Leipzig, as she performed some three times more there than Dresden, Hamburg, Vienna, and Berlin; however, she did visit a total of 44 German cities, sometimes performing once and not returning until much later (or never) in her career, as was the case with cities like Ansbach, Gera, and Görlitz.

larger, more metropolitan areas,[51] we can distinguish conventionalities across city and town lines that fostered both a sense of cohesion and focus on interpretation.

As Weber summarizes, early nineteenth-century concerts were defined by their miscellany, and Clara's were no exception.[52] These performances typically included a wide range of genres—concertos, symphony excerpts, Lieder, variations on well-known themes, operatic fantasies, and operatic scenes—and while often "featuring" one artist, these concerts would also contain other collaborative performers. Clara's early concerts conform easily to the characterization of miscellany; however, even within their disparity, these programs (as did many others of the time) also contained important elements of homogeneity and symmetry. Normally beginning with an overture or larger orchestral piece, Clara's programs were often divided into two parts, and each section ended with a work that was undeniably virtuosic. She generally placed her own compositions, complex variations, or more dramatic showpieces at the beginning and end, while positioning Lieder, arias, duets with other performers, and shorter or smaller pieces internally. These performances, while obviously composed of "miscellaneous" repertory, did, however, contain a clear repeated structure that the audience more than likely came to expect and appreciate. This

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[51] For example, on May 18, 1831 in Altenberg, the program was interspersed with comic improvisations from Lagenschwarsz, which contrasted sharply with her programs in more musically institutionalized cities (Leipzig, for example). Clara performed in between these "acts." By looking at the program, therefore, you get the sense that the improvisations and spoken dialogue are just as important (and necessary to the concert) as the music.

[52] Weber, *The Great Transformation*, 15-16. "As the main principle governing taste within the musical community, miscellany served as the predecessor to the concept of the artwork as an invisible whole, or the *work concept*….Miscellany was inclusive, and the work concept was exclusive, indeed hierarchical, in ordering genres and tastes. The work concept invested an aesthetic authority in the gaining of systematic musical knowledge, which was less the case in the eighteenth century…The principle of miscellany dictated that members of the musical community had to accommodate one another's tastes and social etiquette. All who entered a concert knew that they were expected to defer to the wishes of others to some extent. That meant being willing to hear music of varied genres, periods, tastes, and regional origins, from the cosmopolitanism of Italian opera to distinctive idioms such as a glee in London or a *Singspiel* piece in Leipzig. Quite different kinds of music—or "musics" as ethnomusicologists say—might coexist on the same program. Thus mixture reflected the presumption that different tastes, expectations, and social behaviors would make common company within inclusive programs."

expectation, coupled with Clara's repetitive choices of composer, gave her concerts a sense of cohesion perhaps based on consistency rather than technical brilliance. In other words, while her programs did display diversity in the pieces she programmed, often changing from one concerto, variation, or etude to another, the general organization of her concert and the composers she played stayed fairly constant.

Table 5.2
Clara Schumann's
Early Repertory, 1828-1840

January 27, 1831 **Dresden, Hôtel de Pologne**	**July 9, 1832** **Leipzig, Gewandhaus**
I Pixis: New Piano Trio Wieck, Clara: Lied Kummer, F.A.: Duet for Violin and Cello Romanze for Physharmonica and Pianoforte Wieck, Cl.: Fantasy on a Romanze II Weber: Lied Herz: Große Variations for Pianoforte Four-Hands Carafa: Cavatina Herz: Variation for Pianoforte Op. 51	I Hesse A.: Symphony No. 2, Movs. 1 & 2 Paer: Aria Pixis: Piano Concerto, Op. 100 II Blum, C.: Notturno for 6 Male Voices Chopin: Variations over *La ci darem la mano*, Op. 2 Hesse: 2. Symphony, Movs. 3 & 4 Paer: Duet Herz: Bravura-Variations, Op. 20
March 20, 1835 **Hamburg, Apollo-Hall**	**October 31, 1839** **Berlin, Schützenhaus**
I Beethoven: Septett Op. 20, First Movement Sung Piece Chopin: Adagio and Finale, Piano Concerto, E-Minor II Beethoven: Septett, Movs. 2 & 3 Bach: Fugue, C#-Major Chopin: Nocturne, F#-Major Wieck, Clara: Capriccio Beethoven: Septett, Fourth and Fifth Movements Song Herz: Bravura-Variations, Op. 20	I Mendelssohn: Overture, *A Midsummer's Nights Dream* Beethoven: Adagio and Rondo from a Violin Concerto Saccini: Duet from *Oedip* Mendelssohn: Capriccio for Pianoforte with Orchestra II Osborne/de Béroit: Duet for Pianoforte and Violin Beethoven: Terzet, Op. 116 Kalliwoda: Variations for Two Violins Thalberg: Fantasy over a Motive from *Moses*
March 12, 1834 **Gera, Rathaus-Hall**	**February 13, 1835** **Bremen, Krameramsthaus**
I Kalliwoda: Overture, Nr. 2 Beethoven: Scene, *Ah perfido*	I Quartet-Movement Aria

Pixis: Concerto II Stegmayer, Ferd.: Lied of the Falschmünzer, *Die Falschmünzer von Auber* Chopin: Nocturne and Two Etudes Reißiger: Scene from the *Felsen-Mühle* Herz: Bravura-Variations, Op. 20	Pixis: Piano-Concerto C-Major II Quartet-Movement Wieck, Clara: Impromptu, *Ein Hexenchor* Chopin: Mazurka and Two Etudes Quartet-Movement Herz: Bravura-Variations, Op. 20
February 26, 1836 **Görlitz, Ressourcen-Gesellschaft** I Lindpainter: Overture from *Faust* Pixis: Concerto, Op. 100 Second and Third Movements Spohr: Aria from *Jessonda* Herz: Brilliant Variations, *Choeur favori d'il Crociato*, Op. 23 II Bach: Fugue, C#-Major Beethoven: Finale from the Große Sonata, Op. 57 Chopin: Mazurka in B-flat Major and Large Bass Etude in C-Minor, Op. 10 Mozart: Scene and Aria Herz: New Bravura-Variations, Op. 76	**April 30, 1838** **Graz, Ständisches Theater** <u>After the Overture</u> Mendelssohn: *Capriccio brilliant* Blum, Carl: Lustpeiel, *Die Verlobung in Genf* <u>Between the Acts</u> Chopin: Arpeggio-Etude Henselt: *Lied ohne Worte* Allegro: *Orage, tu ne saurais m'abattre* <u>After the Piece</u> Wieck, Clara: Souvenir à Vienne, Op. 9

In Table 5.2, this concept of a devotion to certain composers is supported by the inclusion of several different Variations by Herz. In these programs, Clara performed Opus 51 in 1831; Opus 20 in 1831, 1832, 1833, 1834, 1835, and 1837; and then shifted to Opus 76 in 1838. This consistency is further evident by looking to the dominant presence of Chopin, whose compositions ranged between nocturnes, mazurkas, variations, and etudes. The loyalty to certain composers over a long period of time, instead of to a particular "warhorse" piece itself, possibly speaks to a negotiation between virtuosity and interpretation. Even though the selected pieces were obviously technically challenging and impressive—performing different pieces by the same composer communicates that the specific opus held less emphasis than did the creator of the work. In other words, in this programmatic move, Clara potentially emphasized the importance of the composer, and the piece became expendable. A more detailed examination of her programming of Herz and Pixis during

1831 and 1835 shows that, while there are pieces performed with more repetition than others, Clara tended to play a wide variety of repertory consistently but not necessarily a vast range of composers.

Table 5.3
Clara Schumann's
Programming of Herz and Pixis

Year	Herz	Pixis
1831	Opus 20 Opus 23 Opus 48 Opus 78	Opus 96 Opus 100 Variation and Rondo Clavier Trio Piano Concerto
1832	Opus 20 Opus 48 Opus 50 Opus 51 Opus 62	Opus 100 Duo for Pianoforte and Violin Piano Concerto
1833	Opus 20	Clavier Trio Great Duet for Two Pianos Glöckchen-Rondo Piano Concerto Military Fantasy with Orchestra
1834	Opus 20 Opus 23 Opus 48	Opus 100 Glöckchen-Rondo Piano Concerto
1835	Opus 20 Opus 23 Opus 48	Opus 100 Glöckchen-Rondo
1836	Opus 23 Opus 26 Opus 36 Opus 74 Opus 78	Opus 100 Glöckchen-Rondo Rondo Brilliant
1837	Opus 20 Opus 23 Opus 76	Piano Concerto
1838	None	Great Duet for Two Pianos Glöckchen-Rondo Piano Concerto

This sharper focus on certain composers differed quite drastically from Liszt, who is often discussed or analyzed in terms of his "warhorse" repertory.[53] His German programming, for that matter, was much more limited in scope. Even though he programmed particular composers, these pieces had often been re-arranged or re-composed by Liszt himself.

> During his 298 documented performances in Germany, Liszt presented about 100 different keyboard, chamber, and orchestral compositions. Yet his working keyboard repertory was comparatively small. His legendary reputation as a "transcendental virtuoso" was based primarily on repeated performances of fewer than two dozen compositions written or arranged by himself or by Beethoven, Chopin, Hummel, Rossini, Schubert, or Weber. Seventeen pieces or groups of pieces comprised the backbone of his piano repertory.[54]

So while this performer focused on seventeen particular pieces, Clara instead prioritized her repertory by composer. By centering her early programming on predictable composers—Herz, Pixis, Henselt, Moscheles, Hummel, and Chopin—she could attach herself to the image and personality of the composer and in so doing, she intimated *instead* that the particular work was expendable. A stronger connection to the composer would have tenuously aligned her with interpretive advocates, who were begging to further elevate the ideals associated with creative intent.

By potentially deflecting a performative identity away from individual works Clara could more capably move toward the interpretive ideal, which would then allow her to empty her own self and effectively "communicate" or join with the composer:

> In contrast to an Enlightenment notion of "taste," the Romantic sense of the "genius of performance" involves the performer's psycho-spiritual capacity to transform himself into an other. But not just any other: this capacity creates a miraculous merging of his own self with that of the composer to represent a new subjectivity….Reviews of performances from the early nineteenth century also

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[53] For instance, in *The Virtuoso Liszt*, Gooley dedicates an entire chapter to Liszt's performances of one piece, Weber's *Konzertstück*.

[54] Michael Saffle, *Liszt in Germany 1840-1845: A Study in Sources, Documents, and the History of Reception* (Stuyvesant: Pendragron Press, 1994), 185.

> support the idea that self-transformation was seen as an essential element of performative genius.[55]

Even in her varied programming, which however slightly privileged the composer above the work, the convoluted and conflicting presence of virtuosity extended directly to the individual.[56]

Being that the self sat at the locus of the entire performative exercise, excessive narcissism could quickly become problematic. Even so, Samson claims that when the individuality of the performer was "contained" within a set of prescribed limitations and boundaries, virtuosity and individuality could easily complement the concept of interpretation.

> I recognise that the concept of virtuosity has no single congealed meaning, and that its manifestations have not remained invariant through music history….I want to argue that as virtuosity meshed with Romantic aesthetic, it generated a dialectical relationship with a strengthening sense of the autonomous musical work. Involving taste and ideology as well as form and closure. Already in the late eighteenth century keyboard virtuosity had acquired those pejorative connotations of excess, artifice, and kitsch that were associated with the virtuosity of the opera house. The language of contemporary criticism is revealing here. It suggests that the extremes of display and sentiment through which executants established their reputations with a larger public were considered if not morally suspect, then at least a violation of taste, itself an elusive quality, but one that often seemed to hinge on the status of individuality. Highly valued when kept within certain boundaries, individuality courted censure when it exceeded them, just as it courted popularity.[57]

For Samson, performers had to work to find a middle ground between their own individuality, their own virtuosity, and that of the "work," in order to be classified as morally conscionable and within the confines of musical taste.

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[55] Hunter "To Play as if from the Soul of the Composer," 370.

[56] Ellis, "Female Pianists," 356. As Ellis notes in the case of Parisian virtuosos: "Until the mid 1840s, the most conspicuous kind of pianist in Paris was the male composer-virtuoso, whose reputation was built largely around performances of his own virtuoso pieces—concertos, concerto movements, and operatic fantasies in particular. Narcissistic and competitive, he basked in the authority of both complete control over and ownership of his repertory. He adapted or revised his works in performance and composed in such a way as to emphasize his technical strengths and mask his deficiencies. Moreover, the performer fed the composer's narcissism by providing a reflection, through the fingers, of authorial thought."

[57] Samson, *Virtuosity and the Musical Work*, 4.

Given that the individuality of the performer and their (necessary) self-promotion came to define early virtuosos and virtuosity, the possibility for excessive egoism ever lurked in the background; subsequently, how the virtuoso "managed" their individualism defined how they were perceived both by critics and listeners.[58] While this century's celebration of the bourgeois self factored greatly into the appeal of the virtuoso, the excess of spectacle, of collecting admirers, and promoting exceptional technical skills all eventually contributed to the later damning of virtuosity and celebration of interpretation. For instance, Gooley posits that Liszt was able to escape criticism of virtuosity because he secured his "isolated self" to the music or public.

> Liszt was not simply "better" or more "advanced," but different in his approach—to the piano, to repertory choice, and to the framing of the concert event. By all these means he drew attention away from his isolated self and linked it to an aesthetic object (the work) or a social object (the public). This is how he managed to defy the anti-virtuosity position of the Davidsbund, with its concern for the balance of individual and society.[59]

The moderation of the individual "self," therefore, factored greatly into the public personality of the performer. How they managed this individualism had a strong influence over their ability to successfully "defy the anti-virtuosity position."

Over the entirety of her 63-year career, Clara's own compositions made up 2.3 percent of programming; for that matter, in her early programming, these pieces generally appeared on one out of three concerts.[60] Her limited nine-year programming, between 1830

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[58] Paul Metzner, *Crescendo of the Virtuoso*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 7. Metzner gives an explicit context for this egoism. "Both the Enlightenment and Romanticism, through their emphasis on the value of personal achievement at the expense of the values of family tradition and social hierarchy, contributed to the democratic revolution, to the industrial revolution, to the bourgeois revolution, and most of all to the new self-centered worldview. Before the Age of Revolution, most people's social worldview had at its center the king or the pope, the local lord or priest, or the head of one's family. One saw oneself more or less distant from, dependent on, subordinate to—in short, revolving around—that center. But during the Age of Revolution many people began to believe that self-fulfillment rather than obedience to another was their proper function, and to see themselves at the center of their world."

[59] Gooley, "The Battle Against Instrumental Virtuosity," 96.

[60] Kopiez, Lehmann, and Klassen, "Clara Schumann's Collection ofPplaybills," 62. See Table 2, which sets out to illustrate the following: "Most often metioned composers on Clara Schumann's playbills for six selected

and 1839, of Herz accounted for 3.4 percent of her repertoire. I expected different percentages, especially given that she continued to play her own pieces fairly continually (not necessarily consistently) for the duration of her career and played Herz during only a fraction, one-seventh, of her performances. By relegating the majority, however slight, of her virtuosic pieces to other composers, it is possible Clara never *fully* conformed to the ideal of the individualized performer—especially in regard to the performances of her own pieces. Additionally, Clara's arrangements and re-compositions were also quite limited, especially when compared with Liszt. While she did create some variations and fantasies on operatic themes, her creative output was not as nearly saturated with these "re-compositions" as was Liszt's. For example, thirteen of the seventeen pieces Michael Saffle labels as "Liszt's Primary German Repertory" were arrangements by Liszt himself.[61] In summation, Clara's programming between 1828 and 1840 reveals two primary trends, which potentially guided her performances toward an interpretive ideal. By distancing herself from specific pieces and instead showing solidarity with a composer's larger oeuvre, Clara could be more firmly associated with a musical tradition and lineage, instead of with a particular showpiece or

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European countries. The percentage for each composer includes solo pieces, pieces for piano and orchestra, and chamber music (including multiple performances). Composer with less than 2% contribution have been collapsed into the "Other" category." While this chart shows Clara's performances in Franch, the Netherlands, Russia, Austria, Great Britain, Germany, and All countries, I have focused primarily on the "Germany" category, although to include Austria shows Clara's own compositions comprised 3.2% of her performances. The breakdown for Germany in Table 2 is as follows: Schumann 24.0%, Chopin 16.2%, Beethoven 13.8%, Mendelssohn 12.7%, Bach 3.8%, Herz 3.4%, Brahms 2.5%, Schubert 2.4%, Wieck, C. 2.3%, Henselt 2.1%, Mozart 2.0%, Others 12.9%. Furthermore, a counted analysis of Clara's early programs reveals that her works appeared on 59 programs; nine of which occurred during her 1837 visit to Vienna.

[61] Saffle, *Liszt in Germany*, 187. The table Saffle provides gives the following breakdown of Liszt's repertory: 1. Liszt, *Grand Galop chromatique*: some 70 performances; 2. *Erlkônig* by Schubert/Liszt: more than 65 performances; 3. Liszt, *Réminiscences de Don Juan* [Mozart]: more than 55 performances; 4. Liszt, *Réminiscences de Robert le diable* [Meyerbeer]: more than 50 performances; 6. Overture to *Guillaume Tell* by Rossini/Liszt: almost 40 performances; 7. Weber, *Aufforderung zum Tanz*: more than 35 performances; 8. Liszt, *Réminiscenes de Puritains* from *I Puritani* by Bellini/Liszt: more than 35 performances; 9. *Ständchen* by Schubert/Liszt: more than 30 performances; 10. Liszt et al, *Hexameron* variations [Bellini]: more than 30 performances in various versions; 11. Chopin mazurkas (usually unidentified): more than 30 performances; 12. *Ave Maria* by Schubert/Liszt: almost 30 performances; 13. "Andante finale" from *Lucia di Lammermoor* by Donizetti/Liszt: more than 25 performances; 14. Etudes by Chopin, Hiller, Liszt, and Moscheles: more than 20 performances; 15. Weber, *Konzertstück*, Op. 79: more than 20 performances; 16. "Tarantelle" and/or "Tarantelles napolitaines": more than 20 performances; 17. Liszt "*Réminiscences de Norma* [Bellini]: about 20 performances.

"warhorse." Coupling this progression with tepid performances of her own works, shows Clara's desire to promote certain Germanic composers and ideals, instead of her own self. In so doing, she would eventually come to be classified as primarily an interpreter of great works with an imposing and exceptional virtuosic technique.

The Public vs. The Private

While the individuality of the public virtuosos sat at the locus of their performative identities, the idea that Clara might have somewhat diminished her public self by sacrificing her own compositions obviously runs counter to the normalized expectations of nineteenth-century virtuosos. In her discussion of Parisian pianists in the 1840s, Katharine Ellis go so far as to question how female pianists could even compete within this male-ego driven structure, especially when women were often restricted from any compositional training. Clara, however, began composition lessons at age ten and did so, according to Reich, until the vogue of performer-composers had passed. Particularly, Reich seems to suggest that Clara *only* composed to satisfy audience expectations: she continued to see herself first and foremost as an interpreter. In this biographical reading, Clara is seemingly "forced" (yet again) into a certain role because of the prevailing expectations for touring pianists; no matter that these lessons were an important component of her father's pedagogical system.

> Though it is tempting to cite societal influences for her contradictory attitudes and her discomfort about her creative efforts, her own letters and diary provide much evidence that creativity did not come easily to her. She rarely composed of her own volition but simply because she was expected to do so—by the public, by her father, later by her husband. She envied and admired those who could create but believed her primary field of competence was as a performer; she thought of herself as an interpretive rather than a creative artist.[62]

Even though women of the nineteenth-century were not generally encouraged to compose, Clara indeed was. This fact in itself somewhat destabilizes our traditional understanding of

[62] Reich, *Clara Schumann*, 229.

feminine musical roles. Nonetheless, as I have just argued, Clara's own pieces did not seem to appear with the same high frequency as that of other virtuoso performers, allowing her to subtly subvert the well-known and expected personality of the traveling virtuoso.

While this lack of self-promotion perhaps allowed critics to more easily place Clara in the category of "interpreter" instead of "virtuoso," her distance from narcissism and egoism could also allow her to more effectively bring into the public a "private," and therefore, less jeopardizing female presence. Furthermore, by not choosing to present a dominant "self," critics could mark her individuality as subservient. This tension, between power and submission, signals one of the most normalized categories of the century: that between public and private. This binary echoed throughout social structures and to the very core of the bourgeois persona.

> The boundary between public and private, and especially the need to keep a common ground between them, produced some of the deepest anxieties and conflicts experienced by the nineteenth century middle classes. The fight against virtuosity necessarily engaged these tensions. It was constantly marking and policing a boundary between a privileged inner self and a devalued "performativity" construed as external and lacking in substance.[63]

As the concert event gradually evolved, the friction between these varying selves came to be more and more complicated for nineteenth-century virtuosos and audiences. Because of her gender, Clara's deficient or subordinate self obviously aggravated the conflict between substantive or inferior selves even more.

The ultimate private self—the woman—made public would have had the potential to heighten the tension within a system celebrating public display. While the virtuoso was

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[63] Gooley, "The Battle Against Instrumental Virtuosity," 88. Gooley continues and argues that the concern for excessive individuality was particular vehement in central-northern Germany: "One reason the battle was strongest in central-northern Germany may be that its middle classes were cultivating this interiorized model of selfhood (often associated with the psychology of Protestantism) and integrating it into their musical pursuits. Critics advocated the inner self against the outer world nor only for the performers but also for the audiences: suspicion that middle-class audiences only went to concerts to show themselves, to see and be seen, was rampant, and it was far stronger for audiences at virtuosos concerts than at symphony concerts."

defined by egoism and rampant individualism (characteristics contributing to their eventual downfall), women were not as easily classifiable. The distinction between female and male selves existed because the feminine private self was not *meant* to be made public, as a woman's identity was entangled within a network of other relationships. This concept in itself runs contrary to the definitions of independent individuality, which hinged on separation from others and self-promotion.[64]

Anne Mellor reaffirms that nineteenth-century female "selves" and identities were primarily defined by their social roles. These social experiences inevitably caused a dependency upon a network of relationship that resulted in devastation and confusion when these bonds dissolved.

> Experiencing their selves as relational rather than autonomous encouraged the women writers of the Romantic period to focus on the ways that self interacts with other people, how it functions in relation to the wider community….When such mutual respect is absent, when the feminine self finds no other into which she can merge, then she feels—not the confidence of the transcendental ego holding its own against the imperatives of nature—but rather desolation.[65]

Given the possibility for isolation and alienation when "alone," female performers and writers would (arguably) strive to become part of a *community* of selves, instead of cultivating a public self in the same way as men. Most obviously, the woman would "merge" with her husband and children; in so doing, her identity would come to be firmly linked to a private,

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[64] Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 85. As Citron claims, the identity of women within the home created a "reactive" state to the world. "A woman's identity is defined primarily in terms of context, in a particular structure of relationship. She is rarely seen as autonomous. Ideologically she is identified with family. This implies nurturing, reproduction, and nature. Since the family is centered in the home, women is linked with the private. Her familial power has limits, however. She may have power over her children but she is not the head of the family. She is subservient (to a man). This implies a reactive rather than pro-active relationship to the world, especially since it is the husband who is vested with authority conferred by his dealings with the outside world."

[65] Anne K. Mellor, "Feminism" in *Romanticism* ed., Nicholas Roe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 186. Mellor precedes this definition of the feminine self with this idea of the masculine self, "The goal of the masculine Romantic self, as numerous commentators from Meyer Abrams to Marlon Ross have documented, is to develop an autonomous, transcendental ego grounded in the mental capacity to half-create the world around him that he half-perceives."

familial space. Clara potentially undermined the concept of virtuosity by deflecting attention away from her own compositions and, instead, centering her early performances on specific composers; in so doing, she simultaneously associated herself with a more relational identity and, therefore, the private self.

The obvious disparity between the public and private, which we have discussed at length in Chapters Two and Three, undoubtedly encouraged certain traits in both women and men. Clara's choice of repertory, therefore, perhaps facilitated an attachment to the private throughout her career as she continued to perform in the public, male space. This bringing into public of the private most apparently correlates with the presence of the "husband" in Clara's programming. Given that such a large percentage of her German (24%) and Austrian (25.7%) programs were dedicated to Robert Schumann's music, we can easily make the leap and correlate the woman's private self with her most important relationship (the husband) and at the same time connect the private persona (Clara) very explicitly to an acceptable public self (Robert).[66] Clara's attachment to Schumann's music is nothing new, and many authors point out that she felt a particular duty to perform and later edit the music of her husband.[67] This consistent inclusion of Schumann's works successfully conflated her private self "as wife" with that of her public persona.

For that matter, in a society within which "marriage remained a woman's ideal," Clara's overwhelming attention to her husband's compositions validated not only the institution of marriage but also to her inherently relationship-oriented self-identity and role

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[66] Kopiez, Lehmann, and Klassen, "Clara Schumann's Collection of Playbills," 62.

[67] Reich, *Clara Schumann*, 267. "One of Clara Schumann's great achievements was to bring the work of Robert Schumann to the attention of European concert audiences. There is no doubt that without her crusading performances it would have been many more years before his music was played and accepted….Clara…played almost every piano work Schumann had written, though she, too, sometimes waited for years until she considered the public ready for them. She premiered almost every one of Schumann's chamber and orchestral works that had a piano part. And most significant, his symphonies and many orchestra works were first presented at concerts in which Clara was the soloist and leading attraction. Almost every program she played after her marriage included at least one Schumann work—often three or four—for piano alone, orchestra, chamber combinations, or voice."

"as wife."[68] Her repeated claims of subservience and inferiority to the composer, combined with the consistent programming of her husband's pieces, allowed Clara to conform to the appropriately private wife even in the public space. Analyzing programs from various periods in her career quickly confirms Robert Schumann's dominating presence, along with illuminating how these pieces came to structure Clara's concerts. In other words, just as the husband "dominated" the wife, Schumann's music similarly "dominated" Clara's programs. She first publicly performed his piano repertory on January 13, 1833 and continued to do so as late as March 7, 1889.

Table 5.4
Clara Schumann's
Programming of Robert Schumann

January 13, 1833 **Leipzig** I Moscheles: La belle Union, Rondo Chopin: Four Mazurkas Pixis: Three Trios for Pianoforte, Violin & Cello Romanze for Physharmonica and Pianoforte Wieck, Clara: *Caprices en forme de Valse* Vocal Piece Schumann: Two Studies for the Violin by Paganini, arranged for the Pianoforte II Reißiger: Sixth Trio Chopin: Four Mazurkas Vocal Piece Chopin: Nocturne Pixis: Fourth Trio	**February 3, 1844** **Königsberg, Theater** I Weber: Overture Beethoven: Sonata, D-Minor Schubert: *Die Post* Storch: Austrian National Lied Henselt: Variations over Donizetti's *Liebestrank* II Mozart: Overture Schumann, Robert: *Mondnacht* Schumann, Clara: *Liebeszauber* Schumann, Robert: *Widmung* Bériot: Air Variation for Violin Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* Schumann: Allegro Chopin: Mazurka Liszt: Reminiscences over *Lucia di Lammermoor*
January 21, 1858 **Stuttgart, oberes Museum** I Beethoven: Sonata, C-Major, Op. 53 Schumann: *Der Nußbaum Frühlingsnacht* Mozart: Andante, A-Minor Bach: Prelude and Fugue A-Minor II Schumann: *Carnaval*, Op. 9	**November 18, 1863** **Hamburg** Beethoven: Clavier Trio, E#-Major, Op. 70, Nr. 2 Schumann: *Dichterliebe* (First Half) Bach: Preamble, G-Major Händel: Sarabande, Gigue, Passacaglia Schumann: *Dichterliebe*, Second Half Schumann: *Novellette/Nachtstückt*

[68] Lynn Abrams, *The Making of Modern Woman: Europe 1789-1918* (London: Pearson Education, 2002), 69.

Speidel: *Auf dem Meere*, *Sturmlied* Mendelssohn: Capriccio, Op. 14	Mendelssohn: Scherzo, F#-Minor
October 19, 1871 **Leipzig, Gewandhaus** I Woldemar Bargiel: Overture to *Medea* Bach: Recitative and Aria from the *Pfingst-Cantate* Schumann: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra, A-Minor Schubert: *Suleika* Mendelssohn: *'Gruß'* Gluck/[Brahms]: Gavotte Schumann: Andante in F-Major Schubert: Impromptu in F-Minor, Op. 142 II Schumann: Third Symphony in E flat-Major	**March 7, 1889** **Leipzig, Neues Gewandhaus** I Weber: Overture to *Oberon* Schumann: Concerto for Pianoforte in A-Minor Händel: Concert for Organ and Orch., Op. 4, Nr. 3 in G-Minor II Beethoven: *Pastorale* Symphony

While Table 5.4 offers only a sampling of the programming of Schumann's music, these examples also show how his compositions came to anchor her concerts in a way that, beside Beethoven, no other composer did. Especially towards the end of her career, Schumann's music was found at the beginning, middle, and end of her performances with great consistency. More specifically, by performing her husband's music so often, she could more effectively create a "homogeneous" program. For example, the 1858 and 1863 concerts in Table 5.4 seem to suggest this quite overtly. Even as she moves among Beethoven, Bach, Handel, and Mendelssohn, Schumann's prevalent, persistent presence brings attention to the German, historical progression of these composers, while simultaneously serving as an undermining force for her still diverse musical repertoire. Early in her career, Schumann's music was positioned within a wide variety of other, more "acceptable" works; later, however, his pieces came to serve as cornerstone around which the entire concert was organized.

Just as Schumann's music inevitably tied Clara to the domestic space and created important associations for her audiences, other programmatic choices also placed a firm emphasis on her private "self." One of the most obvious allusions to this sphere is evident

in her consistent programming of the piano etude, which began in 1834 and continued throughout her career. The correspondence of the etude with technical development and study would have strengthened her association with amateur pianists (particularly women), pedagogy, and therefore, the private sector.[69]

> The nineteenth-century piano etude, which constituted a significant and substantial proportion of the century's piano output, was originally cultivated in the early 1800s as a tool to develop the technical facility of amateur pianists. Following a rapid development in which the genre became enriched in its musical content, enhanced in its technical demands, and imbued with romantic characteristics, the etude of the 1830s emerged as a popular choice for programs of both domestic music-makers and concert pianists.[70]

The saturation of Clara's repertoire with the etude, coupled with this genre's historical connection to the amateur pianist more than likely created a correlation between these two factions.

Clara performed an etude by Chopin, Henselt, or Schumann on some 139 German recitals over the course of her career. While this number amounts for only 17.5 percent of her 794 German concerts, significantly, this genre appeared on 84 of her performances before and during her first year of marriage; this figure accounts to the hearing of an etude on approximately 60 percent of her early concerts. She played her first etude in 1834, which was more than likely at a point when the title of *Wunderkind* was beginning to wane. Given these circumstances, a more definitive marker of the "private" was probably becoming necessary. By including pieces that had well-known pedagogical and amateur correlations, the invocation of the most recognizable private student—the woman at the piano—could then easily occur.

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[69] I make this claim for pedagogy early since I am primarily using its association with practicing and perfecting technical exercises, which, alongside general instruction, would more than likely occur in private spaces—especially for women.

[70] Angelina Ngan-chu Au, "The Piano Etude in the Nineteenth Century: From the Acquisition of Facility to Demonstration of Virtuosity" DMA diss., University of Cincinnati, 1999, 1.

Table 5.5
Clara Schumann's
Programming of the Etude

February 14, 1834 **Plauen** I Reißiger: Ouverture to *Yelva* Pixis: Concerto Auber: Lied of the Falschmuenzer, *Die Falschmünzer* II Chopin: Nocturne and Two Etudes, Notturno for Physharmonica and Pianoforte Herz: Bravura Variations	**November 25, 1841** **Weimar, Galerie im Schloß in der Stadt** I Cherubini: Overture Schumann: Lied Liszt: Fantasy over *Lucia di Lammermoor* II Schumann: Two Lieder Reicha: Quintet Chopin: Etude Mendelssohn: *Volkslied* Scarlatti: Piano Piece III Aria Thalberg: Fantasy over *La donna del lago*
January 10, 1847 **Wien, Gesellschaft für Musikfreunde** Beethoven: Sonata, F-Minor Geraldy: Canzonetta *La Festa* Bach: Prelude and Fugue, A-minor Mangold, C.A.: Two Vocal Pieces Mendelssohn: Two Songs on the Piano Schumann: *Der Nußbaum*, *Traumes Wirren* Mendelssohn: *Songs Without Words* Henselt: Etude (*Vöglein wär)*	**November 7, 1855** **Postdam, Barberini Palast** I Mozart: Violin Sonata, A-Major Beethoven: Variations in C-Minor Bach: Prelude and Fugue for Solo Violin II Schumann: *Symphonic Etudes* Beethoven: Violin-Romanze, G-Major Beethoven: Violin Sonata, C-minor Mendelssohn: *Songs Without Words*
January 27, 1864 **Königsberg, Deutsches Haus** I Beethoven: Sonata D-Minor, Op. 31, Nr. 2 Schumann *Dein Angesicht*, Op. 127, Nr. 2, *Wanderlied*, Op. 35, Nr. 3, *Romanze*, Op. 28, *Des Abends*, *Traumes Wirren* Op. 12, Nr. 1 & 7 II Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses*, Op. 54; Schubert: Müller-Lieder: *Der Neugierige* *Des Müllers Blumen* Schubert: Two pieces from *Moments Musical*, Op. 94 Chopin: Nocturne and Etude	**December 9, 1880** **Frankfurt a.M, Kl. Saal des Saalbaues** Schumann: Etudes in the Form of Variations, Op. 13 Mendelssohn: Aria, *Höre Israel*, *Elias* Bach: Prelude in B-Minor, Prelude and Fugue in E-Minor (Both for Organ) Spohr: Adagio and Allegro for Violin, Ninth Concerto Schubert: *Suleika* Schumann: *Meine Rose*, *Lust der Sturmnacht* Chopin: Notturno in B-Major Waltz in A flat-Major

As Table 5.5 shows, the etude was a particularly versatile genre and could potentially complement a wide variety of pieces or stand independently. In the concert of 1834, for

example, Clara played several etudes together alongside a nocturne, and in this case, these smaller pieces possibly eased her audience into the second half of the concert. In 1841, these works were again used to create cohesion between smaller character pieces, which inevitably created a more cohesive and organized "Part Two" of her performance; however, these compositions could just as easily be used to conclude or begin a concert—as evidenced in the positioning of Schumann's *Variation Etudes* and Henselt's popular etude, *Wenn ich ein Vöglein War*. Clara performed many of Chopin's etudes, but his Opus 10 from 1833 seems particularly important, because this work showed a marked transition in the role of the genre, and its connection to both the private and public worlds.[71] Just as Chopin's compositions were now bridging the gap between technique and depth, however, they did maintain their obvious attachment to technical proficiency.[72] Thus, the etude in general, perhaps continued to create a relational interconnection between the public and private spaces—similar to the role Clara perpetually played herself.[73]

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[71] Noted not only for its artistic maturity, but also for its changing roles from a study of technique to a concert/character etude clearly intended for public performance, the Op. 10 etudes are an important milestone in the development of the piano etude, signifying its transition from the acquisition of facility to a demonstration of both virtuosity and musicality. Au, "The Piano Etude," 24.

[72] Ibid., 25-26. The twenty-seven etudes of Chopin are each devoted to a particular pianistic problem, not unlike those of his predecessors. In addition to coverage of standard techniques like thirds (Op. 25, No. 6), and sixths (Op. 25, No. 8), double notes (Op. 10, No. 7) and octaves (Op. 25, No. 10), arpeggios and broken chords (Op. 10, Nos. 1 and 11; Op. 25 Nos. 1 and 12), scales (Op. 10, Nos. 4 and 8; Op. 25, no. 2) and chromatic scales (Op. 10, No. 2), skips, and extensions (Op. 25, Nos. 3 and 4), Chopin was also fond of extending broken octaves, arpeggios, and chordal passages to tenths and more (Op. 10, No. 1) and writing rousing thematic passages that encompass a three- to four-octave span (Op. 25, Nos. 11 and 12). Furthermore, he was also a pioneer in addressing subtler problems of musicianship such as rhythm (*Trois nouvelles etudes* Nos. 1 and 2), tone (Op. 10, No. 6 and Op. 25, No. 9) and musical balance (Op. 10, No. 3 and Op. 25, Nos. 7 and 11). However, while Chopin followed in the footsteps of his predecessors in his address of technique and his use of the etude of accomplish various pedagogical missions, it was through his ingenious use of these musical and technical figurations as vehicles for expressing a deeper musical conception that he successfully transformed these short didactic keyboard pieces into "giant works of art" while retaining their pedagogical function.

[73] Au, "The Piano Etude," 141. "Stemming from the improved mechanism of the piano, which stirred the fancy of both amateur and professional pianists, great strides were made in the construction of the instrument, as well as in the development of a virtuosic piano technique distinctive of piano music of the nineteenth century. As the many composer-pianists of the era enhanced the musical interest of etudes for amateurs to render them the dual satisfaction of an improved technique and artistic enjoyment, they also introduced an unprecedented level of virtuosity and artistry in the concert etude, thus giving a whole new definition to the genre. Demonstrating a variety of virtuoso techniques expressive of a wide range of moods, thoughts, or

The Old vs. The New

The use of "pedagogical," private music appeared in other genres as well. Recognized (since the nineteenth century) for his teaching and instructive works on playing and composition, Johann Sebastian Bach's music, and particularly his preludes and fugues, have been long correlated with historical programming; however, his music also held strong associations with pedagogy and musical instruction. This interrelation between Bach's music and teaching extended well into the nineteenth century, and one of the most powerful sources regarding this pedagogical superiority can be found in Johann Nikolaus Forkel's 1802 biography:

> To teach well a man needs to have a full mind. He must have discovered how to meet and have overcome the obstacles in his own path before he can be successful in teaching others how to avoid them. Bach united both qualities. Hence, as a teacher he was the most instructive, clear, and definite that has ever been. In every branch of his art he produced a band of pupils who followed in his footsteps, without, however, equaling his achievement.[74]

Forkel seemingly positioned Bach in this manner because of this composer's overwhelmingly successful career—one that placed a variety of multifarious "obstacles in his…path"—giving him the experience and work ethic to pass along similar traits to his students. In turn, these students held a remarkably important role in positioning their teacher as a superior pedagogue.[75] Bach's works, while inherently attached to countless other social concepts and

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feelings, the concert etude can thus be looked upon as a manifestation of the spirit of nineteenth-century romanticism, while the course of its development, from technique to virtuosity, and from domestic music-making to public concerts, can be seen as a reflection of the historical and musical significance of the genre, as well as that of the piano and piano-playing in the nineteenth century in general."

[74] Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Johann Sebastian Bach: His Life, Art, and Work*, trans. Charles Sanford Terry (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), 93.

[75] Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000), 331. Christopher Wolff holds that Bach's revered position was possible primarily through the adulation of his many admiring students; those generations, therefore, further heightened the influence Bach had on later centuries of players, teachers, and composers. "[Bach's students], however, play all the more decisive a role in the preservation, dissemination, and veneration of their teacher's incomparable music. In particular, their faithful spreading of his musical methods and principles shows that Bach's inordinate investment in the teaching of his musical philosophy was by no means in vain. On the contrary, scores of students and their pupil's students helped organize and eventually consolidate Bach's lasting influence, a phenomenon that none of Bach's

ideals, unavoidably would (on some level) refer to his role as a teacher and, just as important, his music's place in these pedagogical environments. Ultimately, as instructors and pedagogues continued to use his methods and compositional exercises, Bach's teaching practices and ideals reverberated throughout nineteenth-century musical society in an extraordinary way.

Clara began performing Bach's music in 1835 and programmed his pieces with great consistency throughout her life. The correlation to the private, as we have just discussed, was most pertinent during her early recitals. Bach's pieces, it seems, were another ideal way to solidify her performing persona as private—primarily via his music's place in pedagogy and teaching. While these works could have held associative signifiers to "being" instructed, the more potent connection to his music would have been with that of the historical. As a consequence, this issue would have more than likely stood forefront in the social consciousness, no matter what other extraneous interpretations can be suggested. The inclusion of historical works featured during public concerts increased throughout the nineteenth century as the importance of homogeneity, loftier musical ideals, and canonic formation continued to guide the performing musical culture. As historicism influenced countless social institutions and artistic endeavors, music was no exception.

> The relation between nineteenth-century compositions and the music of the distant past cannot be considered in isolation from the rise in historical consciousness at the beginning of the century and its subsequent development.[76]

The eventual rise of new musical ideals, coupled with the greater societal concern for the historical, greatly affected the progression from miscellany programs to more homogeneous ones. According to Weber, the most powerful agent in canonic formation stemmed directly

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contemporaries sustained. Neither Handel nor Scarlatti, Rameau, nor Telemann ever engaged so fully in the kind of teaching that Bach enjoyed throughout his life."

[76] James Garratt, *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 12.

from the performances of certain "old" works: "The *performing* canon involves the presentation of old works organized as repertories and defined as sources of authority with regard to musical taste."[77] By consistently programming Bach and Scarlatti throughout her career, Clara further defined the concept of an historical canon and more uniform ideal for the public piano recital.[78]

More specifically, Weber claims that the homogeneous ideal was most apparent in the wide historical span of Clara's concert repertory. As her programs came to reflect a composer-centric ideal, Clara's inclusion of past figures is not surprising. She began, however, programming both composers well before her concerts reflected this more homogeneous model: performing Bach from 1835 to 1885 and Scarlatti from 1839 to 1885. Clara played both "old" (and "new") composers with regularity and consistency, not only reinforcing her role in canonic formation, but also suggesting that these historical pieces held a prominent place in her reception and public persona throughout the duration of her career. Most significantly, the inclusion of Bach and Scarlatti's works can be linked to the deflection of virtuosity, association with German nationalism and classical lineage, and a connection to the bourgeois goals of progress, modernity, and self-cultivation. The continuous and regular inclusion of two seemingly disparate and antithetical historical composers is intriguing, as is the fact that she rarely performed both composers on the same concert.

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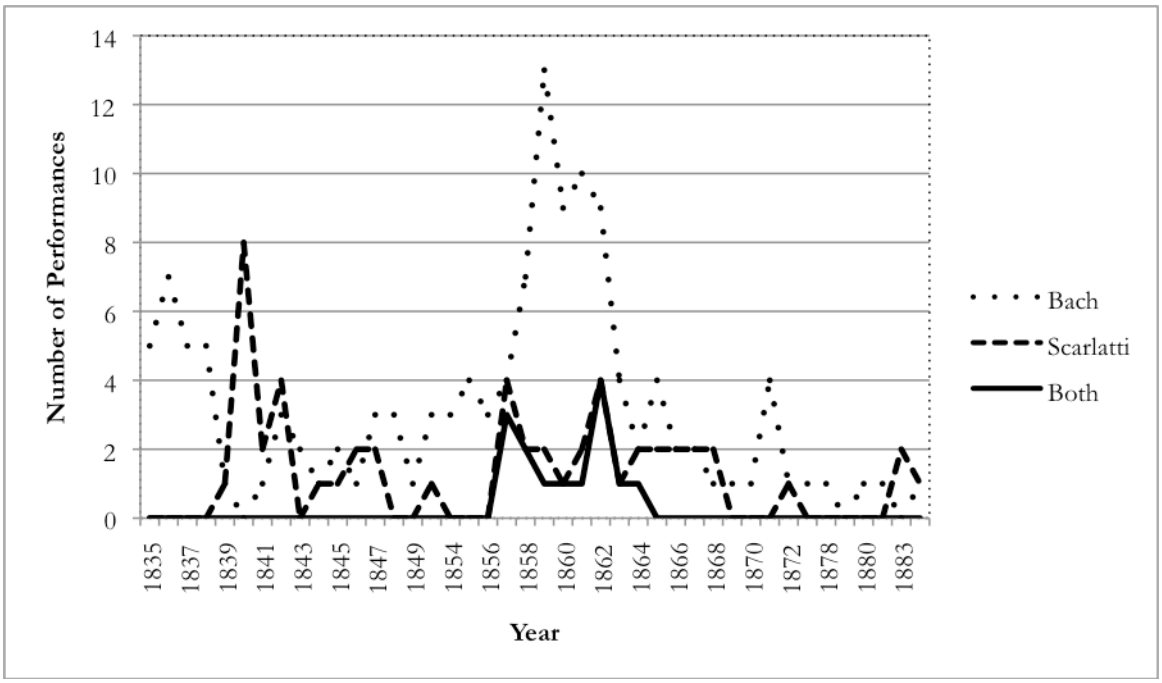
[77] William Weber, "The History of Musical Canon" in *Rethinking Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 340.

[78] Weber, *The Great Transformation,* 35. Regarding Clara's later career (in 1862), Weber claims that the homogeneous ideal was most apparent and significant in the wide historical span of her concert repertory: "The principle of *homogeneity* arose as the largest principle of concert programming as areas of concert life moved farther apart from one another. Although *homogeneity* did not enter the musical vocabulary as *miscellany* had done, the term defines how a program was now expected to include genres sharing similar performing forces and a common level of taste, defined hierarchically. If miscellany had been inclusive, homogeneity was now exclusive…Homogeneity was not applied rigidly; each concert institution defined it in a particular way according to its musical and social identity. Programs became homogeneous partly because music from so many historical periods began entering concert programs. The music Clara Schumann performed in 1862 spanned 150 years, five times more than the pieces Bartolomeo Campagnoli offered in 1785. Because listeners can absorb only so much variety overall, the increasing historical diversity required greater homogeneity in other respects."

Table 5.6
Clara Schumann's
Performances of Bach and Scarlatti



In fact, only fifteen of her 794 German programs sees both composers heard on the same concert, as Table 5.6 shows. While this peculiarity possibly shows the conflation of a "baroque aesthetic," in that one composer could be easily substituted for the other, it also perhaps suggests that Clara understood a close association between the two figures that allowed her to create a *certain* kind of baroque musical ideal.[79] Nonetheless, even as these pieces came to symbolize a certain "old" style on her recitals, the predominance of these two particular composers cannot be disregarded. These precise works were chosen, and given

[79] Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 325. Given some of the close associations between Bach and Scarlatti, Carl Dahlhaus maintains that more often than not, historical pieces served to represent a certain musical style, rather than any specific association with the pieces themselves. "Any attempted reconstitution of a historical practice will present pieces of "early music" not primarily as unique, individual creations in their own right but as representatives of a style."

the nineteenth-century's reverence for Bach's genius,[80] it would be amiss to argue that these pieces were only "stock" compositions to easily refer to the historical.

The status of an 'old master' would have a significant effect on the comprehension of a performer's musical and aesthetic goals, and this association could reaffirm the important status of the work and composer within the performer-centric setting of the early century. Bach's role in "correcting" the ideal of virtuosity seems particularly applicable here, especially given Forkel's 1802 biographical concern of detailing Bach's role in educating listeners in good taste:

> At any rate, if music is really an art, and not a mere pastime, its masterpieces must be more widely known and performed than in fact they are. And here Bach, the prince of classic composers, can render yeoman service. For his music is so well calculated to educate the student to distinguish what is trivial from what is good, and to comport himself as an artist in whatever branch of the art he makes his own. Moreover, Bach, whose influence pervades every musical form, can be relied on more than any other composer to correct the superficiality which is the bane of modern taste…Modern taste exhibits no shame in its preference for agreeable trifles, in its neglect of everything that makes a demand, however slight, upon its attention.[81]

For Forkel, then, the neglect of this composer directly related to either the lack of good musical taste, or to the fascination with the superficial and trivial.[82] Immediately apparent in

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[80] Forkel, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, xxix-xxx. For example, in his preface, Forkle clearly positions Bach's works as unique by emphasizing his genius and individual creativity: "I fain would do justice to the sublime genius of this prince of musicians, German and foreign! Short of being such a man as he was, dwarfing all other musicians from the height of his superiority, I can conceive no greater distinction than the power to comprehend and interpret him to others….On the contrary I am convinced that there are no words adequate to express the thoughts Bach's transcendent genius stirs one to utter. The more intimately we are acquainted with it the greater must be our admiration. Our utmost eulogy, our deepest expressions of homage, must seem little more than well-meant prattle. No one who is familiar with the work of other centuries will contradict or hold my statement exaggerated, that Bach cannot be named except in tones of rapture, and even of devout awe, by those who have learnt to know him. We may discover and lay bare the secrets of his technique. But his power to inspire into it the breath of genius, the perfection of life and charm that moves us so powerfully, even in his slightest works, must always remain extraordinary and insoluble."

[81] Forkel, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, xxvii.

[82] Plantinga, *Schumann as Critic*, 87. Schumann echoed this sentiment as well: "In Schumann's scheme of things, Bach's importance was many-sided. He made the first important contribution Schumann knew of to keyboard music, raising it to a position of equality with vocal music. But far more importantly, Bach was the first to endow his music with the intangible spiritual and poetic qualities Schumann associated with the best composers of his own day. In Bach's luxuriant secondary dominants and dense polyphonic textures Schumann saw a real similarity to the expressive harmonies of romantic music."

this author's assessment of "good taste," however, is that it hinged upon Bach's German identity.[83] Essentially, Bach's compositions elevated nineteenth-century music to an artistic expression that was rapidly receding, and as such, Germany should "be proud of him…but worthy of him too!"[84]

As Bach's musical compositions and personas came to be inextricably attached to his Germanic heritage and the deflection of poor musical taste, Scarlatti contributed to these idioms through his relationship with the classical style. Inherently, his musical associations with the classical idiom and the development of sonata form can be traced to his use of dramatic and distinct themes; these signifiers potentially allowed him to be subsumed within the now critical German classical lineage of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven.[85] Charles Rosen charges that:

> The creation of a classical style was not so much the achievement of an ideal as the reconciliation of conflicting ideals—the striking of an optimum balance between

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[83] Bonds, *Music as Thought*, 87. Bonds teases out three important aspects of Bach's music and positioning in early nineteenth-century society, which most certainly resonated with Clara's performances: the attachment to pedagogy and domestic music making and the "serious" and "tasteful" nature of his music. "Johann Nikolaus Forkel's biography of Johann Sebastian Bach (1802) appeared within this context of growing national consciousness. Early on in his account, Forkel suggested that Bach's "classic" music was immune to changing fashions and that his works could be studied for the benefit of both "learning and good taste" in the same way that the classic authors of Greek and Roman antiquity were studied in the schools of that time. Forkel concluded his biography by reflecting on the fact that "this man—the greatest musical poet and the greatest musical declamatory who has ever lived and who will likely ever live—was a German. Be proud of him, Fatherland; be proud of him, but also, be worthy of him!"' Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 152. "To conclude: it was the union of astounding genius and indefatigable application that enabled Bach to widen at every point the domain of musical expression. His successors have failed to maintain the art at the level to which he raised it. If Bach was more successful, if he was able to produce great work of convincing beauty and imperishable as a model for those who came after him, we owe it as much to his application as to his genius. This man, the greatest orator-poet that ever addressed the world in the language of music, was a German! Let Germany be proud of him! Yes, proud of him, but worthy of him too!"

[84] Ibid., 152.

[85] Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (New York: The Viking Press, 1971), 79. "Mozart is the first great composer consistently to use the subdominant with a full sense of its relaxation of long-range harmonic tension; he generally introduces it as a regular feature of the recapitulation immediately after the re-entry of the tonic. Haydn's practices were similar, but less consistent, and Mozart's sensitivity to large tonal areas remained unequalled until Beethoven…The first composer with a fine ear for the more complex relationships is probably Scarlatti; the logic of his movement from one tonal area to another is generally impeccable, but the style remains unclassical in that the areas follow one by one and neither blend nor interact."

> them….The first significant examples of this new dramatic style are to be found not in Italian works for the stage but in the harpsichord sonatas of Domenico Scarlatti, written in Spain during the second quarter of the eighteenth century.[86]

Coupling this possibility with the fact that both Bach and Scarlatti required a certain fidelity to the score reinforces an even stronger association between these two composers.

> Even here circumspection is necessary. Some music (a great deal of Handel's) needs heavy ornamentation even the first time round; other music (most of Scarlatti's and almost all of Bach's) needs very little or absolutely none. Scarlatti had worked out an early form of the more articulated classical style, and an indiscriminate application or ornament would cause his phrases to overlap. And it was already a contemporary complaint against Bach that he wrote everything out and left no space for the performer to add his ornaments; the answer, quite rightly at the time, was that this is one of the great beauties of his music.[87]

For Rosen, then, Scarlatti and Bach's music held a different set of expectations for the performer, particularly because with these composers, ornamentation was not usually required or expected.

These works, instead, entailed a sense of loyalty to the score, which could have thereby undermined the concept of improvisation—one of the most obvious and expected characteristics of virtuosity.[88] Bach and Scarlatti's works, therefore, further indicated Clara's

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[86] Ibid., 43.

[87] Ibid., 63.

[88] Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt*, 179-180. According to Gooley, Liszt's performance of Baroque pieces was an effort to attach himself to a particular German nationalistic ideology, which would deflect the spurn of the anti-virtuosic critic, Rellstab. "Liszt started playing the music of Bach, Handel, and Scarlatti in public for the first time during his visit to Berlin [1841], and he hardly ever touched such repertory thereafter. Previous to his Berlin visit, the oldest music in his concert repertory was by Beethoven. At his first concert (27 December) he boldly programmed Bach's lengthy *Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue*, and each of his next four benefits included a different "baroque" piece: a Handel fugue and variations, two Bach fugues, and Scarlatti's "Cat's fugue". This uncommonly systematic programming practice, together with the novelty of the repertory, suggests that Liszt was trying to make a deliberate statement with his baroque pieces. He probably hoped that by showing a commitment to serious, learned music, especially Bach's, he might deflect criticism from Rellstab and the connoisseurs. This interpretation is supported by the fact that he dropped the baroque pieces later in the concert series (and indeed, for the rest of his career), when Rellstab had clearly been won over." Gooley goes on to argue: "In Berlin, this antiquated sound was linked to the mythology of the Prussian monarchy. If France's national hero was a modern, forward looking figure who belonged in the nineteenth century, the national cult in Prussia was formed around Frederick the Great, an absolute monarch who was decidedly pre-modern, belonging firmly to the earlier eighteenth century. As noted above, Freidrich Wilhelm IV was actively promoting the cult of Frederick the Great as he advanced the cause of Prussian nationalism. In a typical mix of liberalism with conservative monarchism, he was defining the glory of modern Prussia with reference to a pre-

natural positioning in the classical lineage, while simultaneously elevating the work above her own technical abilities. Table 5.7 shows how integrated these historical pieces were in her programming, and that they were often easily included alongside the works Schumann, Mozart, and Mendelssohn.

Table 5.7
Clara Schumann's
Programming of Bach and Scarlatti

July 28, 1835 **Halle, Saal des Kronprinzen**	**February 2, 1843** **Königsberg, Theater**
I Mendelssohn: Instrumental-Piece Pixis: Glöckchen-Rondo Neukomm: *Napoleon's Heerschau um Mitternacht* Bach: Fugue, C#-Major Wieck: Impromptu, *Hexenscene* Chopin: Etude, Nrs. 11 and 12 II Beethoven: Violin Sonata, Op. 47, First Movement Kalliwoda: *Im Thale* Herz: Große Variations, Op. 23	I Beethoven: Overture von Winter, P.: Aria, *Unverbrochenen Opferfest* Weber: Concertstück for Pianoforte and Orchestra II Weber: Overture Chopin: Nocturne Mendelssohn: *Venetian Gondellied*, *Frühlingslied* Scarlatti,D: Piano Piece Schumann, Cl.: *Er ist gekommen* Schumann: R: *Die Lotosblume*, *Der Nußbaum* Vieuxtemps: Fantasy-Caprice for Violin Thalberg: *Moses-Fantasy*
March 7, 1859 **Dresden, Hôtel de Saxe**	**November 28, 1868** **Wien, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde**
Beethoven: Sonata, Op. 27 Mendelssohn: Cavatine, *Paulus* Schumann: *Romanze* Op. 32, Nr. 3 *Schlummerlied* Op. 124, Nr. 16 Studies for Piano, Op. 56 Grell: Duets from *Lorbeer und Rose* Schumann: *Schlaflied*, Op. 78, Nr. 4 Schumann: *Liebesgarten* Op. 34, Nr. 1 Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* Beethoven: *An die ferne Geliebte* Bach: Gavotte from the English Suite, D-minor Weber: Scherzo from the A#-Major Sonata	Schumann: Sonata, G-Minor Op. 22 Brahms: *Liebestreu*, Op. 3, *Parole*, Op. 7 Schubert: Two Impromptus, Op. 90 and 142 Schumann: Andante with Variations, Op. 46 for Two Pianoforte, Two Cellos and French Horn Schubert: *Suleika* Clara Schumann: Lieder *Jucunde* by H. Rollett Schumann: *Ich Grolle Nicht* Scarlatti: Allegrissimo Kirchner: Andante, Op. 2; Brahms: Waltz for two Hands

In brief, alongside the nationalistic ideals and deflection of virtuosity through the use of historical music—primarily Bach and Scarlatti—this repertory also gave Clara the ability

modern, pre-French Revolution era. Liszt programmed Bach, Scarlatti, and Handel, then, as a tribute to ancient Prussian glory under Frederick the Great."

to place herself as a product of "modernity," and, subsequently, firmly within a bourgeois ideal. In emphasizing the new alongside the old, especially when considering the attachment of both Bach and Scarlatti to an aristocratic patron (at some point in their careers), the social development and cultivation of the bourgeois cannot be ignored. By performing both modern and historical pieces, Clara could draw attention to the ideals of progress, and in turn, the changing role of the bourgeoisie. This dichotomy potentially allowed this social group to reconcile their rapidly modernizing worlds with an ever fleeting past way of life. [89]

> An understanding of classicism and modernity were two sides of the same coin: it was not inconsistency but rather an awareness of history which led both Schumann and Liszt to proclaim the imperishability of the works of Bach and Beethoven and yet to herald the dawning of a "new poetic age." One's own age was seen as a transition from the past, in which it originated, to the future, which it brings about. The classical works kept alive in concert and opera repertories were meant to serve as a foundation for what one then believed to be the ineluctable march of progress. It was considered imperative to cherish and interpret the musical heritage of Bach and Beethoven lest this march into the future means a loss of vital substance.[90]

Given that Clara's concert orderings did not necessarily create a chronological alignment of pieces, the placement of the old alongside the new could establish an obvious disparity; yet, this positioning also intimates the hope to reclaim the past and, subsequently, its direct influence over the now admired classical lineage. As Samson so eloquently argues, the historical encapsulated many social meanings. By programming "old" music throughout her career—specifically Bach and Scarlatti—Clara could create a public persona that centered itself on some of the most important and laudable trends of the nineteenth century.

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[89] John Edward Toews, *Becoming Historical: Cultural Reformation and Public Memory in Early Nineteenth-Century Berlin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 40. "The problem of discovering German historical identity was not just a matter of restoring an authentic Germanic past, but of grasping the development process through which that past was joined to its own past and to the present…History was reconstructed to provide not so much an archive of useful myths of a better past that could be refurbished and brought into public consciousness, as the recollection of an ongoing process in which the individual could find a secure identity in the transition from past to future."

[90] Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 139.

> The 'rediscovery', associated especially with Mendelssohn's performance of the *St. Matthew Passion* in 1829 but following on too from Forkel's pioneering biography of 1802, was partly a matter of making public, but it also involved a transformation of meaning, as Bach came to be viewed as a composer of intensely spiritual, profoundly emotional qualities. His music was also viewed as 'modern' and 'national', and its potent and unique blend of expression and intellect was directly influential on the most progressive music of the nineteenth century….During the second half of the eighteenth century more and more of his music became available for study, and its impact on the so-called 'Viennese' Classical composers is well known. But we should note that he was regarded primarily as an 'old master', whose works were to be admired and studied as models of compositional technique and practical instrumental writing. [91]

The Trivial vs. The Serious

Even though we can position Clara's programming into a variety of social and musical contexts, the most powerful "category," in my opinion, revolved around the concept of musical triviality and seriousness. Intrinsically connected with concepts of virtuosity, nationalism, class structure, gender, and historicism, the promotion of "serious" musical culture arguably permeated almost every facet of public musical life and, as a result, radically transformed the kinds of repertory performed in piano concerts. Even though this final section is virtually impossible to separate from the previous discussions, the marker of the "serious" possibly influenced Clara's public persona in a way that still echoes throughout the modern historical understanding of her performances and musical ambition. Because of her gender, to be marked as a promoter of serious, poetic musical ideals would have been critical. During a time in which trivial music could create bodily instead of imaginative, mindful contemplation or promote an association with the lower classes,[92] the presence of a

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[91] Jim Samson, "The Great Composer" in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 275

[92] Gramit, *Cultivating Music*, 141. As Gramit argues, certain kinds of virtuosic and trivial association with physicality would stimulate a direct correlation between this music and lower classes. "And as we have seen in the case of dance, the physical threatened to associate musicians with classes of activity (and classes of people) from whom they were eager to distinguish themselves."

female body on a public stage would have been enough to warrant a physical reaction in her listeners and thus encourage degeneration instead of musical sophistication.

Because of the ever-present threat of the literal body, the music she performed (as I have argued in Chapter Two) needed to have associations with the extra-bodily; this fact was even more vital as Clara grew into a young woman, married, had children, and was widowed. The seeming presence of the poetic and serious, instead of the trivial, would link this performer to a repertory that could possibly conceal or obscure her female body in a way that, quite frankly, no other association could. Alongside all of the other programmatic methods she employed, her promotion and personal advocacy of serious music works was more than likely the most decisive component in her ability to sustain such a lengthy and successful career. For that matter, our reverence for Clara Schumann remains intrinsically attached to this understanding of her: she was a performer who advanced poetic works and was personally torn and conflicted regarding her (expected) performances of more trivial, inferior musical works to please the public. Wagner notes this conflict in an essay from Paris.

> It has been said that whereas the Italians use music for love-making and the French for social reasons, the Germans cultivate it as a form of science. It would be better perhaps to say that the Italian is a singer, the Frenchman a virtuoso and the German—a musician. The German has the right to be dubbed simply a 'musician' because it can be said of him that he loves music for its own sake—to him it is not a means of charming or of earning money and a reputation, but a divine art which he worships and which when he abandons himself to it means everything in the world to him. The German is capable of writing music solely for himself and his friends without any thought of its ever being performed in public. The longing to make a brilliant success seldom seizes him since most Germans have no idea how such a thing could be done.[93]

This inherent battle—between her own musical goals and the expectations of the public—further illuminates *why* we continue to position Clara very carefully inside the vanguard of *true* German musicians. Coupled with this narrative, scholars claim she was gradually

[93] Richard Wagner, *Wagner Writes from Paris…Stories, Essays and Articles by the Young Composer*, ed. & trans. Robert L. Jacobs and Geffrey Skelton (New York: The John Day Company, 1973), 37.

sneaking "serious" repertory onto her programs in order to change her listeners' expectations and perceptions. Eventually, the tide changed, or she herself changed it, scorning all other works except for those deemed serious and cultivating for her audience.[94] I would argue that, even though we perhaps see evidence of these trends throughout her career—Clara really had no other choice. If she had chosen to continue performing works associated with femininity and triviality with no presence of hyper-masculine serious works (Beethoven!), she would more than likely *not* have been able to continue performing publicly.

The discussion of serious music was most firmly tied to new standards associated with concert listening and transcendence, which strove to heighten the public's musical tastes.[95] As Weber points out in his longer discussion regarding musical idealism, the change in musical taste dictated the programmatic metamorphosis.[96] Closely related to the expunging of the virtuosic music, trivial music was so treated:

> The crisis of taste demanded new ideals for "proper" or "worthy" music, as opposed to pieces condemned as trivial or degenerate. Although essayists had raised the specter of moral decline in musical taste since the early eighteenth century, a new trope arose calling specifically for unworthy genres to be expelled from concerts—dance music, the variation, and the potpourri most of all. Reviewers began sketching

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[94] While I write the previous sentences with a sense of sarcasm, if we were to attempt to associate Clara with the trivial, what would happen to our understanding of her? If we were to ever admit that she might have enjoyed performing some of those more vapid works, it might completely change her ability to exist so firmly within the historical canon or as our "token" female composer of the nineteenth century. The unwillingness to even consider this idea I find quite exasperating. Even so, I am honestly not even sure what an analysis of this sort would look like or if it is even really possible.

[95] Bonds, *Music as Thought*, 44. Bonds points out the changing tide in musical criticism, which resulted from the public clamoring to "elevate" their musical understandings, and their musical tastes followed suite: "The nineteenth century's new paradigm of listening created the need for a new kind of didactic discourse about music, aimed at those members of the public eager to elevate their knowledge and tastes."

[96] Weber, *The Great Transformation*, 87. Weber argues for calling this movement "musical idealism" given the attachment to the idea of Romantic truth, and its role in shaping the classical music recital and concert. "Idealistic musical values were more journalistic than philosophical in nature, even though links evolved between musical commentary and formal aesthetic thought. The people who took up idealistic musical values were relatively small in number but knew how to make their opinions known. They rejected the assumption that members of the musical community had to accommodate themselves to lesser kinds of music, and instead called for musical culture to be based on a learned high culture. To a certain extent, the movement arose as a reaction against the growing commercialization of opera and concert life. But more fundamentally, musical idealism was born from a utopian vision of music-making rooted in Romantic thinking that made claim to a kind of artistic truth."

> out a hierarchy among genres, from the potpourri at one end to the symphony and quartet at the other.[97]

Within these new standards and the fear of "moral decline," certain genres were marked as inferior and degenerative, while others (often instrumental and thus, "absolute") were considered superior and cultivating. Concert pieces attached to the literal or the directed, opera transcriptions for example, were inherently connected not only to a specific story or plot but to the physical body as well, and both of these characteristics potentially inhibited spiritual transcendence.

While I have spent ample amount of time discussing the dichotomy between the trivial and the serious, especially in Chapter Two, I bring these particular ideas into the dialogue to look helps us look more pointedly at Clara's programming, and how it could have been positioned as "serious," during a time in which this musical idealism, to borrow Weber's term, created a hierarchy of musical genres. According to Gooley, this ranking had a large bearing in the battle against virtuosity.

> The most effective and concrete strategy for advancing the virtue of the symphony was to profile is against other *instrumental* music—variations, potpourris, fantasies, and concertos—not deemed "serious" or "symphonic." Advocates of the symphony thus built and reinforced an ideologically charged binary opposition positioning serious or "symphonic" music against insignificant, "dilettantish" instrumental music.[98]

Of course, while we can point to genres that were marked trivial—transcriptions, dance music, or variations—we can just as easily note that, antithetical to all of this "riff-raff," there was Beethoven. For Bonds, "Beethoven's music, in short, did not create a revolution in listening; he was, however, the direct and immediate beneficiary of this new outlook."[99]

If we follow these loose guidelines—regarding what marks certain repertoire as "trivial" and others as "serious"—while simultaneously keeping in mind the role that certain

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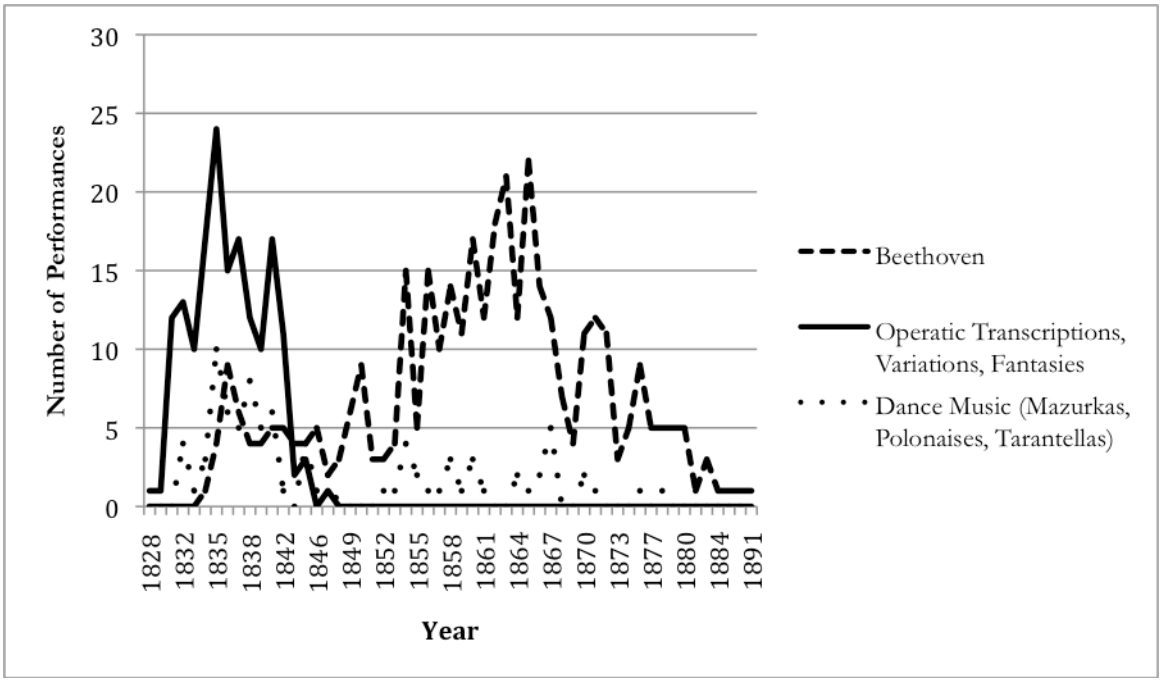
[97] Ibid., 98.
[98] Gooley, "The Battle Against Instrumental Virtuosity," 77.
[99] Bonds, *Music as Thought*, 28.

composers held in this distinction, we can interpret Clara's programming accordingly. First, I consider how often she performed Beethoven and then compare this rate with that of operatic transcriptions, arrangements, or dance music. Another possible indication in this shift from the trivial to the serious could also be the gradual homogeneity of her programs; what made Clara's later concerts homogeneous and which pieces facilitated this classification?

Table 5.8
Clara Schumann's
Performances of the Serious and the Trivial



We do know that aside from Schumann, Beethoven's music accounted for the second highest percentage of Clara's repertory in Germany at 18.9 percent; in Austria, Beethoven was ranked third at 10.8 percent after Schumann (25.7 percent) and Chopin (15.5 percent).[100] This statistic in itself, the fact that almost two out of ten concerts in Germany would have featured a Beethoven piece, clearly makes the point that she performed this

[100] Kopiez, Lehmann, and Klassen, "Clara Schumann's Collection of Playbills," 62.

composer with an occurrence certain to attach her to serious musical ideals. Comparing these programs with ones including operatic transcriptions, variations on operatic themes, and fantasies, and those that saw dances—mazurkas, polonaises, and tarantellas—we can possibly discern how her concerts possibly situated these disparate genres, and eventually, as almost every scholar has argued, became decidedly serious by the end of her career.

Just as Clara used Schumann to establish her concerts, Beethoven's music seemed to hold a similar purpose. By performing his music so early in her career, and at such a high rate, she could become intimately connected with this composer's music and, thus, labeled as knowing his music more thoroughly than other performers; this possibility seems even more logical when considering that she often played a wide variety of his pieces throughout the duration of her career. For example, she easily programmed Beethoven's Opus 57 piano sonata in 1835 and 1880. Just as Beethoven's music was a powerful source of her programming, operatic transcriptions faded after the first fifteen years of her career. As Table 5.8 shows, she virtually played no variations (outside of those by Schumann and Beethoven) after 1844; however, she did continually program mazurkas.

Table 5.9
Clara Schumann's
Programming of the Trivial and the Serious

April 25, 1831 **Leipzig, Gewandhaus**	**November 25, 1834** **Magdeburg, Stadt London**
I	I
Onslow: Quintet, Mov. 1	Mozart: Movement from Septet
Langenschwarz: *Mündl., Epic and Lyric Improvisation*	Beethoven: Piano Trio, Op. 97, Mov. 1
Pacini: Cavatine	Quartet for Male Voices
II	Chopin: Variations over *La ci darem la mano*
Onslow: Quintet, Second Half	II
Pixis: Rondo, Clavier-Concerts, Op. 100	Mozart: Symphony, Mov. 2
Langenschwarz: Improvisation	Chopin: Nocturne, E flat-Major,
III	Etudes, C-Major and F-Major
Langenschwarz: Improvisation	Quartet for Male Voices
Herz: Brilliant Variations over *La Violette* by Carafa	Herz: Variations over *La Violetta*

Langenschwarz: Improvisation	
January 25, 1840 **Berlin, Sing-Academie** I Beethoven: Trio, B-Major Lieder Henselt: Etude E flat-Minor Schubert/Liszt: *Ave Maria*, arranged for Pianoforte Mendelssohn: Prelude Scarlatti: Piano Piece II Krebs, C.: *Die Heimath* Declamation Wieck, Clara: Variations over a Theme, Bellini's *Pirat*	**April 3, 1844** **Königsberg, Theater** I Weber: Overture Beethoven: Piano Sonata, D-Minor Schubert: Die Post Storch: Austrian National Lied Henselt: Variations over Donizetti's *Liebestrank* II Mozart: Overture Schumann, obert.: *Mondnacht* Schumann, Clara: *Liebeszauber* Schumann, Robert: *Widmung* Bériot: *Air variée* for Violine Mendelssohn: *Song Without Words* Schumann: Allegro Chopin: Mazurka Liszt: Reminiscences de *Lucia di Lammermoor*
January 11, 1858 **Fürth, Concert** I Beethoven: Piano Sonata, D-Minor, Op. 31, Nr. 2 Füchs: *Widmung* Mendelssohn: *Frühlingslied* Mozart: Rondo, A-minor Bach: Prelude and Fugue, A-minor II Chopin: Nocturne and Polonaise Schäffer: *Des Vaters Rückkehr* Abt: *Der Zufall hat es gemacht* Mendelssohn: Capriccio, Op. 14	**November 24, 1866** **Oldenburg, Hof-Concert** Beethoven: Piano Sonata, C#-Minor Solo for Violin Chopin: Impromptu, Mazurka, Etude Solo for Cello Mendelssohn: Caprice II Schumann: Romanze: *Warum*?, *Traumeswirren* Solo for Violin Rameau: Gigue-Musette-Tambourin Brahms: Waltz for Four Hands
January 29, 1876 **Berlin, Festsaal des Rathauses** Schubert: Variations for String Quartet Weber: Two Selections from *Abu Hassan* Beethoven: Sonata, Op. 47, Second and Third Movements Schumann: *Schlummerlied* Hiller: *Zur Guitarr* Mendelssohn: Rondo capriccios Wagner: *Träume* Chopin: Mazurka Brahms/Joachim: Hungarian Dances in G-minor, F-Major, B-Major	**March 14, 1879** **Koblenz, Aula des Kgl Gymnasiums** Mendelssohn: Overture to *Hebriden* Beethoven: Piano Concerto, Nr. 4 in G-Major N.W. Gade: *Frühlingsbotschaft* Choir Chopin: Fantasy-Impromptu Schumann: Novellette in F-Major, Op. 21, *Traumes Wirren* Schumann: Symphony Nr. 2 in C-Major

Furthermore, as evident in the concert from 1844 in Table 5.9, Clara played Beethoven at the beginning the concert but also included variations on operatic themes by Donizetti and Bellini. The performance of the trivial alongside the serious greatly declined as her programs began containing a wider historical span of pieces and a firmer focus on the new romantic school. While this analysis mimics the dominant perception of Clara's programming as homogeneous and markedly serious, interestingly, her concerts often continued to have accompanying artists and singers.

In conclusion, while so many aspects of Clara's programming affected her public persona, her connection to a German, serious lineage has most significantly shaped our understanding of her repertory. Clara, as a woman, had to keep herself and her musical programs within a certain tradition; in binding her performances to the music of well-known and respected pianists, this performer had a much better chance of successfully working within the male dominated sphere. On the other hand, had Liszt acted similarly, he would have been marked as merely a mechanical, uninteresting performer. This double standard is glaringly evident in the contradiction between the two sources below. Pedroza argues that even very early in her career Clara was able to distance herself from standard virtuosic fare by focusing sharply on well-known, Mozartian-influenced pianist-composers who had been able to maintain a certain respect throughout the musical world.

> In [early] concerts like this, she would have had the opportunity to play a few solo pieces, but the inclusion of other musicians was also expected. Her father programmed the pieces she was to play; in this he tried to create a balance between what he considered "good music" and the expectations of the public. He knew about the virtuoso rave, so he was careful in choosing pieces that would show Clara's impeccable technique. Therefore, Clara would usually play compositions from Hummel, Moscheles, Herz, and other "transitional pianists." These virtuosos, who had been trained by Mozart, Haydn, and Clementi, thrived until just before the appearance of the romantic virtuosos Liszt and Thalberg. The music of these

> pianists had virtuoso passages, but it was not considered vacuous by critics of the time.[101]

For Pedroza, Clara played virtuosic music, but this music had been labeled as "serious."

Offering a similar charge in Liszt's carefully chosen, serious repertory, Gooley unknowingly challenges Pedroza's assertion. He claims, in fact, that German critics found these "traditional pianist" composers particularly appalling because they employed a "mechanical," and thus, materialistic, musical language.

> The aesthetic or sounding equivalent to such materialism was the reputedly "mechanical" sound of the *stile brillante*—the vocabulary of figurative patterns exploited in the concert music of Hummel, Weber, Moscheles, and other pianists of the pre-Liszt generation. What was "mechanical" in the minds of its detractors was the repetitive, rhythmically four-square shape of these figures, unrelieved by songful lyricism or sustained harmonies, as well as the sheer percussiveness of the piano (Schumann called it "empty tinsel"). Liszt's general break from *brilliante* figuration may have contributed significantly to his freedom from the pervasive mechanist critique of piano virtuosity. All of his rivals—pianists like Sigismond Thalberg, Theodro Döhler, or Alexander Dreyschock—remained rooted in the *stile brillante*, even as they were taking advantage of the resources of the modern instrument.[102]

According to Gooley, Liszt was able to avoid the snare of the critic by rejecting pieces that were part of the *stile brillant*; these very same pieces, however, seemingly worked differently for Clara, because of their "serious" connotation and connection to a pre-existing, definite Germanic lineage. Somewhat paradoxically, Gooley contends that it was Liszt's extraordinarily innovative virtuosity that propelled his playing into the "ideal" or sublime,

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[101] Pedroza, "The Ritual of Music Contemplation," 54.

[102] Gooley, "The Battle Against Instrumental Virtuosity," 97-99. Gooley goes on to explain Liszt's unique use of the *stile brillante*, and how he fundamentally distanced himself from this style. "Liszt's bravura thrives far less on patterns of this sort, and when he does employ them, notably in his filagree cadenzas, he blurs them together as an indistinct could of sound entirely foreign to the "noteyness" of the *stile brillante*. Liszt also harbored an alternative sound ideal to that of earlier pianists. The *stile brillante* accepts the percussive attack of the piano—the materiality of its sound—and indeed capitalizes on that sound for effects that delight the listener's ear. Chopin's pianism, while considerably more plastic and sweeping, never forces the instrument's sonorous boundaries. Liszt's concert music, by contrast, often rejects the piano's limitations. It strives for orchestral effects even at the expense of sonorous beauty—for example, a large chord repeated six or eight times fortissimo in imitation of a climactic tutti—and thereby rejects his instrument's bounded materiality. In striving for such "impossible" sounds, Liszt's pianism pulls away form the material and reaches toward its antipode: the ideal."

and, therefore, outside of the merely technical. This dichotomy is so interesting because it shows some of the possible double standards between Clara and Liszt, while further illuminating the importance of the "serious" in Clara's career. Liszt has served as the preeminent foil for this discussion, and these distinctions further ratify the capacity to which Clara's programming shaped the perceptions of her career during the nineteenth century and continues to affect how historians make sense of her performances.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

I was first "introduced" to Clara Schumann while attending Wesleyan College, a small liberal arts college. At a women's college, quite unsurprisingly, women and gender studies are often integrated into most facets of curriculum. Singing Clara's lieder, talking about her compositions, and thinking about her historical situation in private voice lessons, music history, and European history courses all eventually contributed to my senior's honor thesis. This project considered Clara's biography more generally, and how she challenged the normative barriers—particularly in regard to venue—that female pianists had been up against since the previous century. This project led to my interest in musicology. A thoughtful professor passed along a job description that (literally) outlined my musical and academic interests, and from there, I felt my path was set. I offer this brief history not to draw attention to simply "how long" this project has been with me personally or how it has shaped my subsequent career pursuits, but to also emphasize something that happened quite soon after finishing my thesis and heading to the University of Texas for graduate work.

I attended my first American Musicological Society meeting in my second year of graduate school. I was still excited about nineteenth-century history, had taken a great seminar on absolute music not two semesters before, and remained focused on Clara Schumann—although I was not exactly sure in what direction the project was going, or if I could even find another one. An undergraduate professor had encouraged me to keep going with my ideas; I had reworked part of it for a seminar paper, and so I was hoping to continue shaping the project into my master's report and, eventually, my dissertation.

During this first "immersion" into the social workings of the AMS I was introduced to a twentieth-century (female!) scholar at a night social. After a somewhat stilted introduction, this professor swirled a glass of red wine and, as it usually goes, asked about "what area" I studied. I, of course, clumsily attempted to outline my interest in Clara Schumann. In this very (fragile) moment I heard the critique that I have repeatedly received throughout this project—either verbally or in the tone of the scholarship—which went a little something like this: "I believe that topic has been pretty well covered, right? Hasn't everything already been 'done'?' Those moments are always awkward, of course, and what did I say to this observation by a wiser, senior scholar? Well, obviously I just nodded, smiled, probably looked slightly confused, and went along about my sad little graduate student way.

What I mean to suggest through this rather awful anecdote is that we *want* to think that Clara has long been "rescued" by the likes of feminist musicology. We want to believe that we have successfully carved out a place for her in music history, as she can be found in almost every music appreciation text book, has become an icon for feminist musicologists, and her music gets played by undergraduate and graduate students alike. Clara has become a tool to dislodge disciplinary hegemony. She has been at the heart of the two primary "rescue plots" that Suzanne Cusik outlines:

> Certainly it is clear that feminist musicologies differ deliberately from the most traditional musicology by making no pretense of objectivity, detachment, or autonomy. Rather, feminist musicologies are openly and avowedly political, their enquiries about music and musical practices motivated by one of two rescue plots. The feminist musicologies that ask, Where are the women? seek to rescue from obscurity the women and the women's musical work (compositional or otherwise) that have been marginalized in musicology's narratives. This attempted rescue is avowedly performed for the sake of giving musical women in our time an empowering awareness that they are part of a tradition. More broadly, however, the rescue of women and their musical work from marginality implicitly dismantles the means by which musicology could function as one of the cultural metaphors sustaining a gender system that marginalizes women and the so-called feminine. The feminist musicologies that ask, How have women and the feminine been represented? ultimately seek to rescue music itself from the disciplinary constraints

> that have sought to limit and control its power. This rescue is often described as a rescue of music's expressive, sensual, and erotic power, hence of the kinds of music musical power traditionally linked to women's erotic power. It is a rescue performed for the sake of music, as well as for the sake of the women and men whose relationship to music (and, by analogy, to sensual pleasure) has been equally constrained.[1]

So, not only have we "rescued" Clara and her music from obscurity, but we have also depended on this female performer to dismantle the "constraints" the discipline has imposed on representations of the feminine. In these historical goals, we have, effectively, decoded the cipher—there is little left to explore or think about in regard to her career or compositions. Obviously the most blatant question is *why* it would be acceptable to be complacent about *any* musicological subject, but, more importantly, *why* have we been unable to explore or understand fully the complications of Clara's career? I would argue that we have yet to really allow ourselves to separate our study of Clara from the dominant nineteenth-century understanding of her. We have continued to take this performer's word at face value, and for that matter, we have followed Clara's own understanding of the goals of music during her own time and, subsequently, her view of music history. For, in her conclusion, Reich argues:

> In many letters and diary entries Clara Schumann expressed (with some envy) her conviction that only a composer—a creator—could achieve immortality; the interpretive artist would soon be forgotten. As a performer she was only too well aware of the younger stars waiting to take their places in the spotlight and of the evanescence of an interpreter's career, no matter how brilliant.[2]

Clara declared the performer mortal and the composer immortal; we have similarly "respected" this dichotomy by not delving *too* deeply into her reception or the methods she used to attain such success and longevity. We have somewhat respected Clara's *own* interpretation of her career and attempted to substantiate this claim by primarily relegating

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[1] Suzanne G. Cusik, "Gender, Musicology, and Feminism" in *Rethinking Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) 484.
[2] Reich, *Clara Schumann*, 295.

her to the role of "interpreter" instead of a brilliant performer. Perhaps it is much easier to hope for that atypical moment within the nineteenth century (which ended up lasting the whole century), when all barriers and prejudices fell away, and one performer (female or not) could come forth and correctly play the music of the masters. In so doing, she was able to help change the tides of the public recital. Again, however, we continue to position and understand Clara's career in almost the same terminology she and her contemporaries used—we have yet to *really* look behind the curtain to see what was going on behind the scenes.

This dissertation does not necessarily take a peek into that hidden territory, as I have sometimes selected evidence that often fits within the dominant tropes of Clara's career, or data that instead complements the larger ideal of this performer that I have tried to construct. As a final glance back on her career, and specifically her public persona, I would like to discuss an image that seems to create an even more elusive understanding of Clara than has already been suggested. As the following photograph will show, there is still much evidence that can further our knowledge of the nineteenth century, but that does not necessarily correspond to the boundaries I have created and substantiated. For example, this 1862 untitled portrait seems to contain almost none of the "norms" I established in Chapter Three. From her pose and dress, to those domestic signifiers so prudently positioned in earlier images, Figure 6.1 presents an inversion of these characterizations. If anything, this portrait seems to construct a more sexualized (and therefore, more, problematic) ideal of the performer.

This somewhat disorderly amalgam of symbols—suggesting both the masculine and the domestic—cannot seem to prop her up effectively. The column marking (masculine) Western social and historical prestige blends effortlessly, if not somewhat chaotically, with the (feminine) domestic—the ornately decorated table leg (or perhaps piano leg?), floral-

embellished washing bowl, and novel. These disparate elements all infringe upon each other's space or "presence" in the image, creating a natural sense of confusion; against this disorder, Clara turns her back. Perhaps none of these elements are "controlled" properly in the understanding of this performer, or it has become virtually impossible to successfully categorize Clara one way or the other. She casually reclines in a dark gown with transparent lace, while seated in profile to create a subtle interest on the length of her hair via the ornate lace hair net. In her lap (another) lace coverlet spills to the floor. This carelessly placed material seems to emphasize further modes of undress or reclining in other places (i.e. bed, intercourse), and the ineffective bedspread, as it were, mimics the material in Clara's dress and hair: all make efforts at domestic covering but fall short and instead, reveal.

Just as the cover that fails to cover effectively seems to intimate aspects of undress, it also seems to create some sort of correlation with undergarments—especially considering that she clutches the lace corner right in the middle of her lap.[3] The "functionless" garments and lace throw are carefully arranged, but these components could also further confirm her financial successes. The sheer amount of excess lace fabric (which again, has no real use), coupled with the lush velvet textured dress, all contribute to an icon of prestige and wealth. This interpretation makes even more sense when considering Table 5.1; during the early 1860s Clara was performing with the same high frequency that she had at the outset of her career. Most obviously, this attire contrasts quite sharply with the modesty (and often plainness) of Clara's clothing we have noted throughout her marriage and into her widowhood.

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[3] Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism*, 193. Steele discusses a change in the erotic nature of undergarments towards the last quarter of the nineteenth century. "For a long time, however, elaborate underclothing tended to be associated with women of easy virtue. Since the courtesan's business was sexual, her use of deliberately seductive underclothing was not surprising. In general, though, public opinion held that, however elaborate and even coquettish outerwear might be, the underwear of the respectable woman should be relatively plain and modest."

Figure 6.1

Unknown Portrait
Germany (?), 1862
Robert-Schumann Haus; Zwickau, Gemany
Kat. Nr. 1645-B2

Clara's reclined pose is perhaps the most conspicuous element—defying all of the posturing benefits playing the piano had on young girls and, in effect, perhaps challenging her usual public posture: that of a performer. In this image Clara is decidedly relaxed—to the point that she seems almost reluctant to pose or play—in fact, she perhaps refuses to act in accordance with her culturally prescribed role of pianist and, more importantly, that of domesticated woman. Leppert discusses similar phenomena in Victorian culture, which perhaps resonates in this German instance. While Leppert examines images of women

slouched, often with overt sexual overtones, at the piano, he deduces that this reluctance metaphorically created for the viewer a "fantasy, as it were, in forcing her to 'play' (to comply):"

> Nonetheless, the viewer's fantasy victory is empty in that the fantasy on which the pleasure of viewing her confirms the lack that looking is intended to supplant—and the viewer knows it. It is that hate-pleasure, victory-loss combination that in part accounts for fear of women. It is what allows Victorian medical "science" and moral ideology alike to theorize that due to the wife's inability to satisfy her husband's sexual needs, due to the very terms imposed upon her that organize their relationship…Musical harmony by analogy stands in here, and in many other domestic narrative and portrait paintings, for domestic harmony: but with a price to pay. The piano served as a sign by which men defined and empowered themselves; it was a code for "woman," by which was really meant "not man." The piano as a sign of woman was also a cipher for the domestic erotic economy, such as it was, and therein lay the problem. In the case of the reluctant pianist, the erotic economy of Victorian life could operate successfully only if the supply might be tapped whenever needed, whenever demand existed. Woman, as wife, should contain within her the passive sexuality that can be taken as raw material and molded into the pleasure of the owner, without her enjoying it (that was crucial). What this picture violates is the expectation of passivity. The ability to imagine taming the woman's sexual agency drives the pleasure to be derived from looking at her. In short, the image's putative subject is invitation to rape, otherwise more politely known as the taming of the shrew. In a sense this is very much in the tradition of the music lesson topos, except that the reluctant pianist is in desperate need of a proper male "teacher" who better understands how to operate in accord with dominant ideological principles.[4]

[4] Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*, 182-184. This reading does resonate with German marriage experiences. As Priscilla Robertson writes: "Since German women's companionship depended so heavily on the willingness of their husbands to give it, many of them were seriously neglected. English visitors were inclined to pity German married women, according to Mayhew, because they had to sleep in single beds and often, indeed, separate rooms. Moreover, German men were unlikely to spend their evenings at home, and in fact it was part of the duty of a good, middle-class wife to send her husband to the tavern, where he could pick up business acquaintances….Talking openly about sexual experiences was frowned upon in Germany to the point where even such mild revelations the French absorbed happily in *Monsier, madame et bébé* were felt to be offensively frank. Evidences of public and private censorship extend through the whole nineteenth century. At the beginning, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, the Berlin professor who inflamed his students to fight idealistically for a restored and united Germany, also told them that the woman who acknowledged her sexual needs forfeited her self-respect. In mid-century a Prussian judge, von Kirchmann, was dismissed from his post on grounds of immorality because he lectured in favor of birth control. Later, the first German woman to talk frankly about prostitution and try to stop it, Frau Guillaume-Schack, was subjected to a police trail and eventually had to leave the country." Robertson, *An Experience of Women*, 202.

The presence of sexual suggestions and erotic desire is again grounded within a domestic enclosure, but that does not diminish the fact that (generally) after her marriage, this kind of portrayal virtually goes unrecorded in Clara's portraits and concert reviews. Furthermore, this nexus of the erotic, inevitably grounded in the status of "the wife," becomes even more problematic in light of the fact that Clara had been widowed since 1856. While the need for domination resonates with our earlier analyses, the exception in this case is that Clara blatantly appears *not* to already have achieved this domestic ideal. If we take Leppert's interpretation further, perhaps it is during her widowhood, with the absence of both her father and her husband, that the agency to domesticate or control shifts to the audience. In their frequent consumption, the listeners become the domesticators—they are the ones, in fact, "forcing" her to perform or "to comply."

This audience, who we often position with slight disdain and, in the case of Clara, as slowly being duped into thinking about and listening to the music that will elevate their senses become a more dynamic force in this image. In his concluding remarks in *The Virtuoso Liszt*, Gooley offers the following assessment of working with such a dynamic and problematic musician. In particular, this author argues that we have distanced ourselves from the audiences, and the inevitable result is that we short-change not only our understanding of nineteenth-century culture but our own musical enjoyment.

> The gravest consequence of working with Liszt into idealist paradigms is that his audiences, the very fabric of his social career, become wooden and irrelevant. Liszt's audiences: those naïve, unenlightened bourgeois masses, who, in their repression, could not contain their rapturous applause in the concert hall, or who, in their earnestness, deceived themselves that shallow piano music was giving them profound experience. The image resounds with a contempt for the middle classes of the nineteenth century…But to snicker at Liszt's audiences for their excessive enthusiasm, however sensible from our current perspective, is covertly to admit that we envy them. It is difficult to read about Liszt's career and not feel that our musical culture has in some significant way lost its responsiveness to major virtuosos, and

> thereby closed its doors to a whole range of musical experience. The prospect of changing this seems extremely low.[5]

While this project has yet to create a real cogent narrative of audiences, their presence lies in every turn, especially as we attempt to uncover why listeners unabashedly and continually celebrated this unorthodox performer. Perhaps the image above speaks to their overwhelming presence. Even in their support of Clara, we have a tendency to position this pianist as having something akin to a false love for her listeners. In other words, we like to believe that the audience kept her from realizing her musical goals. Had their tastes been as cultivated, Clara could have played the works she *truly* wanted them to hear. Instead, we argue that this pianist perpetually performed out of duty, and "to define the virtuoso as a figure of urgency and social relevance" in a way that corresponded with the commitment to her father, husband, and to her conception (or delusion) of the artistic.[6]

This performer's interior artistic goals, therefore, seem to dictate how far we are willing to "go" in our explorations. The final sentences of Reich's biography position Clara's "legacy" accordingly:

> Her teaching style, infused by her resolute and determined spirit, combined her high ideas and scrupulous attention to details, her emphasis on expressivity and tone, her insistence that technique be cultivated to serve the music, and her demand that the performer honor, above all, the composer—the creator. That was her legacy to the future.[7]

Che has, therefore, transmitted her artistic goals to us today, and we continue to "thank" Clara for her ability to change the tide of public recitals and, consequently, public taste.

We often look to Clara Schumann as someone who holds up our values; as Gooley notes above, in this conception of "classical" music as the harbinger of class and cultivation, we refuse to engage (or even) really tolerate the kind of enthusiasm nineteenth-century

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[5] Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt*, 267.
[6] Ibid., 263.
[7] Reich, *Clara Schumann*, 296.

audiences held for the virtuosos and for piano music. By positioning Clara safely in our fold of interpretation and fidelity to the score, we have secured her position on "our side" and effectively rendered criticism of her career mute. Why has Clara become this figure for us, and why do we continually reiterate this conception of her? The elusive nature of Clara's personas reveals itself in the many ways critical language positioned her, the portrait's rendering of her womanliness or genius, or in the diverse narrative her programming created for her listeners. In examining this varied evidence, perhaps this project has brought attention to the fact that all of these interpretations were carefully crafted and filled with meaning inside patriarchal boundaries. As Leppert concludes *The Sight of Sound*:

> The concatenous fury enacted against women *and* music is the product of an awareness that both women and music exceed meaning, to the extent that meaning is "given" to both under conditions of patriarchy.[8]

Perhaps in creating an escape for Clara from our still patriarchal understanding of her—that she inevitably worked for the work, we can come slightly closer to understanding her "legacy" to nineteenth century music, and how she did, in fact, get the people to care.

[8] Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*, 230.

Appendix
Clara Schumann's German and Viennese Programs
Complete Listing

This appendix presents a complete listing of Clara Schumann's German Programs, including Vienna, for the first time published and in English translation. I have tried to remain faithful to the presentation of this data, by sometimes choosing to leave certain words, phrases, and titles in their original German. Any numerical or alphabetical listings (ex: 1), a) follow the format of the original program, as do all inclusions of parenthetical information (ex: The First Time, Additional Performers' Names, etc). The subsequent table gives this detailed information for each performance: Date, City, Location, Title of Concert, Other Performers, and Pieces.

Date	City Location *Concert Title*	Other Performers	Pieces
1828-10-20	Leipzig Gewandhaus	Caroline Perthaler Emilie Reichold Henriette Grabau Gewandhaus-Orchestra	I 1) Onslow: Overture from the *Colporteur* 2) Weber: *Schottisches Lied*, with String Quartet Accompaniment 3) Kalkbrenner: Großes Piano-Concerto, Nr. 2, E-Minor (Perthaler) II 4) Weber: *Schottisches Lied*, with Quartet Accompaniment 5) Kalkbrenner: *Moses-Variations*, Four-Hands (with Reichold) 6) Schubert: *Die Forelle* (Accompaniment: Reichold) 7) Pixis: Große Concert-Variations (Perthalter)
1830-11-08	Leipzig Gewandhaus	Henriette Grabau Hr. Hammermeister Musik Director Heinrich Dorn Knorr Wendler Gewandhaus-Orchestra	I 1) Auber: Overture from *Fra Diavolo* (New) 2) Lindpainter: Variations over *An Alexis* (Grabau) 3) Kalkbrenner: Brilliant Rondo for Pianoforte with Orchestra, Op. 101 (New) 4) Wieck, Clara: Lied with Piano Accompaniment (Grabau) 5) Herz: *Variations brillantes* for Solo

			Pianoforte, Op. 23 II 6) Czerny: *Quatuor Concertant* for Four Pianoforte with Orchestra, Op. 230 (New) 7) Romanze for the Physharmonica with Pianoforte (*Wieck-Romanze*) 8) Rossini: Aria, *Donna del Lago* (Hammermeister) 9) Wieck, Clara: Variations over an Original Theme for Pianoforte Solo
1831-01-10	Dresden Hôtel de Pologne *Musikalische Academie of Clara Wieck*	Concert Master Morgenroth Forstenau Kotte Dotzauer Kuntze Schmerwitz Concert Master Rolla Frl. Veltheim Kgl. Kapelle	I 1) Reißiger: Overture 2) Hummel: New Septet, C-Major 3) Vaccai: Aria (Veltheim) 4) Herz-Bériot: Duet for Pianoforte and Violin (with Rolla) II 5) Pixis: Variations and Rondo with Orchestra (New) 6) Reißiger: *Boleros* (Veltheim) 7) Herz: Variations, Op. 23
1831-01-25	Dresden Hoftheater Deutsches Schauspiel		Pixis: Variations and Rondo for Pianoforte with Orchestra Raupach E.: *Die feindlichen Brüder oder der Doctor and der Apotheker* Herz: Variations for Pianoforte Solo, Op. 48
1831-01-27	Dresden Hôtel de Pologne *Second musikalische Academie of Clara Wieck*	Carl Krägen Friedrich Wieck Franz Schubert	I 1) Pixis: Newest Piano Trio (Krägen, Schubert, Kummer) 2) Wieck, Clara: Lied (Tiedge) 3) Kummer, F.A.: Duet for Violin and Violincello 4) Romanze for the Physharmonica and Pianoforte 5) Wieck, Clara: Fantasy over a Romanze II 6) Weber: Lied (Schebest) 7) Herz: Große Variations for Pianoforte, Four Hands (with Krägen) 8) Carafa: Cavatina (Schebest) 9) Herz: Variations for Pianoforte Solo, Op. 51
1831-04-25	Leipzig Gewandhaus *First Große Dichtung of*	Heinrich Aug. Matthäi Quaiser Lange	I 1) Onslow: Quintet, First Movement 2) Langenschwarz: *Mündl., epische oder lyrische Improvisation*

	Improvisators Dr. Langenschwarz	Grenser Joh. Andreas Grabau Franchetti-Walzel	3) Pacini: Cavatine (Walzel) II 4) Onslow: Quintet, Second Half 5) Pixis: Rondo, Piano Concerto, Op. 100 <u>In the meantime…a Langenschwarz script</u> 6) *5 galante Gedichte auf einmal, als 5fache, humoristisch-freundliche Begrüßung für Leipzigs Damen* III 7) Langenschwarz: *Außerordentl. Dichtung von 3 versch. Stoffen zugleich, mit beständliger Unterbrechung and Störung Durch due Zuhörer* 8) Herz: Brilliant Variations for Solo Pianoforte, "La Violette" from *Carafa* 9) Langenschwarz: *Mündl. Humoristische Improvisation*
1831-05-18	Altenburg Logenhaus *Academie of Langenschwarz and Clara Wieck*	Maximilian Langenschwarz	I 1) Spohr: Große Overture from *Jesson* 2) Pixis: Concerto, Op. 100 3) Langenschwarz, Maximilian: *Lyrische oder epische Improvisation* II 4) Onslow: Overture from *Der Hausirer* 5) Wieck, Clara: Romanze for Physharmonica with successive Piano Variations 6) Wieck, Clara: Scherzo for Orchestra 7) Langenschwarz: *5 galante Gedichte auf Einmal* 8) Herz: Bravura-Variations 9) Langenschwarz: *Komische Improvisation im Oestreich'schen Volksdialecte*
1831-10-01 1831-10-09	Weimar bei Goethe (eingeladen)	Friedrich Wieck Kapellmeister Götze	<u>1 October</u> Herz: *La Violetta* Herz: Bravura-Variations, Op. 20 <u>9 October</u> Hünten: Rondo for Piano, Four Hands (with Friedrich Wieck) Herz-Bériot: Duet for Piano and Violin (with Götze) Wieck, Clara: Variations for Piano
1831-10-07	Weimar Stadthaus *Musikalische Academie of Clara Wieck*	Landesdirections-Registrator Müller Goetze	I 1) Hummel: Overture 2) Beethoven: *Adelaide* (Müller) 3) Pixis: Piano-Concert, Op. 100 4) Romanze for Physharmonica with

			Pianoforte (*Wieck-Romanze)* 5) Chopin: Variations over *La ci darem la mano*, Op. 2 II 6) Herz-Bériot: Duet for Pianoforte and Violin 7) Wieck Clara: Lied with Pianoforte Accompaniment 8) Bravura-Variations, Op. 20
1831-10-26	Arnstadt Rathaus, Großer Saal *Musikalische Akademie of Clara Wieck*	Friedrich Wieck	I 1) Hünten: Rondo for Four-Hands over a Theme from Elizabeth by Rossini 2) Romanze for the Physharmonica and Pianoforte played (with Frederich Weick) 3) Wieck, Clara: Fantasy-Variations over a Romanze 4) Wieck, Clara: Two Leider with Pianoforte Accompaniment II 5) Chopin: Variations over *La ci darem la mano*, with Quartet Accompaniment 6) Maiseder: Violin-Variations, Arranged for Pianoforte Four-Hands by Carl Czerny (with Friederich Wieck) 7) Notturno for the Physharmonica and Pianoforte (with Friederich Weick) 8) Herz: Bravura-Variations, Op. 20, with Quartet-Accompaniment
1831-10-31	Gotha Erholung *Musikalische Abendunterhaltung of Clara Wieck*	Friedrich Wieck	I 1) Fr. Hünten: Rondo for Four-Hands 2) Romanze for the Physharmonica and Pianoforte 3) H. Herz: Variations, Op. 48 II 4) Maiseder: Violin-Variations, Four-Hands 5) Notturno for the Physharmonica and Pianoforte 6) Wieck, Clara: Free Fantasy over *Einsam bin ich nicht allein* Directly followed by: Herz Bravura-Variations, Op. 20, with Quartet Accompaniment
1831-11-22	Kassel Hof-Concert	Föppel L. Spohr Wiele Herr Rosner Madame Rosner	I 1) Cherubini: Overture from *Lodoiska* 2) Cherubini: Aria from "Pietro von Abanno (Föppel) 3) Pixis: Concerto for the Pianoforte

			II 4) Spohr: Concertante for Two Violins (Spohr and Wiele) 5) Romanze for the Physharmonica and Pianoforte (*Wieck-Romanze)* 6) Rossini: Duet (Hr. and Fr. Rosner) 7) Herz: Variations for Pianoforte
1831-11-29	Kassel Hoftheater *Vocal- and Instrumental-Concert of Clara Wieck*	Frl. Bamberger Hrn. Rosner Föppel	I 1) Spohr: Overture from *Alruna* 2) Rode: Variations (Bamberger) 3) Pixis: Piano-Concerto, Op. 100 II 4) Beethoven: Overture 5) Chopin: Variations over *La ci darem la mano*, Op. 2 6) ----: Duet (Rosner and Föppel) 7) Herz: Bravura-Variations
1831-12-13	Kassel Stadtbau *Musikalische Akademie of Clara Wieck*	Hr. Wiele	I 1) Herz: Große Variations for Pianoforte Four-Hands, over Rossini's *Tell*, Op. 50 2) Wieck, Clara: *Alte Heimath-Der Wanderer* (Kerne) 3) Pixis: New Piano Trio, Op. 96 4) ----: Duet for Two Sopranos 5) Romanze for Physharmonica and Pianoforte (*Wieck-Romanze*) 6) Wieck, Clara: Variations over a Romanze II 7) Baldewein, F.C.: Lied, *Das kranke Kind* 8) Hünten: Rondo for Four-Hands over Rossini's *Elizabeth* 9) Wieck, Clara: *Der Traum* (Tiedge) 10) Herz-Bériot: Duet for Pianoforte and Violin over Auber's "Tirolienne" from *Braut* 11) Duet for Soprano and Tenor 12) Herz: Crociato-Variations for Pianoforte Solo
1832-01-25	Frankfurt a. M. Saal des rothen Hauses *Großes Conzert of Clara Wieck*	Dem. Rauch Mme. Gleichauf Ltg.: Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand Guhr	I 1) Mozart: G-Minor Symphony, First and Second Movements 2) Rossini: Aria from *Die diebische Elster* (Rauch) 3) Pixis: [Piano-] Concerto, Op. 100 II 4) A. Romberg: *Die Sehnsucht* with

			Orchestral Accompaniment and Pianoforte 5) F. Chopin: Variations over *La ci darem la mano*, Op. 2 6) Notturno for Physharmonica and Pianoforte 7) Wieck, Clara: *Der Traum* (Rauch) 8) Herz: Bravura-Variations, Op. 20
1832-01-13	Frankfurt a. M. Museum	Herr Eliason	Herz-Bériot: Duet for Pianoforte and Violin (with Eliason) Romanze for Physharmonica and Pianoforte (*Wieck-Romanze*) Wieck, Clara: Variations and Finale of the Romanze Theme Herz: Brilliant Variations, Op. 48
1832-02-05	Darmstadt Großherzoliches Hoftheater *Tenth Conzert in the Second Abonnment*	Herr Weixelbaum Dem. Weixelbaum Dem. Bierbauer Herr Döring	I 1) Mozart: Overture to *Don Juan* 2) Pixis: Pianoforte Concerto 3) Bellini: Duet from *Il Pirata* (Hr. and Fr. Weixelbaum) 4) Chopin: Große Variations II 5) Feska: Overture 6) Newkäufler: Vocal Quartet (Weixelbaum, Bierbauer, Döring) 7) Herz: Bravura-Variations 8) Méhul: Chorus from *Joseph and seine Brüder*
1832-07-09	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Musikalische Akademie of Clara Wieck*	Livia Gerhardt Carl Otto Gewandhaus Orchestra	I 1) Hesse A.: Second Symphony (Manuscript), First Movement II 2) Paer: Aria (Gerhardt) 3) Pixis: Piano-Concerto, Op. 100 III 4) Blum, C.: Notturno for Six Male Voices 5) Chopin: Variations over *La ci darem la mano*, Op. 2 6) Hesse: Second Symphony, Third and Fourth Movements 7) Paer: Duet (Gerhardt, Otto) 8) Herz: Bravura Variations, Op. 20
1832-07-23	Leipzig Hôtel de Pologne *Declamatorisch-musikalische Abend-*	Hrn. Bode Molwitz Carl and Fraz Otto Eichler von Bobrowicz	I 1) Weber: Overture for Four-Hands 2) Franz Agnes: *Über den Sternen* 3) Collin: *Kaiser Max auf der Martinswand in Tyrol* 4) Castelli: *Die polnische Königswalh*

	Unterhaltung of Solbrig		5) Otto, Franz: Quartet for Male Voices II 6) Herz: Variations, Op. 51 7) Kuhn, F.: *Der Nachtwächter to St. Johann* 8) Castelli: Der Catharr 9) Quartet: An Nanny for Men's Voices *Amors Urtheil über die blauen and schwarzen Augen*, Solbrig*: Der stotternde Gottlieb*, *Der Frauen schwache Seite* 10) Hummel: Sentinelle for Pianoforte, Violin, Guitar and One Tenor III 11) Herz- Bériot: Großes Duet for Pianoforte and Violin over Auber's *Braut* 12) Travesty and Scene from *Marie Stuart* in Berlin Dialect
1832-07-31	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Second Musikalische Akademie von Clara Wieck*	Frl. Wunsch Hrn. Bode Molwitz Carl and Franz Otto Eichler Bobrowicz Gewandhaus-Orchestra	I 1) Spohr: Overture from *The Alchymist* 2) Field: First Movement from the Second Piano-Concerto 3) Otto, Franz: Quartet for Men's Voices 4) Eichler: Divertissement for Violin 5) Spohr: Duet from *Jessonda* (Wunsch and Carl Otto) 6) Herz: Carafa-Variations, Op. 48 II 7) Hummel: Sentinelle for Pianoforte, Violin, Guitar, and One Tenor 8) Dorn: Two Comical Quartets (Lyser) for Men's Voices 9) Moscheles: Große Polonaise from the Second Piano-Concerto
1832-08-10	Leipzig Hôtel de Pologne *Konzert of J.N.v. Bobrowicz*	von Borbrowicz Livia Gerhard Carl Otto Hr. Eichler	I 1) Romberg: Concert-Overture 2) Guiliani Mauro: Guitar-Concerto (Bobrowicz) 3) Spohr: Duet from *Zemire and Azor* (Gerhard and Otto) 4) Guiliani, M.: Variations for Violin and Guitar II 5) Lindpainter: Overture 6) Eichler: Divertissement for Violin and Guitar (Eichler and Bobrowicz) 7) Bobrowicz: Große Variations over *La ci darem la mano* for Guitar solo

			(Bobrowicz) 8) Moscheles-Guiliani-Mayseder: *Der Abschied der Troubadours* for Voice, Pianoforte, Violin, and Guitar
1832-09-30	Leipzig Gewandhaus *First Abonnement-Concert*	Henr. Grabau Livia Gerhardt Hrn. Otto Pögner Bode	I 1) Romberg: Overture to *Ulysses and Circe* 2) Mercandante: Scene and Aria with Choir from *Elise and Claudio* (Grabau) 3) Moscheles: Piano-Concerto, G-Minor, Op. 60) 4) Rossini: Cavatina from *La gazza ladra* (Gerhardt) 5) Rossini: Chorus and Quartet from *Semiramis* (Grabau, Otto, Pögner, Bode) II 6) Herz: Große Variations over the Jägerchor from *Euryanthe* (Op. 62, New) 7) Beethoven: Sixth Symphony
1832-10-24	Leipzig *Tunnel-Concert*	Meyer	I 1) Overture 2) Prologue 3) Trio for Pianoforte, Violin, and Violincello 4) Kreutzer: Aria 5) Herz: Variations for Pianoforte Four-Hands, Op. 50 (with Meyer) 6) Vierstimmiger Song II 7) Pacini: Aria 8) Herz: Op. 48 9) Vierstimmiger Gesang Dance
1832-11-11	Altenburg Logenhaus *Concert of Clara Wieck*		I 1) Reißiger: Overture from *Neron* 2) Pixis: Piano-Concerto II 3) Moscheles: *Große Polonaise* from the Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major 4) Spohr: Overture from *The Alchymist* 5) Notturno for Physharmonica and Pianoforte 6) Chopin: Variations over *La ci darem la mano*, Op. 2
1832-11-18	Zwickau Gewandhaus *Großes Concert*	Musik Director Meyer Friederich Wieck Singverein	I 1) Reißiger: Overture from *Felsenmühle* 2) Haydn: Recitative and Chorus from *Schöpfung* 3) Pixis: Piano-Concerto

			4) Wolfram: Duet and Chorus from *Bezauberten Rose* 5) Moscheles: Große Polonaise from the Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major II 6) Schumann: One Movement from the "First" Symphony 7) Wolfram: Chorus from the *Enchanted Rose* 8) Herz-Bériot: Duet for Pianoforte and Violin 9) Wieck, Clara: Scherzo for Orchestra 10) Notturno for Pianoforte and Physharmonica (Frederich Wieck) 11) Herz: Bravura-Variations with Orchestra
1832-11-24	Schneeberg Rathaussaal *Großes Konzert*	Musik Director Meyer	I 1) Mozart: Overture from *Don Giovanni* 2) Pixis: Großes Piano-Concerto 3) Romanze for Pianoforte and Physharmonica, *Wieck-Romanze* 4) Moscheles: Große Polonaise from the Piano Concert, E flat-Major 5) Pixis: Duet for for Pianoforte and Violin (with Meyer) 6) Wieck, Clara: Scherzo for Orchestra 7) Chopin: Bravura-Variations for Pianoforte with Orchestra
1832-12-03	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Konzert of Bernhard Molique*	Molique H. Grabau Wilhelm Pögner	1) Molique: Concerto and Fantasty for Violin 2) Carafa: Aria (Grabau) 3) Mercandante: Duet (Grabau and Pögner) 4) Chopin: Variations over *La ci darem la mano*
1832-12-06	Leipzig Gewandhaus *9th Abonnement-Concert in Memory of Mozart*	H. Grabau F. W. Grenser W. Pögner	I 1) Mozart: Symphony, G-Minor 2) Mozart: Scene and Aria with Pianoforte from *Don Giovanni*, "Ch'io mi scordi' (Grabau) 3) Mozart: Andante for the Flute (Grenser) 4) Mozart: Scene and Chorus from *Idomeneo* (Pögner) II 5) Cherubini: Requiem
1833-01-10	Leipzig Gewandhaus *12th Abonnement-*	L. Gerhardt H. Grabau Hrn. Otto	I 1) Richard Wagner: Symphony (New) 2) Pär: Scene and Aria from *Sargino*

	Concert	Bode Pögner	(Gerhardt) 3) Pixis: Piano-Concerto II 4) Beethoven: Overture from *König Stephan* 5) Mozart Trio from *La villanella rapita* (Grabau, Otto, Bode) 6) Bellini: Finale from *I Capuleti e Montecchi*
1833-01-13	Leipzig Musikalische *Unterhaltung bei Friedrich Wieck (Reichsstrasse Nr. 579)*		I 1) Moscheles: *La belle Union*, Rondo for Four-Hands 2) Chopin: Four Mazurkas, Book One 3) Pixis: Trio No. 3 for Pianoforte, Violin, Violincello 4) Romanze for Physharmonica and Pianoforte, *Wieck-Romanze* 5) Wieck, Clara: Caprices in Waltz Form 6) Song 7) Schumann: Two Studies for the Violin by Paganini for the Pianoforte II 8) Reißiger: Trio No. 6 9) Chopin: Four Mazurkas, Book Two 10) Song 11) Chopin: Nocturne 12) Pixis: Trio No. 4
1833-02-07	Leipzig Gewandhaus *16th Abonnment-Concert*	L. Gerhardt Hr. Queiser H. Grabau Hrn. Pögner Ullrich	I 1) Eberl: Symphony 2) Rossini: Scene and Aria from *Il turco in Italia* (Gerhardt) 3) Herz: Bravura-Variations (Ommitted, replaced with Meyer: Concertino (Queiser)) 4) Mozart: Chorus and First Finale from *Titus* II 5) Hummel: *Großes Septet*, D-Minor (with Gresner, Rückner, Stäglich, Queiser, Grenser jun., Temmler) 6) Rothe: Overture (New) (Ommitted, replaced with Hummel: Rossini: Duet from *Semiramis* (Grabau and Pögner)) 7) Kummer, F.: Adagio and Rondo for Violin and Violincello (Ullrich and A. Grabau) 8) Spohr: Closing Chorus from *Azor and Zemire*

1833-02-28	Leipzig Gewandhaus *18th Abonnement-Concert*	H. Grabau Hrn. Grenser Rückner Stäglich Queiser Grenser jun. Temmler	I 1) Haydn, J.: Symphony 2) Herz: Bravura-Variations, Op. 20 3) Rossini: Closing-Aria with Chorus from *Cenerentola* (Grabau) 4) Spohr: Adagio for Blown-Instruments from the Notturno 5) Anacker: Cantata *Selig die Todten* (New) II 6) Hummel: *Großes Septet*, D-Minor for Pianoforte, Flute, Oboe, Horn, Viola, Violincello, and Double Bass
1833-03-11	Dresden Hôtel de Pologne *Musikalische Academie von Clara Wieck*	Frl. Pisto Artillery-Music-Corps	I 1) Mendlessohn: Overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* 2) Dorn, H.: Barcarole with Variations (New) (Pistor) 3) Spohr: Three Movements from the Notturno 4) Pixis: Piano-Concerto II 5) Spohr: Continuation of the Notturno 6) Pixis: Glöckchen-Rondo (New) 7) Blum, C.: *Gruß an die Schweiz* (Goethe) (New) (Pistor) 8)Wieck, Clara: Scherzo for Orchestra 9) Herz: Bravura-Variations
1833-03-23	Leipzig Hôtel de Pologne *Große Musikalische Akademie von Grünberg*	G. Grünberg Livia Gerhardt Hr. Hahn Decl.: Ziegler Louis Seidel Meyer Frl. Reimann	I 1) Lindpainter: Overture to *Vampyr* 2) Rossini: Aria (Gerhardt) 3) Castelli: *Wir sind unserer 7* (Zeigler) 4) Forstenau: Concertino for Flute over *Die Stumme von Portici* 5) Gedicht (Seidel) 6) Mozart: Aria (Hahn) II 7) Herold: Overture from *Zampa* 8) Solo for Pianoforte 9) Panssarron [sic! Panseron]: Romanze (Gerhard) with Fute accompaniment 10) Saphir: *Die Zeichen der Ehe* (Reimann, Meyer) 11) Böhm: Alpenlied and Variations for Flue
1833-04-29	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Großes Concert von Clara Wieck*	Livia Gerhardt Hr. Hahn Gewandhaus-Orchestra	I 1) Mendelssohn: Overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* 2) Kalkbrenner: Piano-Concerto-

			Movement (New Work) 3) Rossini: Variations over *Nel cor* 4) Chopin: Variations over *La ci darem la mano* II 5) Schumann: First Movement from the "First" Symphony (New) 6) Pixis: Glöckchen-Rondo (New) 7) Schubert: *Forelle* 8) Herz: Bravura-Variations
1833-05-25	Leipzig Hôtel de Pologne *Musikalische Akademie von Josephine Eder*	Josephine Eder Eichberger Hr. Hauser Decl.: Rosalie Wagner	I 1) Quartet-Movement 2) Thalberg: Adagio and Rondo from the Piano-Concerto (Eder) 3) Tiedge: *Das Gelübde* (Wagner) 4) Hautmann: *Neue Liebe, Neues Leben* (Hauser) II 5) Schuncke, Louis: Variations (Eder) 6) Lachner: Lied with Violincello Accompaniment 7) Castelli: *Die Deelenwanderung* (Wagner) 8) Worzischek (Vortisek): Variations for Two Pianoforte
1833-08-13	Chemnitz Großer Saal des Casino *Großes Concert von Clara Wieck*	Carl Krägen Concert-Orchestra Chemnitz	I 1) Carafa: Overture 2) Pixis: *Military Fantasy* with Orchestra and Military Music (New Work) 3) Stegmeyer, Ferd.: Lied of the Falschmünzer, from Auber's Opera 4) Herz: *Große Variations* for Four-Hands over Rossini's *Tell* II 5) Pixis: Glöckchen-Rondo 6) Wieck, Clara: Scherzo for Orchestra 7) Herz: Bravura-Variations
1833-08-24	Karlsbad Theater	Direction: Joseph Lutz	Blum, Carl: *Der Secretär and der Kock* (Lustspiel) I Pixis: Glöckchen-Rondo (New) Holbein: *Number 777* (Lustspiel) II Herz: Bravura-Variations, Op. 20
1833-09-29	Leipzig Gewandhaus *First Abonnement-Concert*	H. Grabau Tenorist Kressner	I 1) Beethoven: Solemn March with Chorus *Schmüchet die Hallen* 2) Weber: *Jubel-Overture* 3) Pixis: *Military Fantasy* for Pianoforte with Orchestra, Op. 121 (New Work

			4) Rossini: Scene and Aria from *Matilde di Chabran* (Grabau) 5) Chopin: Finale from the Großen Concerto (New) 6) Pacini, G.: Recitative and Aria, *Sposa adorata* (Kressner) II 7) Beethoven: Seventh Symphony, A-Major
1833-10-08	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Concert von J.P. and Francilla Pixis*	J.P. Pixis Francilla Pixis	I 1) Pixis, J.P: Overture from *Der Zauberspruch* 2) Rossini: Scene and Aria from *Donna del Lago* (F. Pixis) 3) Pixis, J.P: Großes Duet for Two Pianoforte (Manuscript) (with Pixis) 4) Spohr: Romanze from *Zemire and Azor* (F. Pixis) II 5) Pixis, J.P: Overture from *Bibiana* 6) Gluck: Scene from *Orpheus* (F. Pixis) 7) Pixis, J. P.: Rondo Brillant *Les trois Clochettes* (Pixis) 8) Malibran, M.: French Romanze, *English Matron Lied* 9) Pixis, J. P: *Tyroler Schützenlied* (F. Pixis)
1833-12-02	Leipzig Hôtel de Pologne *Concert to help the Family Farms*	Henriette Graubau Beckär Livia Gerhardt Jost Hrn. Eichberger Hauser Ulrich Winter Declamation: Frls. Reimann and Wagner Gewandhaus-Orchestra	I 1) Mendelssohn: Overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* 2) Rossini: Aria from *Semiramis* (Grabau) 3) Rossini: Großes Duet from *Tell* (Eichberger and Hauser) 4) Maurer, L.: Variations for Two Violins 5) Mozart: Quartet from *Idomeneo* II 6) Beethoven: Symphony 7) Herlossohn: *Der Sänger* (Reimann, Wagner) 8) Beethoven: Choral Fantasy
1834-02-14	Plauen oberer Saal der Erholung *Eigenes "Großes Concert"*		I 1) Reißiger: Overture from *Yelva* 2) Pixis: Concerto 3) Stegmayer, Ferdinand: Lied of the Falschmuenzer, from the Opera, *Die Falschmünzer*, by Auber II 4) Chopin: Nocturne and Two große Etudes

			5) Notturno for Physharmonica and Pianoforte 6) Herz: Bravura-Variations
1834-03-12	Gera Rathaus-Saal *Eigenes "Großes Concert"*	Frl. Lägel Hr. Lindner	I 1) Kalliwoda: Overture Nr. 2 (New) 2) Beethoven: Große Scene *Ah perfido* (Lägel) 3) Pixis: Concerto II 4) Stegmayer, Ferd.: Lied of the Falschmünzer, from the Opera *Die Falschmünzer* by Auber 5) Chopin: Nocturne and Two große Etudes 6) Reißiger: Scene from the *Felsen-Mühle* with Violins (Lindner; Lägel) (New) 7) Herz: Bravura-Variations
1834-04-03	Plauen oberer Saal der Erholung *Second (nachgeholtes) Großes Concert*	Männerchor	I 1) Mozart: Overture to *The Magic Flute* 2) Pixis: Concert-Rondo with Three Glöckchen 3) *Des Deutschen Vaterland* by Arndt for Männerchor 4) Chopin: Two große Etudes, with Free Preludes II 5) Chopin: Bravura-Variations over *La ci darem* 6) Marschner: Lied with Chorus, "Ein sprödes allerliebstes" from *Hans Heiling* 7) Herz: La Violetta, Op. 48
1834-04-11	Freiberg Kaufhaus-Saal *Eigenes Konzert*		I 1) Mozart: Overture from *The Marriage of Figaro* 2) Song 3) Pixis: Concerto II 4) Anacker: Overture to *Götz von Berlichingen* 5) Chopin: Two große Etuden, Pixis: Concert-Rondo with three Glöckchen 6) Song 7) Herz: Bravura-Variations
1834-05-05	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Großes Concert von Clara Wieck*	Frl. Beckaer Livia Gerhardt Franz Hauser Gewandhaus-Orchestra	I 1) Anacker: Overture to *Götz von Berlichingen* (New 2) Pedri: Aria (Beckaer) 3) Chopin: Piano-Concerto, E-Minor

			(New) II 4) Mendelssohn: Overture to the *Hebriden* 5) Chopin: Two große Etudes (New) 6) Wieck, Clara: Concerto Movement 7) Duet (Gerhardt and Hauser) 8) Herz: Bravura-Variations
1834-09-11	Leipzig Hôtel de Pologne *Große Concert of Clara Wieck to help the Poor and Disabled in Plauen*	Frauen: von Biedenfeld Pohlenz Anschütz Hrn. Schmidt Bode Gewandhaus-Orchestra	I 1) Mendelssohn: Overture, *Meeresstille and glückliche Fahrt* 2) Mozart: Aria (Biedenfeld) 3) Wieck, Clara: Concerto Movement 4) Banck: *Berghirt* (W. Müller), *Herein* (G. Keil) (Anschütz) 5) Chopin: Rondo, E flat-Major (New) II 6) Pohlenz: Four Lieder 7) Chopin: Fantasy with Orchestra (New) 8) Reißiger: *Boleros* (Pohlenz) 9) Duettino: *Mi giuri che m'ami* (Pohlemz and Anschütz) 10) Schumann: Toccata (New)
1834-10-20	Leipzig Hôtel de Pologne *Große Vokal-Instrumental-Concert to help the Families of the Performer, Friedrich Köhler*	Mad. Schmidt Livia Gerhard Hrn. Eichberger Hauser Pögner Thomas Täglichsbech Queiser Gewandhaus-Orchestra Rosalie Wagner Hr. Bolzmann	I 1) Beethoven: Overture from *Leonore* 2) Mozart: Große Aria from *Titu*s (Schmidt) 3) Chamisso: *Die alte Wäscherin* (Wagner) 4) Herz: Variations, Op. 23 5) Paccini: Duet from *Amazili* (Gerhardt and Eichberger) II 6) Mendelssohn: Overture to the *Fingalshöhle* 7) Täglischsbeck: Variations over a serious Leid for Violin 8) Castelli: *Die bescheidenen Wünsche* (Bolzmann) 9) Meyer: Variations for Trumpet 10) Rossini: Trio from *Tell*
1834-11-03	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Concert of Franze Schubert and Friederich Kummer*	Franz Schubert Friederich Kummer Henriette Grabau Hr. Bode Gewandhaus-Orchestra	I 1) Beethoven: Overture 2) Schubert, Fr.: Fantasy for Violin 3) Mercandante: Aria (Grabau) 4) Chopin: Variations over *La ci darem la mano* II 5) Kummer, Fr.: Introduction and

			Rondo Scherzoso for Violincello over known themes 6) [Rossini:] Duet from *Semiramis* 7) Schubert, Fr.- Kummer: Duet for Violin and Violincello without Orchestra
1834-11-08	Leipzig Hôtel de Pologne *Second Concert of Franz Schubert and Kummer*	Franz Schubert Friederich Kummer Hr. Hauser Frl. Anschütz	I 1) Romberg, B.: Overture 2) Kummer, Fr.: Concertino for Violincello (New) 3) Rossini: Aria (Hauser) 4) Schubert, Fr.: Variations for Violin II 5) Chopin: Großes Piano Trio (New) 6) Banck: Two Lieder (Anschütz) 7) Schubert, Fr.-Kummer: Duet for Violin and Violincello without Orchestra (New)
1834-11-20	Magdeburg Stadt London *Großes Concert of Clara Schumann*	Hr. Naumann Schmidt Frl. Schindler	I Ehrlich, C.F.: Overture from *Bergknappen* 2) Boieldieu: Aria (Naumann) 3) Pixis: Großes Piano-Concerto II 4) Chopin: Nocturne, Two Characteristic Etudes 5) Herold: Duet from *Marie* (Schindler and Schmidt) 6) Herz: Bravura-Variations, Op. 20
1834-11-00	Magdeburg *Fourth Liebhabe-Concert*		I 1) Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Symphony 2) Herold: Aria from *Ludovic* 3) Wieck, Clara: Concerto Movement for Pianoforte II 4) Auber: Aria from *Der Schnee* 5) Chopin: Finale from the Concerto, E-Minor 6) Mercadante: Duet buffo 7) Cherubini: Overture from the *Wasserträger*
1834-11-25	Magdeburg Stadt London *Second Concert of Clara Wieck*	Hr. Fischer Schapler	I 1) Mozart: Symphony Movement as Septet 2) Beethoven: One Movement from the großen Piano Trio, Op. 97 3) Quartet for Male Voices 4) Chopin: Variations over *La ci darem la mano*

			II 5) Mozart: Symphony, Second Movement 6) Chopin: Nocturne, E flat-Major, Etudes in C-Major and F-Major 7) Quartet for Male Voices 8) Herz: Variations over *La Violetta*
1834-11-26	Magdeburg Logenhaus *Second Abonnement-Concert*	Hr. Conrad Hr. Naumann	I 1) Spohr: Große Symphony in E-flat 2) Mozart: Aria from *Titus* (Conrad) 3) Wieck, Clara: Concerto Movement for the Pianoforte II 4) Rossini: Aria from the *Belagerung von Corinth* (Naumann) 5) Beethoven: Overture, *Egmont* 6) Herz: Bravura-Variations
1834-11-29	Magdeburg Saal der Vereinigung *Second Concert*	Hr. Naumann Frl. Schindler	I 1) Beethoven: Große Symphony in D 2) Marschner: Aria from *Der Templer and die Jüdin* (Naumann) 3) Pixis: Adagio and Rondo from the großen Concerto for Pianoforte II 4) Beethoven: Finale from the Symphony 5) Auber: Duet from *Der Schnee* (Schindler and Naumann) 6) Herz: Bravura-Variations for Pianoforte 7) Weber: *Jubel*-Overture
1834-11-00	Burg		I 1) Four-Par Song 2) Chopin: Nocturne and Two große Etudes 3) Méhul: Duet from *Joseph* 4) Herz: *La violetta*, Military Variations II 5) Four-Part Song 6) Wieck, Clara: *Ein Hexenchor*, Impromptu, Chopin: Character Piece 7) Beethoven: *Der Wachtelschlag*, *Neue Liebe, Neues Leben* 8) Herz: Bravura Variations
1834-12-01	Schönebeck "Landhaus"		I 1) Weber: Overture from *Der Freischütz* for Quartet 2) Chopin: Variations over *La ci darem la mano* 3) Stegmeier: Romanze, Sung by Clara

			II 4) Chopin: Mazurka and Two Etudes 5) Krommer: Quartet-Movement 6) Curschmann: *Bächlein laß*, Sung by Clara 7) Herz: Bravura-Variations
1834-12-03	Magdeburg Harmonie-Gesellschaft *Third Abonnement-Concert*	Frl. Schindler Hrn. Conrad Wehrich	I 1) Kalliwoda: Sympony, F-Minor 2) Mozart: Aria from *Don Giovanni* (Schindler) 3) Chopin: Finale from the großen Concerto for Pianofortee 4) Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* II 5) Spohr: Duet from *Jessonda* (Conrad and Wehrich) 6) Herz: Variations for the Pianoforte, Op. 23 7) Mühlig, A.: Overture
1834-12-06	Magdeburg Casino *Second Abonnement-Concert*	Frl. Schröder Hr. Conrad	I 1) Winter, P.: Overture from *Calypso* 2) Rossini: Recitative and Aria from *L'inganno Felice* (Schröder) 3) Pixis: Glöckchen-Rondo II 4) Méhul: Jagd-Overture 5) Mühling, A.: Polonaise, *Die schöne Nachbarin* (Text: Langbein) (Conrad) 6) Herz: Bravura-Variations, Op. 23
1834-12-13	Halberstadt Bayerscher Hof *Concert of Clara Wieck*		I 1) Reißiger: Overture for Orchestra 2) Pixis: Großes Piano-Concerto, C-Major II 3) Mozart: Overture to *The Marriage of Figaro* 4) Chopin: Nocturne, Mazurka and Two große, characteristische Etudes 5) Beethoven: Symphony-Movement 6) Herz: Bravura-Variations, Op. 20
1835-01-03	Braunschweig Deutsches Haus *Concert of Clara Wieck*	Beit Mad. Methfessel Hr. Bußmeier Decl.: Frl. Höffert	I 1) Kalliwoda: Potpourri for Violin 2) Oettinger-Methfessel, A.: *Täglich was Anderes* (Methfessel) 3) Pixis: Großes Piano-Concerto II 5) Chopin: Nocturne, Mazurka, and Two große, characterische Etudes

			6) Rossini: Aria (Bußmeier) 7) Langer: Declamation 7) Herz Bravura-Variations, Op. 20
1835-01-10	Braunschweig Deutsches Haus *Second Concert of Clara Wieck*	Concert Master Müller Theodor Müller Mad Franchetti-Walzel Hr. Krief	I 1) Quartet-Movement 2) Herz-Lafont: Duet for Pianoforte and Violin 3) Rossini: Aria (Walzel) 4) Chopin: Variations over *La ci darem la mano* II 5) Pixis: Glöchchen-Rondo 6) Lee: Fantasy for Violincello 7) Spohr: Lied (Krieg) 8) Herz: Variations, Op. 23
1835-01-22	Hannover Saal des Herrn Hanstein *Concert of Clara Wieck*	Frl. Bothe Hr. Gay	I 1) Introduction 2) Caraffa: Aria (Bothe) 3) Pixis: Großes Piano-Concerto, Movements Two and Three 4)[Spohr?]: Duet from *Faust* 5) Wieck, Clara.: Impromptu *Ein Hexenchor*, Chopin: Nocturne, Two große, characteristische Etudes 6) Reißiger: Lied (Gay) 7) Herz: Bravura-Variations, Op. 20
1835-01-24	Hannover Ballhof *Fourth Abonnement-Concert*	Frl. Bothe Hr. Gay H. Bohrer Prell	I 1) Beethoven: Symphony, A-Major 2) Kreutzer, C.: Recitative and Aria (Bothe) with Violincello 3) Chopin: Finale from the großen Piano-Concerto, E-Minor II 4) Mayseder: Violin-Concerto 5) Rossini: Duet from *Semiramis* 6) Herz: Variations, *La Violetta*
1835-01-27	Hannover *Hofconcert by Vice König Herzg of Cambridge*	Dem. Bode Bohrer Hrn. Sedelmeier Gaÿ	Herz: Variations, Op. 23 Aria (Bode) Bohrer, A.: Variations for Violin (Bohrer) Wieck, Clara: Caprice in A# and Hexenchor Chopin: Etude and Mazruka Duet (Sedelmeier and Gaÿ) Herz: Theme and Four Variations, Op. 20
1835-01-31	Hannover größerer Hanstein-Saal	Osten Frl. Groux Hrn. Rauscher	I 1) Rode: Variations for Violin 2) Aria (Groux)

	Second and Last Concert of Clara Wieck	Gau	3) Chopin: Variations over *La ci darem la mano* 4) Lied (Rauscher) 5) Wieck, Clara: Capriccio-Chopin: Mazurka and Etude, F-Major II 6) Pixis: Glöckchen-Rondo 7) Stegmeier: Lied of the Falschmünzer, from Auber's Opera (Gay) 8) Herz: Variations, Op. 23
1835-02-07	Hannover größerer Hanstein-Saal	Hrn. Pfeiffer Kümmel Gay Sedlmayer Klingebeil Caroline Bauer	I 1) Introduction 2) Quartet for Men's Voices 3) Pixis: Großes Piano-Concerto, C-Major 4) Declamation II 5) Bériot: Variations for Violin 6) Chopin: Rondo for Pianoforte Solo, Op. 16 7) Lied (Sedlmayer) 8) Chopin: Variations over *La ci darem la mano*
1835-02-13	Bremen Krameramts Haus *Abendunterhaltung of Clara Wieck*	Hr. Geißler	I 1) Quartet-Movement 2) Aria 3) Pixis: Piano-Concerto, C-Major II 4) Quartet-Movement 5) Wieck, Clara: Impromptu, *Ein Hexenchor*, Chopin: Mazurka and Two große, characteristische Etudes 6) Quartet-Movement 7) Herz: Bravura-Variations, Op. 20
1835-02-18	Braunschweig *Eighth Privat-Concert*		Mendelssohn: *Hebriden*-Overture Weber: Bass-Aria from *Euryanthe* Chopin: Concerto for Pianoforte, E-Minor II Beethoven: Seventh Symphony
1835-02-21	Bremen Krameramts- Haus *Second and Last Concert of Clara Wieck*		I 1) Quartet-Movement 2) Stegmeier: Lied of the Falschmünzer, from Auber's Opera 3) Chopin: Variations over *La ci darem la mano* II 4) Pixis: Glöckchen-Rondo 5) Harmonious Lied

			6) Herz: Variations, Op. 23
1835-02-27	Bremen Krameramts-Haus *Another Concert of Clara Wieck*		I 1) Beethoven: Symphony Movement 2) Wieck, Clara: Concerto-Rondo with Orchestra 3) Beethoven: Andante from the Symphony 4) Chopin: Rondo for Pianoforte Solo, Op. 16 II 5) Mozart: Overture 6) Pixis: Adagio and Rondo from the großen Piano-Concero 7) Beethoven: Finale from the Symphony 8) Herz: Bravura-Variations
1835-03-14	Hamburg Apollo-Saal *29th Philharmonic Privat-Concert*	Mad. Walker Rosner Hrn. Albert Schäfer	I 1) Spohr: *Die Weihe der Töne* 2) Pixis: Adagio and Finale from the Concerto for the Pianoforte, C-Major 3) Rossini: Quartet from *Elizabeth* (Vocal Quartet) 4) [Chopin:] Mazurka F#-Minor and Two große, characteristiche Etudes II Beethoven. Fifth Symphony, C-Minor
1835-03-20	Hamburg Apollo-Saal *Großes Concert of Clara Wieck*		I 1) Beethoven: Großes Septet, Op. 20, First Movement 2) Sung Piece 3) Chopin: Adagio and Finale from the großen Piano-Concerto, E-Minor II 4) Beethoven: Septet, Second and Third Movements 5) Bach: Fugue, C#-Major, Chopin: Nocturne F#-Major, Wieck, Clara: Capriccio 6) Beethoven: Septet, Fourth and Fifth Movements 7) Sung Piece 8) Herz: Bravura-Variations, Op. 20
1835-03-24	Hamburg Stadt-Teater *Between Two Lustpiels*		Bauernfeld: *Die Bekenntniße* Chopin: Variations over *La ci darem la mano* Bauernfeld: *Der Musikus von Augsburg* After the Second Act Herz: Brilliant Variations over *D'il Crociato*

1835-03-28	Hamburg Stadt-Teater *Between the Pieces (Lustspiels)*		Scribe-Blum: *Der Secretair and der Kock* Moscheles: Finale from the großen Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major O'Keefe-Kettel: *Richards Wanderleben* <u>After the Second Act</u> Herz: Bravura-Variations
1835-04-01	Hamburg Stadt-Theater *Between the Pieces, for the Last Time*		Kotzebue: *Die alten Liebschaften* Pixis: Glöckchen-Rondo Birch-Pfeiffer: *Zulima* Herz: Große Variations *Schloß Greiffenstein* or *Der Sammtschuh*
1835-04-02	Altona Stadt-Theater Töpfer *C.: The Best Tone*		<u>After the First Act</u> Pixis: Adagio and Finale from the großen Piano-Concerto <u>After the Third Act</u> Herz: Bravura-Variations
1835-04-04	Hamburg Apollo-Saal *Farewell Concert of Georg Albert*	George Albert Schäfer Woltereck Frl. Diemar Fritsch Concert Master Franz Stoll Veit Lee Frl. Mantuch	I 1) Rossini: Overture to *Tell* 2) Carafa: Cavatina from *Berenice in Seria* (Albert) 3) Forstenau: Eighth Flute-Concerto 4) Hummel: *Air à la Tirolienne* (Diemar) 5) Chopin: Mazurka in B flat-Major, Nocturne in E flat-Major, große Etude in C#-Minor II 6) Reißiger: Overture to *Nero* 7) Giuliani, M.: Adagio and große Polonaise for Guitar with Orchestra 8) Gugliemmi, Pietro: Duet (Schäfer and Woltereck) 9) Kalliwoda: Potpurri for Violin 10) Lotz: Gedicht: *Der Schicksalsschu* 11) Hummel: Sentinelle-Baasch: Singers Farewell to Hamburg (Albert, Stoll, Veit, Lee)
1835-04-07	Hamburg *Privat-Concert of Henriette Paasche*	H. Paasche Hrn. Cölln Konzermeister Müller Beit	I 1) Méhul: Overture 2) Mozart: Recitative and Aria (Paasche) 3) Chopin: Rondo for Pianoforte Solo, Op. 16 II 4) Mozart: Overture 5) Bellini: Recitative and Duet (Cölln, Paasche) 6) Pechatschek: Variations for the Violin (Beit) 7) Blum, Carl: Große Scene, *Gruß an die Schweiz* (Paasche)

1835-04-09	Hamburg Stadt-Theater *Between the Pieces (Lustpiels)*		Holbein: *Der Verräther* Chopin: Variations over *La ci darem la mano* Kotzebue: *Armuth and Edelsinn* After The First Act Pixis: Glöckchen-Rondo
1835-07-24	Halle Kronprinz Saal *Instrumental- and Vocal-Concert of Clara Wieck*	Gustav Nauenburg	I 1) Kalliwoda: Concerto-Overture 2) Pixis: Großes Piano-Concerto, Op. 100 3) Schubert: *Die Sehnsucht* (Schiller) II 4) Beethoven: Finale from the großen Piano Sonata, Op. 57, Chopin: Mazurka, Nocturne and große, characteristische Etude 5) Reißiger: Two New Songs 6) Herz: Bravura-Variations, Op. 20
1835-07-28	Halle Saal des Kronprinzen *Second and Last Concert of Clara Wieck*	Gustav Nauenburg Simon Georg Schmit	I 1) Mendelssohn: Instrumental-Movement 2) Pixis: Glöckchen-Rondo 3) Newkomm: *Napoleon's Heerschau um Mitternacht* (Zedlitz) 4) Bach: Fugue, C#-Major, Wieck: Impromptu, *Hexenscene*, Chopin: Große, characteristische Etudes, Nr. 11 and 12 II 5) Beethoven: First Movement of the großen Violin Sonata, Op. 47 6) Kalliwoda: *Im Thale* 7) Herz: Große Variations, Op. 23
1835-11-09	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Großes Concert of Clara Wieck*	Mendelssohn Rakemann Gustav Nauenburg	I 1) Beethoven: Overture 2) Wieck, Clara: Piano-Concerto 3) Rossini: Recitative and Aria from *Tell* 4) Mendelssohn: Brilliant Capriccio with Orchestra II 5) Bach: Concerto for Three Pianos, D-Minor, with Quartet Accompaniment 6) Mozart: Recitative and Aria of Almaviva from *The Marriage of Figaro* 7) Herz: Große Variations over the *Belagerung von Corinth*
1835-12-01	Plauen *Großes Concert of Clara Wieck*	Hr. Stöckel	I 1) Auber: Overture from "*Lestocq*" 2) Wieck, Clara: Second and Third Movements from the Concerto

			3) Auber: Opera Sections from *Lestocq* for Orchestra 4) Bach: Große Fugue, C#-Major, Beethoven: Finale from the großen Sonata, Op. 57, Chopin: New Nocturne and große, characteristische Etude, F-Major II 5) Mendelssohn: Brillant Capriccio for Pianoforte with Orchestra, Op. 22 6) Spohr: Concerto in the Form of a Sung-Scene, (Stöckel) 7) Herz: Große Variations over the Greek Chorus from *Belagerung von Corinth*, Op. 36
1835-12-06	Zwickau Casin-Saal zur grünen Tanne *Großes Concert of Clara Wieck*	Dem. Piltzing	I 1) Overture 2) Song 3) Pixis: Concerto-Rondo with Three Glöckchen and Orchestra 4) Song 5) a) Bach: Fugue C#-Major b) Beethoven: Finale from the großen Sonata, Op. 57 c) Chopin: Mazurka and große, characteristische Etude II 6) Schumann: Toccata 7) Curschmann: *Bächlein, laß dein Rauschen* (Piltzing) 8) Herz: Große Variations over the Greek Chorus from the *Belangerung von Corinth*, Op. 36
1835-12-08	Glauchau Deutsches Haus *Concert of Clara Wieck*		I 1) Blum: Nocturne 2) Pixis: Concert-Rondo for Pianoforte with Glöckchen 3) Mercandante: Duet 4) Herz: Große Variations over the Greek Chorus from the *Belagerung von Corinth*, Op. 36 II 5) Bank, C.: Duet 6) Chopin: Mazurka and Two große characteristische Etudes, Nrs. 11 and 12 7) Curschmann: *Bächlein, laß dein Rauschen seyn* 8) Herz: Bravura-Variations, Op. 20

1835-12-10	Chemnitz großer Saal der Casino-Gesellschaft *Großes Concert of Clara Wieck*		I 1) Kalliwoda: Overture 2) Wieck, Clara: Second and Third Movements from the Concerto 3) Beethoven: *Adelaide* 4) a) Bach: Fugue C#-Major b) Beethoven: Finale form the großen Sonata, Op. 57 c) Chopin: Mazurka and große characteristische Etude II 5) Mendelssohn: Brillant Capriccio for Pianoforte with Orchestra 6) Beethoven: Finale from the First Symphony 7) Herz: Große Variations over the Greek Chorus from the *Belagerung von Corinth*, Op. 36
1835-12-17	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Abonnement-Concert*	Heinze H. Grabau	I Haydn: Symphony, B flat-Major Weber: Adagio and Rondo for the Clarinet (Heinze) Bellini: Aria with Chorus from *Norma* (Grabau) Chopin: Introduction and Variations over *La ci darem la mano* Mendelssohn: Concert-Overture, Nr. 3: *Die Hebriden* Beethoven: Große Fantasy with Choir
1836-01-28	Dresden *Harmonie Abendunterhaltung*		I Reißiger: Overture to *Felsenmühle* Pixis: Second and Third Movements from the großen Concerto Auber: Romanze from *Fra Diavolo* Forstenau: Fantasy for Two Flutes over a Theme from *Robert der Teufel* Otto, Franz: Men's Quartet, *Die Liebesboten* II Handel: Overture Paccini: Cavatina Forstenau: Schlummerlied and Barcarole from *Die Stumme von Portici* with Variations for the Flute Marschner: Men's Quartet, *Was kannst du dafor* Adam: Men's Quartet, *Weinesmacht* Herz: Variations
1836-01-30	Dresden Saal der Harmonie	Masinka Schneider Hr. Risse Kgl. Kapelle	I 1) Reißiger: Overture 2) Wieck, Clara: Notturno and Finale

	Großes Concert of Clara Wieck	Ltg.: Carl Gottlieb Reißiger	from the Piano-Concerto 3) Mercadante: Aria (Schneider) 4) a) Bach: Fugue, C#-Major b) Beethoven: Finale from the großen Sonata, Op. 57 c) Chopin: Nocturne in F#-Major-Große Bass-Etude in C-Major II 5) Mendelssohn: Brillant Capriccio, Op. 22 6) Reissiger: *Freud und Leid*, *Wie mir ist* (Risse) 7) Herz: Große Variaitons over the *Belagerung von Corinth*, Op. 36
1836-02-04	Dresden Palais des Prinzen Johann in Presence of the Court	Franz Schubert	1) Bach: Two Fugues 2) Chopin: Mazurka and Etude 3) Beethoven: Große Sonata, Op. 47 (with Schubert) 4) Herz-Béroit: Duet for Pianoforte and Violin (with Schubert) 5) Herz: New Bravura-Variations, Op. 76 6) Chopin: New B-Minor Mazurka
1836-02-18	Dresden Hôtel de Pologne Second and Last *Großes Concert of Clara Wieck*	Frl. Veltheim Hr. Zezi Kgl. Kapelle Ltg.: C.G. Reißiger	I 1) Beethoven: Overture 2) Chopin: Variations over *La ci darem la mano* 3) Caraffa: Aria (Veltheim) 4) a) Bach: Fugue, D-Major b) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* (Manuscript) c) Chopin: New Mazurka, B flat-Major d) Große Arpeggio-Etude, D#-Major II 5) Pixis: Glöckchen-Rondo 6) Bellini: Duet 7) Herz: Brillant Variations over *D'il Crociato*, Op. 23
1836-02-26	Görlitz Ressourcen-Gesellschaft *Großes Concert of Clara Wieck*		I 1) Lindpainter: Overture from *Faust* 2) Pixis: Second and Third Movements from the großen Concerto 3) Spohr: Aria from *Jessonda* 4) Herz: Brilliant Variations, Op. 23 II 5) a) Bach: Fugue, C#-Major b) Beethoven: Finale from the großen Sonata, Op. 57 c) Chopin: Mazurka (B flat-Major) and

			große Bass- Etude in C-Minor 6) Mozart: Scene and Aria 7) Herz: New Bravura-Variations, Op. 76
1836-03-05	Breslau Musiksaal der Universität *Großes Concert of Clara Wieck*		I 1) Mendlessohn: Overture to *The Hebriden* 2) Pixis: Second and Third Movements from the großen Piano-Concerto, Op. 100 3) Song 4) a) Bach: Fugue, C#-Major b) Beethoven: Finale from the großen Sonata, Op. 57 d) Großen Bass-Etude, C-Minor II 5) Mendelssohn: Brilliant Capriccio, Op. 22 6) Gesang 7) Herz: Brilliant Variations over *D'il Corciato*, Op. 23
1836-03-11	Breslau Hôtel de Pologne *Second and Last Concert of Clara Wieck*	Frl. Schuchart Hrn. Fischer Nentwig	I 1) Haydn: Symphony Movement Arranged for a Sextet 2) Mozart: Aria from *Titus* (Schuchart) 3) Chopin: Variaitons over *La ci darem la mano* 4) Loewe: *Die Jungfrau Lorenz* (Fischer) 5) Pixis: Concert-Rondo II 6) Spohr: Duet from *Jessonda* (Fischer and Nentwig) 7) a) Wieck, Clara: Hexenchor b) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* (manuscript) c) Chopin: Nocturne, F#-Major d) Große Arpeggio-Etude e) Große Etude, F-Major 8) Schubert: *Der Wanderer* (Nentwig) 9) Herz: New Bravura-Variations, Op. 76
1836-03-19	Breslau Theater		1) Lustpiel: *Die Braut from the Residenz* 2) Pixis: Glöckchen-Rondo 3) Hell, Th.: *Geliebt oder todt* 4) Herz: Bravura-Variations over *Joseph*

1836-03-21	Breslau Theater Bauernfeld: *Bürgerlich and Romantisch Lustspiel*		<u>After the First Act</u> Mendelssohn: Capriccio brilliant <u>To Close</u> Second Herz: Brilliant Variations over Crociato
1836-03-24	Breslau adelige *Wintergesellschaft*	H. von Perglaß	1) Beethoven: *Adelaide* for Pianoforte and Clarinet 2) Declamation by Perglß 3) Wieck, Clara: Two Caprices, Chopin: Mazurka and Arpeggio-Etude 4) Song with Pianoforte 5) Herz: Variations, Op. 23 6) Declamation by Perglaß 7) Herz: Variations, Op. 36
1836-03-28	Braunschweig Theater	Köcky	1) Mendelssohn: Overture to "*Hebriden*" 2) Weick: Romanze and Finale from the Piano-Concerto 3) Melesville-Kurländer: *Sie ist wahnsinnig* 4) Bériot: Duet for Pianoforte and Violin over Auber's *Braut* 5) Töpfer, C.: *Die weiße Pikesche* 6) Herz: New Bravura-Variation, Op. 76
1836-05-19	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Concert of Julius Eicke*	Julius Eicke Haizinger Newmann-Haizinger Wilhelm Uhlrich	I Marschner: Overture from *Hans Heiling* Marschner: Aria from *Hans Heiling* (Eicke) Langer: Story, Declamation by Newmann-Haizinger Mendelssohn: *Leid ohne Worte* (Manuscript) and New Capriccio, A-Minor Rossini: Duet, *Die Seemänner* from the Soirée Musical (Haizinger and Eicke) II Mozart: Overture to *The Marriage of Figaro* Two Duettinos (Hr. and Mme. Haizinger) David: Introduction and Variations over *Je suis le petit tambour* for the Violin (Uhlrich) Rossini: Duet from *Tell* (Haizinger and Eicke)
1836-09-16	Naumburg Börsensaal *Concert of Clara Wieck*		I 1) Quartet-Movement 2) Pixis: Second and Third Movements from the großen Concerto, Op. 100 3) Stegmeier, Ferd.: Lied of the

			Falschmünzer "Flimmert das Gold" from the Opera, *Die Falschmünzer* by Auber II 4) a) Bach: Fugue F#-Major b) Beethoven: Finale from the großen Sonata, Op. 57 c) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* d) Chopin: Große Etude, No. 7 5) Leid 6) Herz: New Bravura-Variations, Op. 76
1836-09-24	Jena Rosen-Saal *Concert of Clara Wieck*		I 1) Overture 2) Quartet-Song 3) Pixis: Second and Third Movements from the großen Concert, Op. 100 II 4) Compositions for the Solo Pianoforte in Historical Progression: a) Bach: Fugue C#-Major b) Beethoven: Finale from the großen Sonata, Op. 57 c) Chopin: Nocturne F#-Major d) Chopin: Große Concert-Etude 5) Quartet-Song 6) Herz: New Bravura-Variations, Op. 76
1836-11-29	Freiberg Kaufhaus-Saal *Concert of Clara Wieck*		I 1) Reißiger: Overture 2) Mendelssohn: Brillant Capriccio with Orchestra, Op. 22 3) Bellini: Instrumental Movement 4) a) Beethoven: Finale from the großen Sonata, Op. 57 b) Chopin: Mazurka and große Etude c) Henselt: Allegro di Bravuraa II 5) Mozart: Overture 6) Herz: Newest Bravura-Variations, Op. 76
1836-12-09	Dresden Hôtel de Pologne *Musikalische Academie of Clara Wieck*	Franz Schubert Kühne Friedr. Kummer Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient Botgorscheck Hrn. Schuster A. Zezi	I 1) Reißiger, C.G: First Movement from the New Piano Quartet, Op. 109 2) Rossini: Duet (Schröder and Botgorscheck) 3) a) Beethoven: Finale from the großen Sonata, Op. 57 b) Wieck, Clara: Mazurka from the

			Musical Soirées c) Chopin: Nocturne and große Etude II 4) Rossini: Duet *Li Marinari* (Schuster and Zezi) 5) Thalberg: Divertissement over Rossini's *Musical Soireés* 6) Reißiger: Lied (Schröder) 7) Henselt: Andante and Große Etude (Manuscript) 8) Zezi-Schubert, F.: Serenade with Violin Accompaniment 9) Herz: New Bravura-Variations, Op. 76
1837-02-16	Berlin Opernhaus	L. Espenhahn	1) Overture 2) Wieck, Clara: Piano-Concerto 3) Dotzauer: Divertimento for Cello over *Die Weiße Dame* 4) Herz: *Variations brillants*, Op. 76 Hoguet: Robinson, Pantomimed Ballett
1837-02-25	Berlin Hôtel de Russie *Musikalische Soiree of Clara Wieck*	Königl. Music Director: Carl Moeser Königl. Kammermusiker Langenhaun Lenss Kelz Königl. Sänger auf Zschiesche	I 1) Beethoven: Quartet, First and Second Movements (Moeser, Langenhaun, Lenss, Kelz) 2) Mendelssohn: Capriccio A-Minor, Op. 33 3) Weber: Scene and Aria from *Euryanthe* (Zschiesche) 4) a) Bach: Prelude and Fugue, C#-Major b) Beethoven: Andante and Finale from the Sonata, Op. 57 c) Chopin: Nocturne, F#-Major and große Etude II 5) Decker: *Coeur-König*, Story by Kopisch (Zschiesche) 6) Wieck, Clara: Boleros, Mazurka, Henselt: Andante and Allegro (Manuscript) 7) Beethoven: Third and Last Movements from the Quartet 8) Herz: Variation
1837-02-27	Berlin Königliches Schauspielhaus *Vocal- and Instrumental-Concert of Carl*	Carl and August Moeser Auguste v. Faßmann Grünbaum Charlotte von Hagn Emil Devrient	I 1) Lindpainter: New Overture to Goethe's *Faust* 2) Mayseder: Violin-Concerto, First Movement (Aug. Moeser) 3) Mozart: Scene and Aria from *Titus*

	Moeser for Sohn August, 10th Anniversary, Violinist		(Faßmann) 4) Kalliwoda: Fantasy and Variations for the Violin over *Fra Diavolo* (August Moeser) 5) Großes Duet from *Die Jüdin* (Faßmann, Grünbaum) 6) Herz: Variations for the Pianoforte 7) Moeser C.: Double-Concerto for Two Violins over Themes from *Nurmahal* by Spontini (Moeser and Moeser) II Beethoven: *Egmont* with Prologue and Declamatory Accompaniment by Mosengeil (von Hagn, Emil Devrient)
1837-03-01	Berlin Hôtel de Russie *Second Musikalische Soiree of Clara Wieck*	Bötticher Eduard Mantius Königl. Performer Grua	I 1) Kücken, Fr.: Lied (Bötticher) 2) Beethoven: Sonata, F-Minor, Op. 57 3) [Spohr]: Duet from *Jessonda* (Mantius and Bötticher) 4) a) Bach: Fugue D-Major b) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* (Manuscript) c) Chopin: Mazurka F#-Minor d) Chopin: Große Arpeggio-Etude, Nr. 11 II 5) Henselt: Andante and Allegro (Manuscript) 6) Declamation (Grua) 7) Taubert: Lied, Curschmann: Lied (Mantius) 8) Wieck, Clara: Bravura-Variations over the Cavatina from Bellini's *Pirat*
1837-03-11	Berlin Hôtel de Russie *Third Musikalische Soiree of Clara Wieck*	Hubert Ries Zschiesche Bader Carl Schuncke	I 1) Quartet-Movement 2) Beethoven: Sonata for Pianoforte and Violin, Op. 47 (with Reis) 3) Meyerbeer: Chanson *Hugenotte du Marcel* (Zschiesche) 4) Panny: Concertino for French Horn (Schuncke) 5) Wieck, Clara: Bravura-Variations over the Cavatina from Bellini's *Pirat* II 6) Chopin: Nocturne B-Major and große Etude, No. 12 7) Rossini: Duet *Li Marinari* (Bader and Zschiesche) 8) Herz: Brillantes Variations over the

			Chorus from *Crociato*, Op. 23
1837-03-14	Berlin Bei Hof Musikalische *Abend-* *Unterhaltung*	Mad. Seidler Amalie Hähnel August Moeser Eduard Mantius Auguste von Faßmann Hrn. Zschiesche Eichberger Bader Eduard Devrient	I 1) Bach: Fugue 2) Duet from *Semiramis* (Seidler and Hähnel) 3) Fantasy and Variations for the Violin (Moeser) 4) Irish Leider (Hähnel) 5) Romances (Mantius) 6) Trio from *The Secret Marriage* (Faßmann, Seidler, Hähnel) II 7) Beethoven: Sonata 8) Aria from *Le Pré aux Clercs* (Seidler) 9) Duett from *Semiramis* (Hähnel and Zschiesche) 10) Donizetti: Trio from *Lucrezia Borgia* (Seidler, Eichberger, Zschiesche) 11) English Lieder (Hähnel) 12) Section from *Lucrezia Borgia*
1837-03-20	Berlin Jagor'scher Saal *Last Concert of* *Clara Wieck*	Carl Schuncke Eduard Mantius Hrn. Bader Zschiesche Königl. Schauspieler Grua	I 1) Onslow: Quintet-Movement 2) Mendelssohn: Brilliant Capriccio, Op. 22 3) Proch: Lied with French Horn (Zschiesche, Schuncke) 4) Vocal-Quartet (Mantius, Bader, Grua, Zschiesche) 5) Chopin: Variations over *La ci darem la mano* II 6) Lieder (Mantius) 7) Thalberg: Caprice, Op. 15 8) Vocal-Quartet (Obengenannte) 9) Declamation (Grua) 10) Herz: Bravura-Variations, Op. 20
1837-03-02	Berlin bei Graf of Redern	Mad. Seidler Amalie Hähnel Auguest von Faßmann Eduard Mantius Hrn. Bader Zschiesche Eichberger Fischer	1) Paccini: Duet from …[?] *Arabi* (Seidler and Bader) 2) Scene and Aria from *Semiramis* (Hähnel) 3) Chanson, *Hugenotte du Marcel* (Zschiesche) 4) Rossini: Duettino, *Addiot à l'Italia* (Faßmann and Mantius) 5) Bellini: Aria from *Straniera* (Fischer) 6) Dueto *buffo* from *Il fanatico per la musica* (Hähnel and Zschiesche) 7) Taubert: Lieder, Kücken: Lieder (Mantius)

			8) Henselt: Etudes for the Pianoforte 9) Duet from *Richard Loewenherz* (Mantius and Bader) 10) Meyerbeer: Lied of the Pagens from the *The Huguenots* (Faßmann) 11) Donizetti: Romance from *The Elixir of Love* (Mantius) 12) Rossini: Duet, *Li Marinari* (Eichberger and Zschiesche) 13) Rossini: Romance (Seidler) 14) Leider (Hähnel) 15) Variations for Pianoforte 16) Donizetti: Septet from *Lucrezia Borgia*
1837-04-01	Hamburg Apollo-Saal *37th Philharmonic Privat-Concert*		I 1) Mendelssohn: Overture to *Melusine* 2) Kreutzer, C.: Two Men's-Choruses 3) Wieck, Clara: Concerto for Pianoforte with Orchestra 4) Spontini: Introduction from *Cortez* II 5) Henselt: Andante and Etude 6) Beethoven: Symphony, D-Major
1837-04-08	Hamburg Apollo-Saal *Musickalische Soirée of Clara Wieck*	Hrn. Wurda Schäfer	I 1) Beethoven: Second and Last Movements from the Sonata, F-Minor, Op. 57 2) Blome, Graf von: *Sehsucht* (Wurda) 3) Thalberg: Caprice, Op. 15 II 4) a) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* (Manuscript) b) Chopin: Nocturne B-Major 3) Chopin: Etude, No. 5 d) Henselt: Andante and Allegro 5) Schäfer: *Das Posthorn*, Poem by Hagendorf with Horn and Pianoforte (Schäfer) 6) Wieck, Clara: Bravura-Variations over the Cavatina from Bellini's *Pirat*
1837-04-12	Hamburg Stadt-Teater *Birch-Pfeiffer: Rubens in Madrid*		<u>Between the Second and Third Acts:</u> Thalberg: Caprice for Pianoforte <u>For the Resolution of the Presentation:</u> Herz: Variations over the *Zweikampf*

1837-04-22	Bremen Saal der Union *Musikalische Soirée of Clara Wieck*	Hr. Hammermeister	I 1) Mozart: Quintet-Movement 2) Beethoven: Second and Third Movements from the F-Minor-Sonata, Op. 57 3) Schubert: *Der Wanderer* (Hammermeister) 4) Thalberg: Caprice, Op. 15 II 5) a) Chopin: Nocturne, B-Major b) Chopin: Etude No. 5 c) Henselt: Andante and Allegro 6) Noch, R: *Sonst und Jetzt* (Hammermeister) 7) Clarinet-Solo with Quintet Accompaniment 8) Wieck, Clara: Bravura-Variations over the Cavatina from Bellini's *Pirat*
1837-04-26	Bremen kleinerer Saal der Union *Second and Last musikalische Soiré of Clara Wieck*	Louis Rakemann Hr. Nissen	I 1) Moscheles: Duet for Two Pianoforte, *Hommage to Handel* (with Rakemann) 2) Schubert: *Der Hirt auf dem Felsen* with Clarinet (Nissen) 3) a) Henselt: *Lied ohne Worte* b) Wieck, Clara: Mazurka G-Major c) Wieck, Clara: Caprice from the *Boleros* d) Henselt: Andante and Allegro II 4) Weber-Pianoforte-Arrangement, Wieck, Clara: Overture from *Oberon* (Clara Wieck) 5) Beethoven: *Adelaide* (Nissen) 6) Brilliant Variations Herold's *Zweikampf*, Op. 76
1837-08-13	Leipzig Buchhändlerbörse *Musikalsich Morgenunterhaltung of Clara Wieck*	Louise Franchetti Kammersänger Krüger Marie Wolf Auguste Werner Hr. Swoboda	I 1) Quartet for Four Men's Voices 2) Stegmeier: *Herein* (Text: Keil) (Franchetti) 3) Liszt: Divertissement over the Cavatina by Pacini *I tuoi frequenti palpiti*, Op. 5 4) Reißiger: Two Leider (Krüger) 5) Poe (Wolf) 6) Schumann: Theme and Three *Symphonic Etudes*, Op. 13, Chopin: Nocturne B-Major, Henselt: Andante and Allegro II 7) Quartet for Four Men's Voices

			8) Mendlessohn: *Suleika*, Das Velichen (Werner) 9) Henselt: Two Etudes: F#, *Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär* 10) Stegmeier: *Es ist ein Reif* (Reiniger), *Ihre Augen* (Lassmann) (Swoboda) 11) Wieck, Clara: Concert-Variations over the Cavatina from Bellini's *Pirat*
1837-09-16	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Pensionsfond-Concert of Antoine Gerke*	Louise Schlegel Antoine Gerke, MD Emilie Caroline Pohlenz	I Beethoven: Overture to *Egmont* Weber: Cavatina (Schlegel) Gerke: Brilliant Rondeau (Gerke) Phlenz: Lied (Schlegel) Wieck, Clara-Gerke: Duet for Two Pianoforte over a Theme from the *Maskenball* (with Gerke) II: Cherubini: Overture to *Wasserträger* Rossini: Duet from the *Musical Soirées* (Phlenz and Schlegel) Thalberg: Fantasy over a Motive from *Don Juan* (Gerke)
1837-10-08	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Second Abonnement-Concert*	Johanna Schmidt	I Spohr: Symphony, C-Minor Weber: Scene and Aria from *Athalia*, "Misera me!" (Schmidt) Weick, Clara: Concerto for the Pianoforte II Beethoven: Overture to Leonore, Nr. 2 Mozart: Scene and Aria from The Marriage of Figaro, "*E Susanna non vien!*" (Schmidt) Henselt: Introduction and Variations for the Pianoforte Solo Beethoven: *Meeresstille and glückliche Fahrt*
1837-12-14	Wien Gesellschaft der *Musikfreunde* *Concert at Noon of Clara Wieck*	Hr. Hirsch Henry Gamble Blagrove	1) Proch, Heinrich: Overture 2) Pixis: Concert-Rondo for the Pianoforte 3) Donizetti: Aria (Hirsch) 4) a) Henselt: Etude, *Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär* b) Chopin: Nocturne F#-Major c) Chopin: Arpeggio-Etude, Nr. 11 d) Henselt: Andante and Allegro 5) de Béroit: First Movement from a Concerto (Blagrove) 6) Weick, Clara: Concert-Variations over the Cavatina from Bellini's *Pirat*
1837-12-28	Wien	Leopold Jansa	1) Haydn: Quartet (Jansa, Khayll, Zäch,

	Abendunterhaltung	Khayll Roman Zäch Egid Borzaga Pauline Steydler Hr. Hirsch Henry Blagrove J. Fischof Ludwig Titze Lutz Randhartinger Richling and Fuchs Franz Glöggl jun Frl. M. Schauff	Borzaga) 2) Donizetti: Aria from *Belisario* (Steydler) 3) Henselt: Variations 4) Fischhof: Serenade for Tenor (Hirsch) with Violin and (Blagrove) and Piano Accompaniment (Fischhof) 5) Schubert: Vocal-Quintet (Grillparzer) (Titze, Lutz, Randhartinger, Richling, Fuchs) 6) De Bériot: Variations for the Violin (Blagrove) 7) Lachner, Franz: *Waldvöglein* (J. Vogl) (Steydler, Glöggl, Schauff) 8) Preyer, Gottfried: *Im Walde* (Tieck) for Men's Choir and Eight French Horns
1837-12-21	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde *Second Concert of Clara Wieck*	B. Randhartinger Ltg.: Groidl Decl.: Marr	1) Kreutzer, C: Overture 2) Wieck, Clara: Concertino for Pianoforte with Orchestra 3) Randhartinger: *Elfengesang* 4) a) Bach: Prelude and Fugue, C#-Major b) Chopin: Mazurka c) Etude, Op. 10, Nr. 5 G flat-Major 5) Maltitz: *Der graue Gast* (Marr) 6) Entreact 7) Henselt: Variations over Donizetti's *Liebestrank*
1837-12-26	Wien At the Castle before the Kaiserlichen Familie	Henri Bragrove Heinrich Proch	Henselt: Etude Chopin: Mazurka, Große Arpeggio-Etude Béroit: Andante and Rondo for Violin (Blagr.) and Pianoforte (Proch) Wieck, Clara: Impromptu *Hexentanz* Henselt: Andante and Allegro Obsom-Bériot: Variations for Pianoforte and Violin (with Blagrove) Henselt: Variations over the *Liebestrank* Bach: Fugue, C#-Major
1838-01-04	Wien Privattheater of Fürst Esterhazy	Blagrove	1) a) Denselt: Andante and Allegro b) Chopin: Mazurka B flat-Major c) Wieck, Clara: *Hexentanz* d) Henselt: Etude, *Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär* 2) Osborn-de Bériot: Rondo (Blagrove) 4) French Theater In the Breaks

1838-01-07	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde *Third Concert of Clara Wieck*	Three Brothers Eichhorn and Father Franz Mum E. König Prof. L. Weiß	1) Mozart: Overture to the *The Magic Flute* (Eichhorn) 2) Beethoven: Sonata, Op. 57 F-Minor 3) Weiß, L.: Verlornes Minneglück (janitschka d.J.) for Tenor (Mum) with Horn- and Pianoforte Accompaniment (König, Weiß) 4) a) Chopin: Nocturne B-Major b) Wieck, Clara: Hexentanz, Impromptu c) Henselt: *Lied ohne Worte*, A flat-Major d) Henselt: Etude, *Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär* 5) Lafont: Potpurri for Two Violins (Three Brothers Eichhorn) 6) Wieck, Clara: Concert-Variations over a Theme from Bellini's *Pirat*
1838-01-21	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde *Fourth Concert of Clara Wieck*	Benedikt Randhartinger Schober	1) Beethoven: Overture 2) Liszt: Divertissement over the Cavatina by Pacini, *I tuoi freqeunte palpiti* 3) Randhartinger: *Wenn ich kann* (Falk), Lied from Raupach's *König Enzio* (Randhartinger) 4) a) Chopin: Etude, Nr. 10, A flat-Major b) Chopin; Nocturne, E Flat-Major c) Wieck, Cl.: Mazurka G-Major d) Henselt: Andante and Allegro 5) Mercandante: Cavatina from *La Zaira* (Schober) 6) Thalberg: Caprice, Op. 15
1838-02-11	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde *A Requested Concert of Clara Wieck*	Hr. Schmidbauer	1) Proch, Heinrich: New Overture 2) Mendelssohn: Brilliant Capriccio with Orchestral Accompanient 3) Schubert: *Die zürnende Diana* (Schmidbauer) 4) a) Sechter: Fugue from the Album for Clara Wieck b) Wieck, Clara: Mazurka c) Henselt: *Orage, tu ne saurais m'abattre* 5) Müller, Adolf: *Das Erkennen* (Schmidbauer) 6) Chopin: Variations over *La ci darem la mano*
1838-02-18	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde *Sixth and Last Concert of Clara Wieck*	Hrn. Gottfried König Prof. Böhm Joseph Merk	1) Mozart: Overture 2) Wieck, Clara: Concertino for the Pianoforte with Orchestra 3) Lachner, Franz: Bewußtseyn for Tenor and Horn with Piano Accompaniment (Gottfried, König)

			4) Beethoven: Großes Trio, Op. 97 (with Böhm and Merk) 5) Overture 6) a) Henselt: New Etude (E-flat Minor) b) Henselt: Andante, *Exauce mes Voeux* c) Bach: Prelude and Fugue, C#-Major
1838-02-25	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde *Concert of Johann Mayer*	Joh. Mayer Prof. Sellner Gentiluomo Jos. Staandigl	1) Spohr: Overture to *Pietro d'Albano* 2) Mayseder: New Concertino for the Violin (Mayer) 3) Donizetti: Aria (Gentiluomo) 4) Variations (Clara Wieck) 5) Schubert: *Der Wanderer* (Staudigl) 6) Mayer, Joh.: New Variations (Mayer)
1838-02-26	Hoftheater- Kärnthnerthor Musickalische *Akademie of Clara Wieck*		Kocj: New Overture Pixis: Concert-Rondo with Orchestra l Accompaniment Beethoven: Overture to *Fidelio* Henselt: Variations over Donizetti's *Liebestrank* Ballett: Das Stelldichein
1838-03-07	Wien Marmorsaal bei der Erzherzogin Sophie of Wien	Frl. Lutzer Hrn. Besana Schober Randhartinger	1) Donizetti: Duet from *Lucia di Lammermoor* (Lutzer, Besana) 2) Coccia: Cavatina from *Edouardo in Iscozia* (Schober) 3) Liszt: Divertimento over a Cavatina by Paccini 4) Donizetti: Duet from *Tasso* (Lutzer, Schober) 5) Donizetti: Aria from *Marino Faliero* (Lutzer) 6) Barcarole from *Gianni di Calais* (Besana) 7) Wieck, Clara: Variations over the Cavatina from *Pirat* 8) Donizetti: Duet from *Regina di Golconda* (Besana, Schober)
1838-03-09	Wien Hoftheater- Kärnthnerthor Musickalische *Akademie of Clara Wieck*	Joseph Staudigl König J. Nottes	Weber: Overture to *Oberon* Nottes, J.: Der Fischer (Goethe) with Pianoforte ad French Horn Accompaniment Mendelssohn: Brilliant Capriccio Nottes: Introduction and Variation for the Violin Wieck, Clara: Concert-Variations over Bellini's *Pirat* Aniel: Feen-Ballett: *Oberon*, *König der Elfen*
1838-03-14	Wien Hoftheater-		Mozart: Overture go *The Magic Flute* Pixis: Glöckchen-Rondo

	Kärnthnerthor *Musickalische Akademie of Clara Wieck*		Rossini: Overture to *Tell* a) Chopin: Nocturne E flat-Major b) Henselt: Allegro, *Orage, tu ne saurais m'abattre* c) Henselt: *Lied ohne Worte*, B flat-Major d) Chopin: Große Etude, Nr. 5 G flat-Major Aniel: Feen-Ballett: *Oberon, König der Elfen*
1838-03-16	Wien in den Salons bei Walter	Joseph Staudigl Hoschek	I 1) Spohr: Overture to *Jessonda* for Pianoforte 2) Schubert: *Der Wanderer* 3) Shakespear: Tableau from *Sturm* 4) Henselt: Duet Concertant for Pianoforte and Horn 5) Proch: *Wanderlied*, with Horn Accompaniment II 6) Goethe: Tableau from *Faust* 7) a) Chopin: Nocturne b) Henselt: Etude: *Repos d'amour* c) Henselt: Andante and Allegro 8) *Le Girolomo de la Landstraße*, Racine: *Bajazet*
1838-03-18	Wien k.k. Universitäts- Saal *Großes Concert to help the Widows and Orphan of the Faculty*	Carl Haffner Haitzinger Haitzinger-Newmann Ludwig Löwe Ltg: Conradin Kreutzer Hellmesberger	1) Cherubini: Overture to *Medea* 2) Mayseder: Concertino for the Violin (Hafner) 3) Mozart: Aria (Haitzinger) 4) a) Henselt: Allegro appassionato b) Henselt: *Lied ohne Worte* c) Chopin: Etude characteristique 5) Declamation (Haitzinger-Newmann, Löwe) 6) Pixis: Rondo brillant *Les 3 clochettes*
1838-03-22	Wien Beim russ. Botschafter Tartischeff im Lichensteinschen Palais *Soirée*		I 1) Bellini: "Casta diva" from *Norma* 2) Reißiger-Merk: Variations concertantes for Pianoforte and Violincello 3) Bellini: 'Nel furor' from *Pirata* 4) Henselt: Variations over *Io son'ricco e tu sei bella* II 5) Rossini: *Mira la bianca luna* 6) Lachner: Aria for Tenor and Violincello 7) Merk: Variations for Violincello 8) Bellini: Pollacca from *Puritani*

1838-03-25	Wien Redoutensaal *Musikalische-declamatorisch Akademie for the Bürger Hospital Fund*	Hr. Haitzinger Jenny Lutzer Joseph Staudigl Johann Mayer Fahrbach Eduard König Georg Lickl Zöglinge des Musikvereins Haitzinger-Newmann	1 1) Weber: Overture to *Oberon* 2) Mercandante: Aria (Haitzinger) 3) Mahlmann-Lickl: *Vater Unser* Declamation with Physharmonica 4) Donizetti: Aria (Lutzer) 5) Chopin: Mozart-Variations II 6) Preyer, Gottfr.: Kindliche Bitte (Proch) (Zöglinge + Two Pyhyshamonicas) 7) Kreutzer, C.: Aria with Chorus (Staudigl) 8) Mayseder: Variations for Violin 9) Generali: Duet (Haitzinger and Staudigl) 10) Fahrbach: Fantasy over Proch's *Alpenhorn* for Flute and Horn
1838-03-31	Preßburg Schauspielhaus *Großes Concert of Clara Wieck*	L. Hofmann	I 1) Große Overture 2) Hackl: *Departure of Liebchen* 3) Henselt: Variations over Donizetti's *Liebestrank* Marsano: Lustspiel: *Die Helden* II Große Overture; Proch, Hinr.,: *Das Alphorn* 1) a) Chopin: Große Arpeggio-Etude Nr. 11 b) Wieck: Mazurka c) Henselt: *Lied ohne Worte* d) Etude *Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär*
1838-04-02	Preßburg Schauspielhaus *Große Musikalische deklamatorisch Concert*	Frl. Leep Hrn. Mellinger L. Hofmann Otto	I 1) Lindpainter: Overture to *Vampyr* 2) Wieck, Cl.: Concert-Variations over Bellini's *Pirat* 3) Bellini: Aria from *Bianca e Fernando* (Leeb) 4) a) Wieck, Clara: Hexentanz b) Henselt: Andante and Allegro II Cosmar, A.: Lustspiel: *Hummer and Compagnie* III 1) Auber: Overture to the *Stummen von Portici* 2) Beethoven: Adelaide (Otto) 3) Duet from the *Puritanern* (Mellinger and Hofmann)

			4) a) Henselt: Etude, *Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär* b) Chopin: Mazurka, B flat-Major c) Etude over the Black Keys, G flat-Major
1838-04-05	Wien Hof- Burgtheater *Declamatorische-musikalische Akademie for the Flooded of Pest*	Hr. Haitzinger Clara Novello	I 1) Mozart: Overture to *Titus* 2) Saphir: *Nehmen und Geben* (Hr. and Fr. Fichtner) 3) Mahlmann: *Saul and David* (Anschütz) 4) Bürger: Lied for Brave Men (Schröder) 5) Mozart: *Dies Bildnis…(*Haitzinger) 6) Castelli: *Mandart-Gedicht D'Ambreln* (Caroline Müller) 7) Frankl: Classical and Romantic (Löwe) II 8) Schiller: *Die Bürgschaft* (Carl de la Roche) 9) Seidl: *Der Schmetterling* (Rettich) 10) Mozart: *Non piu de fiori* (Novello) 11) Langer, Joh.: Declamation (Mad. Haitzinger) 12) Wieck, Cl.: Concertino for the Pianoforte with Orchestral Accompaniment
1838-04-26	Graz Ständisches Theater *Concert of Clara Wieck*		Bauernfeld: Lustspiel: *Das tagebuch* 1) <u>Between the Acts</u> Henselt: Variations over Donizetti's *Liebestrank* 2) <u>Bewteen the Pieces</u> a) Chopin: Mazurka B flat-Major b) Henselt: Andante and Allegro G. v. K.: Lustspiel: *Der Strauß* 3) <u>After the Second Piece</u> a) Henselt: Etude, *Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär* b) Chopin: Nocturne, E flat-Major c) Etude over the Black Keys
1838-04-30	Graz Ständisches Theater *Second and Last Concert of Clara Wieck*		1) <u>After the Overture</u> Mendelssohn: Capriccio brillant Blum, Carl: Lustpeiel: *Die Verlobung in Genf* (Manuscript) 2) <u>Between the Acts</u> a) Chopin: Große Arpeggio-Etude b) Henselt: *Lied ohne Worte* c) Allegro: *Orage, tu ne saurais m'abattre* 3) <u>After the Piece</u>

			Wieck, Cl.: *Souvenir à Vienne*
1838-08-12	Leipzig *Matinée*		1) a) Bach: Prelude and Fugue, C#-Minor b) Schumann: *Warum*, *Grillen*, *Ende vom Lied* c) Chopin: Große New Etude, A-Minor 2) a) Schubert: *Sey mir gegrüßt* b) Liszt: *Dasselbe*, Lied Arranged for the Pianoforte c) Schubert-Liszt: *Erlkönig*, Arranged for Pianoforte 3) a) Wieck, Clara: Scherzo b) Schubert-Liszt: *Gretchen am Spinnrad*, Arranged for Pianoforte c) Henselt: Etude, *Exame mes voeux* d) Wieck, Clara: *Souvenir de Vienne*
1838-09-08	Leipzig *Gewandhaus* *Concert of Clara Wieck*	Frl. Evers Ulrich Marie Heinr. Schmidt and Fra	I 1) Overture 2) Herold: Aria with Violins from *Zweikampf* (Evers, Ulrich) 3) Chopin: Piano-Concerto, E-Minor, First Movement 4) Marschner: *Wanderlied* (Schmidt) 5) a) Henselt: Etude, *Orage, tu ne saurais m'abattre!* b) Schubert-Liszt: *Lob der Thränen*, arranged for Pianoforte c) Schubert-Liszt: *Erlkönig*, arranged for Pianoforte II 6) Marschner: Lied (Evers) 7) a) Wieck, Clara: Scherzo (Manuscript) b) Henselt: Andante, B flat-Major c) Chopin: New Mazurka (Manuscript) d) Chopin: Große, characteristische Etude, Op. 25-11 8) Duet (Schmidt and Frau) 9) Thalberg: Caprice, Op. 15
1838-11-15	Dresden Hôtel de Pologne *Musikalische Soirée of Clara Wieck*	Hr. von Freisleben Brandenburg Gustav Heinze Frl. Botgorschek Joseph Tichatschek	I 1) Moscheles: Hommage to Handel for Two Pianoforte 2) Netzer, Jos.: *Die Leibeswerbung* (Botgorschek) 3) a) Bach: Prelude and Fugue, C#-Major b) Schubert-Liszt: *Ave Marie* c) *Erlkönig* 4) Beethoven: *Adelaide* (Tichatschek) 5) David, F: Concertino for Violin

			II 6) Reißiger: *Ständchen-Die Käferknaben* (Botgorschek) 7) a) Reißiger-Weick, Clara: *Ach, wüßten's die Blumen* (Heine) b) Chopin: New Mazurka, D-Major c) New große, charakteristische Etudes, Op. 25-11, Bärmann: Variations for Clarinet 9) Thalberg: Caprice, Op. 15
1838-11-20	Dresden Hôtel de Pologne *First Quartet-Academie*	Franz Schubert C. Müller A. Kühne F.A. Kummer	1) Haydn: Quartet, Nr. 39 2) Beethoven: Großes Piano Trio, B flat-Major, Op. 97 3) Onslow: Quartet, Nr. 26
1838-11-24	Dresden Hôtel de Pologne *Second Musikalische Soirée of Clara Wieck*	Carl Krägen C. Eisner Franz Schubert F.A. Kummer Joseph Tichatschek	I 1) Pixis: Duet for Two Pianoforte 2) Meyerbeer: *Mailied* 3) Liszt: Divertissement over a Cavatina by Pacini, Op. 5 4) Lachner, J.: *Überall du* with Pianoforte and Horn II 5) Duet for Violin and Cello 6) a) Schubert-Liszt: *Lob der Thränen* b) Henselt: Etude, E flat-Minor c) Beethoven: Adagio and Finale from the großen Sonata, Op. 57 7) Eisner: Variations for French Horn 8) Henselt: Concert-Variations over Donizetti's *Liebestrank*
1838-12-06	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Ninth Abonnement-Concert*	Mrs. Alfred Shaw Pögner Wilhelm	I Weber: Jubel Overture Rossini: Aria, "Mura felici" from *La donna del lago* (Shaw) Chopin: Piano-Concerto, E-Minor, Adagio and Finale Rossini: Duet, "Bella imago" from *Semiramis* (Shaw and Pögner) Thalberg: Caprice, Op. 15 II Beethoven: Third Symphony
1839-01-15	Nürnberg Goldener Adler *Musikalische Soirée of Clara Wieck*	Lina Hahn-Steinert	I 1) Henselt: Variations over Donizetti's *Liebestrank* 2) Spohr: Aria from *Faust* 3) a) Chopin: Nocturne, E flat-Major b) Wieck, Clara: Hexentanz c) Choping: Etude (Nr. 5) over the

			Black Keys II 4) a) Schubert-Liszt: *Lob der Thränen* b) Chopin: Mazurka B flat-Major c) Henselt: Etude, *Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär* 5) Mozart: Aria from *The Marriage of Figaro* 6) Thalberg: Caprice, Op. 15
1839-01-17	Ansbach Casino *Musikalische Soirée of Clara Wieck*	Dürrner	I 1) Henselt: Variations over Donizetti's *Liebestrank* 2) Song 3) a) Chopin: Nocturn, E flat-Major b) Wieck, Clara: Hexentanz c) Chopin: Etude (Nr. 5) over the Black Keys II 4) a) Schubert-Liszt: *Lob der Thränen* b) Chopin: Mazurka B flat-Major c) Henselt: Etude, *Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär* 5) Béroit: Variations for Violin 6) Thalberg: Caprice, Op. 15
1839-01-22	Stuttgart Kammer der Königin *Concert of Clara Wieck*		1) Thalberg: Caprice, Op. 15 2) a) Wieck, Clara: *Hexentanz* b) Henselt: Etude, *Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär* b) Chopin: Mazurka c) Chopin: Etude over the Black Keys 3) Hensel: Variations over a Theme from Donizetti's *Libestrank*
1839-01-29	Stuttgart Museum *Musikalische Soirée of Clara Wieck*	Hr. Dobler Schunke Hugo Ernst	I 1) Henselt: Variations over a Theme from Donizetti's *Libestrank* 2) Kreutzer: Lied (Dobler) 3) Beethoven: Sonata, Op. 57, Adagio and Finale II 4) Molique, Bernhard: Fantasy over *Schweizerlieder* (H. Schunke) 5) a) Wieck, Clara: *Hexentanz* b) Schubert-Liszt: *Lob der Thränen*, Arranged for Pianoforte c) Chopin: Mazurka, B flat-Major d) Henselt: Etude, *Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär* 6) Lied with Horn Accompaniment (Dobler, E. Schunke)

			7) Thalberg: Caprice, Op. 15
1839-10-23	Berlin		Program not available, although concert noted in diaries.
1839-10-31	Berlin Königl. Schauspiel- Haus *Große Vocal- and Instrumental Concert of Clara Wieck and Carl Müller*	Leopold Ganz Carl Müller Auguste von Fassmann Hrn. Bötticher Bader August Zimmermann	I 1) Mendellsohn: Overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* 2) Beethoven: Adagio and Rondo from the Violin Concerto (Müller) 3) Saccini: Duet from *Oedip* (Fassmann and Bötticher) 4) Mendelssohn: Capriccio for Pianoforte with Orchestra II 5) Osborne- de Béroit: Duet for Pianoforte and Violin (Mit Müller) 6) Beethoven: Trio, Op. 116 (Fassmann, Bader, Bötticher) 7) Kalliwoda: Variations for Two Violins (Zimmerman and Müller) 8) Thalberg: Fantasy over Motive from *Moses*
1839-11-04	Stettin Schützenhaus *Großes Concert of Clara Wieck and Carl Müller*	Carl Müller	1) Overture 2) de Béroit: Concertino for Violin 3) a) Henselt: Vöglein b) Schubert-Liszt: *Ständchen*, Arranged for Pianoforte c) Wieck, Clara: Scherzo d) Chopin: Etude, A-Minor II 4) Osbourne-de Béroit: Duet for Pianoforte and Violin 5) Gesangstück 6) Ernst: Fantasy over Themes from *Othello* 7) Henselt: Variations over Donizetti's *Liebestrank*
1839-11-07	Stettin Schützenhaus *Großes Concert of Clara Wieck and Carl Müller*	Carl Müller	I 1) Beethoven: Variations for Violins and Pianoforte from the Sonata, A-Minor 2) Mayseder: New Concertino for Violin 3) a) Scarlatti: Piano Piece b) Schumann: Novellette c) Beethoven: Adagio and Finale from the Sonata, Op. 57 4) Spohr: Adagio for Violin II 5) Herz-Lafont: Duet for Pianoforte and Violin 6) Gesang 7) Pechatschek: Variations over the

			Sehsuchtzwalzer for Violin 8) Thalberg: *Moses-Fantasy*
1839-11-08	Stargardt Saal of Saust *Großes Concert of Clara Wieck and Carl Müller*	Carl Müller	I 1) Herz-Lafont: Duet for Piano and Violin 2) Henselt: Etude, *Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär* 3) Chopin: Mazurka 4) Wieck, Clara: Scherzo 5) Chopin: Etude 6) Beethoven: Variations over the Violin Sonata, A-Minor 7) Schumann: Novelle 8) Schubert-Liszt: *Erlkönig*, Arranged for Pianoforte II 9) Bériot: Violin-Concerto 10) Thalberg: Moses-Fantasy 11) Osborne-Béroit: Duet for Piano and Violin
1839-11-20	Berlin Königl. Schauspielhaus *Große Vocal- and Instrumental Concert to help the Friedrichs-Monastery*	Ltg.: C. W Henning Königl. Kapelle Amalie Hähnel Carl Müller Hr. Oberhoffer Moritz Ganz Members of the Königsst. Theaters: Dlle. Ehnes Hr. von Kaler Kinder des Friedrichs-Stifts	I 1) Spontini: Overture to *Olympia* 2) Donizetti: Aria (Hähnel) 3) de Béroit: Variations for the Violin (Müller) 4) Kreuzer: *Das Mühlrad* (Uhland) (Oberhoffer) with Cello Accompaniment (Ganz) 5) a) Chopin: Etude, A-Minor b, c) Schubert-Liszt: *Ständchen*, *Erlkönig*, Arranged for Pianoforte II 6) Henning, C.W: Concert-Overture 7) Weber: Aria from *Oberon* (Ehnes) 8) Spohr: Adagio for the Violin (Müller) 9) Donizetti: *Der Renagat 9* (von Kaler) 10) Rossini: Gr. Duet from *Semiramis* (Hähnel and Ehes) 11) Choral Piece (Kinder des Friedrich-Stifts)
1839-11-23	Berlin *Soirée*	Const. Decker August Zschiesche Carl Müller Hrn. Eichberger Gabrielsky II Stavinsky	Henselt: Variations for Pianoforte Decker, Const.: *Ach, in die Ferne* (Zschiesche, accompanied by Decker) Ernst: Adagio for Violin (Müller) Gläser, Franz: Lied (Eichberger) Declamation (Stavinsky) Decker: *Nachts auf dem Meere* with Cello Accompaniment (Zschiesche) Divertissement for the Flute

			(Gabrielsky II) Rossini: Duet, *Li Marinari* (Eichberger and Zschiesche) Schwank: *Die Brüder* (Stavinsky) Osborne-Béroit: Brilliant Duet for Pianoforte and Violin (with Müller)
1839-11-25	Berlin *Second Quartet-Versammlung of August Zimmerman, Wilhelm Ronneburger, Eduard Richter and Wilhelm Lotze*	August Zimmerman Wilhelm Ronneburger Eduard Richter Wilhelm Lotze Carl Müller W. Richter Espenhagn Töpfer	1) Onslow: Quartet, A-Major 2) Beethoven: Trio for Pianoforte, Violin, and Violincello, D-Major (with Zimmerman and Lotze) 3) Mendelssohn: Octet
1840-01-25	Berlin Sing-Academie *First Soirée of Clara Wieck*	Aug. Zimmerman Wilh. Lotze Caroline Caspari Eduard Mantius HofSchauspieler Grua	I 1) Beethoven: Trio, B flat-Major (with Zimmermann and Lotze) 2) Lieder with Cello Accompaniment (Caspari, Lotze) 3) a) Henselt: Etude, E flat-Minor b) Schubert-Liszt: *Ave Marie*, Arranged for Pianoforte c) Mendelssohn: Prelude d) Scarlatti: Piano Piece II 4) Krebs, C.: *Die Heimath* (Manuscript) (Mantius) 5) Declamation (Grua) 6) Wieck, Clara: Variations a Theme from Bellini's *Pirat*
1840-02-01	Berlin Sing-Academie *Second and Last Soirée of Clara Wieck*	Aug. Zimmermann Wilh. Lotze Ernst Schunke Nehrlich Eduard Mantius Aug. Zschiesche Königl. Singer Lehmann	I 1) Schubert: Trio E flat-Major (with Zimmermann and Lotze) 2) Kücken, F.: Lied (Mantius) with Pianoforte and Horn (Schunke) 3) Schumann: Sonata II 4) Lecerf: *Schäfers Klage* (Goethe) with Clarinet (Nehrlich), *Der Alpenjäger* (Schiller) (Lehmann) 5) a) Wieck, Cl.: Scherzo b) Schubert-Liszt: *Lob der Thränen* for Pianoforte c) Chopin: Etude, Nr. 5 6) Decker: Const.: *Goldschmidts Töchterlein* (Uhland) (Zschiesche) 7) Liszt: Fantasy over Themes by

			Paccini
1840-02-08	Hamburg Apollo-Saal *47th Philharmonic Privat-Concert*	Carl Magnus Hafner Dem. Halbreiter	I 1) Beethoven: Eighth Symphony, Op. 93 2) Mendelssohn: Capriccio, B-Minor for Piano II 3) Mayseder: Variations for the Violin (Hafner) 4) Cherubini: Aria from the *Fanisca* (Halbreiter) 5) Henselt: Variations over a Thema from the *Liebestrank* by Donizetti 6) Beethoven: Overture to *Leonore*
1840-02-11	Hamburg Stadt-Theater: Schauspiel *Der Pflegevater-Concert of Clara Wieck*	Frl. Halbreiter	1) Mozart: Overture to *The Magic Flute* 2) Chopin: Adagio and Rondo from the First Piano-Concerto 3) Krebs, C: a) *Das blinde Mädchen and seine Mutter* b) *Die blaue Schleife* 4) a) Schubert-Ließt (sic! Liszt): *Ave Marie*, Arranged for Pianoforte b) Thalberg: Caprice, Op. 15
1840-02-13	Hamburg Stadt-Theater *Raupach: Hahn and Hektor-Secondu.*	Schramm	1) Overture 2) a) Scarlatti: Piano Piece b) Chopin: Nocturne, E flat-Major c) Schubert-Liszt: *Erlkönig*, Arranged for Pianoforte 3) Clarinet-Solo 4) Thalberg: *Moses-Fantasy*
1840-02-19	Bremen *Eighth Privat-Concert*	Mad. Mühlenbruch Hr. Ochernal (?) Henriette Grabau	I Beethoven: Eight Symphony, Op. 93 Mendelssohn: Capriccio for Piano Rossini: Aria (Mühlenbruch) Schubert-Liszt: *Ave Marie*, Arranged for Pianoforte Solo Chopin: Etude II Weber: Overture from *Der Freischütz* Mayseder: Variations for Violin (Ochernal) Weber: Duet from *Euryanthe* (Mühlenbruch and Grabau) Henselt: Introduction and Variations over a Theme from Donizetti's *Liebestrank*
1840-02-21	Bremen *Musikalische Soirée of Clara*	Männerchor	I 1) Beethoven: Sonata, F-Minor, Op. 57 2) Reichardt: *Trost in Thränen*,

	Wieck		Kücken: *Liebesgruß* 3) a) Wieck, Clara: Scherzo b) Chopin; Nocturne, E flat-Major c) Schubert-Liszt: *Erlkönig*, Arranged for Pianoforte II 4) a) Mendelssohn: Prelude b) Henselt: *Repos d'amour*, *Lied ohne Worte* c) Scarlatti: Piano Piece 5) Meyerbeer: *Die Wahnsinnige*, Schubert: *Die Post* 6) Diabelli: *Die Betende*, for Men's Voices 7) Thalberg: Fantasy over Themes from *Moses* by Rossini
1840-02-29	Lübeck Ebbescher Saal *Concert of Clara Wieck*	Hr. Otto	I 1) Henselt: Variations over Donizetti's *Libestrank* 2) Lachner, V.: *In die Ferne* (Kletke) 3) a) Chopin: Etude, Nr. 5 b) Schubert-Liszt: *Ave Marie*, Arranged for Pianoforte c) Chopin: Mazurka d) Schubert-Liszt: *Erlkönig*, Arranged for Pianoforte II 4) a) Scarlatti: Piano Piece b) Beethoven: Andante and Finale from the Sonats, F-Minor, Op. 57cc 5) van Bree, J.B: *Marie* 6) Thalberg: *Moses-Fantasy*
1840-03-04	Hamburg *Privat-Soirée of Clara Wieck*	Carl Magnus Hafner Löwenberg Otto von Königslöw Polack Sack	I 1) Onslow: Allegro from the Quintet, A-Minor (Hafner, Löwenberg, Königslöw, Polack, Sack) 2) Beethoven: Sonata, F-Minor, Op. 57 3) Schubert: *Ständchen* (Fischer-Achten) 4) a) Schumann: Novellette b) Chopin: Nocturne, B-Major c) Schubert-Liszt: *Erlkönig*, Arranged for Pianoforte II 5) Beethoven: Piano-Trio, Op. 97 (with Hafner and Sack) 6) Curschmann: *An Rose* (Fischer-Achten) 7) Thalberg: Fantasy over Themes from *Moses*
1840-03-28	Berlin K.	Königliche Kapelle Moritz and Leopold	I 1) Halevy: Overture to the new Opera,

	Schauspielhaus *Großes Vocal- and Instrumental-Concert of Gebr. Moritz and Leopold Ganz, unter gefäll. Mitwirkend der königl. Kapelle*	Ganz Sophia Löwe Wilhelm Taubert Hedwig Schulze Eduard Mantius Hofschauspielerinnen Crelinger Bertha and Clara Stich Männerquartett	*Le Sherif* 2) Ganz, Mortiz: Concertino for Violincello (Manuscript) (Ganz) 3) Aria from *Le prèx aux clercs* with Violin (Löwe, L. Ganz) 4) Moscheles: Duet for Two Pianos, *Hommage à Handel* (with Taubert) 5) Goethe: Alexis and Dora (Crelinger) 6) Prume: *La Mélancolie* for Violin (L. Ganz) II 7) Rombert, Bernhard: Capriccio over Swedish National-Leider for Violincello (M. Ganz) 8) Aria (Schulze) 9) *Zeitfragen* (B. and C. Stich) 10) Mozart: *Bindnis*-Aria (Mantius) 11) Ganze, Gebr.: Concertante over *Volkslied Borussia* by Spontini for Violin and Violincello (Ganz)
1840-04-25	Berlin *Sing-Akademie Concert of Taubert*	Sophia Löwe Eduard Mantius Wilh. Taubert Königl. Kapelle Ltg: Hubert Ries	I 1) Beethoven: Overture to *Egmont* 2) Taubert: Piano-Concerto (Taubert) 3) Beethoven: Aria from *Fidelio* (Löwe) 4) Taubert: *Die Najade*, Piano Piece (manuscipt) (Taubert) II 5) Taubert: Sinfony 6) Aria from *Belmonte and Constanze* (Mantius) 7) Moscheles: Duet, *Hommage to Handel* (with Taubert)
1840-08-08	Jena akademischer Rosen-Saal *Musikalische Soirée of Clara Wieck*		I 1) Quartet for Men's Voices 2) Henselt: Concert-Variations 3) Songs: Lieder for Soprano, Tenor 4) a) Scarlatti: Piano Piece b) Schubert-Liszt: *Ave Marie*, Arranged for Pianoforte c) Chopin: Mazurka B flat-Major 4) Henselt: Etude, *Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär* II 5) Sung Piece 6) Thalberg: Fantasy over Themes from *Moses* by Rossini
1840-08-11	Weimar Schloß zu Belvedere *Soirée*	Hr. Holzmiller	1) Henselt: Variations 2) Leider (Holzmiller) 3) Schubert-Liszt: *Ave Marie*, Arranged

	bei der Großherzogin von Weimar		for Pianoforte 4) Lieder (Holzmiller) 5) Thalberg: *Moses-Fantasy*
1840-08-12	Weimar Schloß zu Belvedere *Soirée bei der Großherzogin von Wiemar*		1) Scarlatti: Piano Piece, Chopin: Mazurka, Henselt: Etude 2) Wieck, Clara: Scherzo, Schubert-Liszt: *Erlkönig*, Arranged for Pianoforte 3) Thalberg: *Moses*-Fantasy
1840-08-16	Meinigen Schloß zu Altenstein *Soirée beim Herzog of Meiningen*	Elise List	1) Schubert-Liszt: *Ave Marie*, Arranged for Pianoforte, Scarlatti: Piano Piece, Chopin: Mazurka, B-flat Major 2) Aria (List) 3) Thalberg: *Moses-Fantasy* 4) Lieder and Aria (List)
1840-08-23	Meinigen Schloß zu Altenstein *Soirée beim Herzog of Meiningen*	Elise List	1) Chopin: Nocturne E flat-Major, Mazurka F#-Minor, Henselt: Etude, *Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär* 2) Aria (List) 3) Schubert-Liszt: *Erlkönig*, Arranged for Pianoforte, Henselt: Variations 4) Canzonets (List) 5) Wieck, Clara: Scherzo, Schubert-Liszt: *Lob der Thränen*, Chopin: Mazurka, B flat-Major
1840-09-02	Gotha Schützenhof *Großes Concert zum Besten der Armen*	Frl. ? Liedertafel Gotha	I 1) Lambert, E.: Overture to *Nanon, Ninon and Maintenon* 2) Beethoven: Aria 3) Henselt: Variations II 4) Mendelssohn: Lieder, Schubert: Lieder 5) a) Scarlatti: Piano Piece b) Schubert-Liszt: *Ave Marie*, Arranged for Pianoforte c) Henselt: Etude, *Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär* 6) Donizetti: Aria from *Lucia di Lammermoor* 7) Thalberg: *Moses-Fantasy* III Meyerbeer: Choruses from the First Act of the Opera, *Robert der Teufel*
1840-09-03	Erfurt Schauspeilhaus *Familien-Concert*	Erfurter Musik-Verein	I 1) Mozart: Overture to *The Marriage of Figaro* 2) Mozart: Tenor-Aria from *Don Giovanni*

			3) Mendelssohn: Brilliant Capriccio for Pianoforte 4) Kuhlau: Four Men's Songs 5) a) Scarlatti: Piano Piece b) Schubert-Liszt: *Ave Marie*, Arranged for Pianoforte c) Henselt: Etude, *Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär* II 6) Cherubini: Overture to *Lodoisca* 7) Bellini: Soprano-Aria from *Die Puritaner* 8) Thalberg: *Moses-Fantasy*
1840-09-05	Weimar Stadthaus *Musikalische Soirée of Clara Wieck*	Apel Götze	I 1) Four Songs 2) Beethoven: Piano Trio, D-Major, Op. 70, Nr. 1 (with Apel and Götze) 3) Montag: Two Lieder (Heine) (Götze) 4) a) Henselt: Etude, *Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär* b) Schubert-Liszt: *Ave Marie*, c) Chopin: Mazurka, B flat-Minor d) Schubert-Liszt: *Erlkönig*, Arranged for Pianforte II 5) Four Songs 6) Lachner: Lied with Violincello (Götze, Apel) 7) Thalberg: *Moses-Fantasy*
1841-03-31	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Concert of Clara Schumann to help the Orchestra's Pension Fund*	Marie Heinrich Schumidt Sophie Schloß Guilio Regonid Joseph Lidel Gewandhaus-Orchestra Ltg.: Mendelssohn	I Geistliches Piece (Haydn: Des Staubes eitle Sorgen) Chopin: Adagio and Rondo from the Piano-Concerto, F-Minor Gluck: Aria (Schmidt) Schumann: Allegro Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* Scarlatti: Piano Piece II Schumann: Symphony, B flat-Major, Op. 38 Mendelssohn: Duet for Four-Hands (Mendelssohn and Clara Schumann) Schumann: *Die Löwenbraut* (Chamisso) Schumann, Clara: *Am Strande* (Burns) Schumann: *Widmung* (Rückert) (Schloß), *Duet Concertant* for Melophon and Violincello (Regondi and Lidel) Thalberg: Fantasy over Themes from

			Rossini's *Moses*
1841-11-21	Weimar Schauspielhaus *Concert for the Widow's Pension Fund*	Hr. Götze Ulrich Queisser Agthe Sabine Heinefetter Hr. Höfer	I 1) Stör, C.: Overture to *Landgraf Friedrich mit der gebissenen Wange* (Alex Rost) 2) Ulrich: Solo for Cello over a Russian Theme 3) Lied (Höfer) 4) Mendelssohn: Capriccio II 5) Schumann: Symphony III 6) David: Posaunen-Concerto 7) Mozart: Ara from *Titus* (Heinefetter) with Basset Horn 8) Bériot: Concertino for Violin 9) Thalberg: Second Fantasie over *La Donna del Lago*
1841-11-25	Weimar Galerie im Schloß in der Stadt *Concert bei der Großherzogin*	Pauline Lang Franz Götze Eduard Genast	I 1) Cherubini: Overture 2) Schumann: Lied (Genast) 3) Liszt: Fantasy over *Lucia di Lammermoor* II: Schumann: Two Lieder (Götze) 5) Reicha: Quintet 6) Chopin: Etude, Mendelssohn: *Volkslied*, Scarlatti: Piano Piece III 7) Aria (Lang) 8) Thalberg: Fantasy over *La donna del lago*
1841-12-06	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Marie Heinrich Schmidt Wilhelm Pögner Franz Liszt Männerchor Gewandhaus-Orchestra Ltg.: Ferdinand David	I Schumann: Overture, Scherzo and Finale Mendelssohn: Capriccio for Pianoforte and Orchestra Mozart: Aria (Schmidt) Liszt: Fantasy over Themes from *Lucia di Lammermoor* (Clara Schumann) II Schumann: Second Symphony Bach: Prelude and Fugue Sterndale-Bennett: Allegretto from the Four-Hand Diversions, Chopin: Etude C-Minor Schumann: *Die Beiden Grenadiere* (Pögner) Liszt: *Rheinweinlied* (Herwegh) for Männerchor Duo [Hexameron] for Two Pianos (Liszt and Clara Schumann)

1841-12-13	Gewandhaus *Concert of Franz Liszt*	Männerchor	1) Hummel-Liszt: Septet (Liszt) 2) Liszt: *Rheinweinlied* (G. Herwegh) for Men's Voices 3) Liszt: *Don Juan-Fantasy* (Liszt) 4) Liszt: Lied from Goethe's *Faust* for Men's Voices 5) Beethoven-Liszt: *Adelaide* (Liszt) 6) Schubert-Liszt: *Erlkönig*, Arranged for Pianoforte (Liszt) 7) *Hexameron* for Two Pianos (Clara Schumann and Liszt)
1842-01-01	Leipzig Gewandhaus *12th Abonnement-Concert*	Elisa Meerti J.A. Tuyn Choir Gewandhaus-Orchestra Ltg.: Ferd. David	I Fesca: *IX. Psalm* Mozart: Overture to *The Magic Flute* Donizetti: Aria with Chorus from *Anna Bolena* (Meerti) Mendelssohn: Piano-Concerto, G-Minor Bellini: Aria from *La Somnambula* (Tuyn) Thalberg: *Moses-Fantasy* II Beethoven: Fifth Symphony
1842-01-11	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Second Musikalische Abendunterhaltung*	Ferd. David Moritz Gotthold Klengel Hermann Otto Hunger Franz Carl Wittmann Friederick Wilhelm Grenser	I Haydn: String Quartet, D-Minor, Nr. 41 (David, Klengel, Hunger, Wittmann) Mozart: Piano Quartet, G-Minor (with David, Hunger, Wittmann, Grenser) II Onslow: Quintet, C-Major, Op. 25 (David, Klengel, Hunger, Wittmann, Grenser) Beethoven: Sonata, F-Minor, Op. 57
1842-02-23	Bremen *10th Privat-Concert*	Mad. Schmidt Caroline Quenstedt	I Schumann: First Symphony, B flat-Major (New) Mercandante: Aria from *Elisa e Claudio* (Schmidt) Weber: *Concerstück* for Pianoforte II Beethoven: Overture to *Fidelio* Schumann: Widmunt Beethoven: Newe Liebe (Quenstedt) Bach: Prelude and Fugue Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* Liszt: Reminiscences over *Lucia di Lammermoor* Paer: Duet from *Sargino* (Quenstedt and Schmidt)
1842-02-25	Oldenburg Schauspielhaus *Musikalische*	Hr. Titze Moltke	1) Henselt: Variations over the *Liebestrank* 2) Decker, C.: *Der treue Krieger*

	Soirée of Clara Schumann		3) a) Henselt: Etude *Vöglein wär* b) Chopin: Nocturne c) Scarlatti: Piano Piece 4) Declamation 5) Thalberg: *Moses-Fantasy*
1842-02-28	Bremen *Musikalische Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Mad. Schmidt	I 1) Beethoven: Sonata, C-Major, Op. 53 2) a) Schumann, Clara Lied: (Rückert) b) Mendelssohn: *Frühlingslied* (Schmidt) 3) a) Schumann: Allegro b) Sternadale-Bennet: Andantino c) Scarlatti: Piano Piece II 4) Mendelssohn: Prelude and Fugue 5) a) Schumann: *Die Lotosblume* (Heine) b) Schumann: *Der Nußbaum* (Mosen) (Schmidt) 6) Thalberg: Fantasy over Themes from Rossini's *Donna del Lago*
1842-03-05	Hamburg Apollo-Saal *56th Philharmonic Privat-Concert*	Dem. Widtun Carl Reifstahl	1) Schumann: First Symphony, B flat-Major 2) Weber: *Concertstück* for the Pianoforte 3) Mozart: Overture to *The Magic Flute* 4) Haydn: Aria from the *Schöpfung* (Widtun) 5) de Bériot: Tremolo, Caprice over a Theme by Beethoven for Violin (Riefstahl) 6) Bach: Prelude and Fugue, Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte*, Liszt: Reminiscences over *Lucia di Lammermoor* 7) Beethoven: Overture to *Leonore*
1842-03-09	Hamburg Hôtel "Alte Stadt London" *Concert of Theodor Sack*	Theodor Sack Carl. M. Hafner Otto von Königslöw Hrr. Polak Berenstorff Behrens Löwenberg d'Arian Lebrün von Lehmann	I 1) Spohr: First Double Quartet, First Movement (Hafner, Königslöw, Polak, Berenstorff, Behrens, Löwenberg, d'Arian, Sack) 2) Romberg, Bernh.: Concertino for Violincello (Sack) 3) Schubert: Lied for Baritone 4) Holtei: *Der Ehestand*, Tragedy in Five Acts (Lebrün and Lehmann) 5) a) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* b) Chopin: Etude II 6) Spohr: Double-Quartet, Third and Fourth Movements 7) Kücken: Lied for Baritone 8) Kummer: Großes Duet for Two

			Cellos (d'Arian and Sack)
1842-04-03	Kopenhagen kongelige Theater *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Hrr. Faaborg Hansen sen. Md. Simonsen kgl. Capelle Ltg.: CM	I 1) Beethoven: Overture to *Fidelio* 2) Rossini: Duet from *Wilhelm Tell* (Faaborg and Hansen) 3) Weber: *Concertstück* for Pianoforte and Orchestra II 4) Gade: Overture to Oehlenschläger's *Sanct Hans Aftenspil* 5) a) Henselt: Etude *Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär* b) Chopin: Nocturne c) Scarlatti: Piano Piece 6) Bellini: Aria from *Bianca e Fernando* (Simonsen) 7) Thalberg: *Moses-Fantasy*
1842-04-05	Kopenhagen Mdm. Stage	Ida Fonseca Fung Simonsen Hr. Faaborg Hr. Schram Hr. Lindberg Hr. Hansen	I 1) Romberg, A.: Overture 2) Donizetti: Duet from *Belisario* (Stage and Faaborg) 3) Henselt: Variations over a Theme from Donizetti's *Elisir d'amore* 4) Mayber, S.: Scene and Cavatina for Alto from *Rosa bianca e Rosa rosso* (Fonseca) 5) Mercandante: Quartet from *Le due illustre Rivali* (Stage, Rung, Faaborg, Schram) II 6) a) Schubert-Liszt: *Ave Marie* b) Scarlatti: Piano Piece 7) a) Rubini: Romanze (Lindberg) b) Rung: *Gurre*, Romanze nach Andersen (Hansen) 8) Bellini: Aria (Simonsen) 9) Mercandante: Adagio from the *Vestalin* 10) Thalberg: *Moses-Fantasy*
1842-04-06	Kopenhagen *Musikverein*		Hartmann: Song over *Harmonies* (Hertz) 1) Hansen, C.J. : Overture 2) Mozart: Sextet from *The Marriage of Figaro* 3) a) Chopin: Etude, Nr. 5 b) Beethoven: Adagio and Finale from the Sonata, F-Minor c) Mendelssohn: Cantata Symphony, *Lobgesang*

1842-04-10	Kopenhagen kongelige Theater *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Hr. Hansen sen. Mad. Stage Heiberg	I 1) Henselt: Variations over a Theme from Donizetti's *Liebestrank* 2) a) Gebauer: Romanze b) Schubert: *Der Wanderer* (Hansen) 3) Liszt: Reminiscences de *Lucia di Lammermoor* II 4) a) Schumann, Clara: Lied (Rückert) b) Schubert: *Ave Marie* c) Schumann: *Widmung* (Rückert) (Stage) 5) a) Schumann: Allegro from the Novelletten b) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* c) Schubert-Liszt: *Erlkönig*, Arranged for Pianoforte 6) Declamation (Heiberg) 7) Thalberg: Fantasy over Themes from Rossini's *Donna del lago*
1842-04-14	Kopenhagen Hotel d'Angleterre *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Hr. Faaborg	I 1) Moscheles: Duet *Hommage à Handel* for Two Pianos (with "a Dillettante") 2) a) Mendelssohn: *Frühlingslied* b) Hartmann: *Lille Catrine* (Faaborg) 3) a) Mendelssohn: Volkslied b) Chopin: Nocturne c) Schubert-Liszt: *Erlkönig*, Arranged for Pianoforte II 4) Beethoven: Sonata Fantasy, C#-Minor III 5) a) Bach: Prelude and Fugue b) Schumann, Clara: Scherzo, Op. 10 c) Chopin: Mazurka C-Major 6) a) Marschner: *Wenn du wärst mein eigen* b) Hartmann: *Flyv Fugl Flyv* (Faaborg) 7) Thalberg: Caprice
1842-04-17	Kopenhagen konelige Theater *Armenconcert for the Asul Frederik VI*	Hansen sen. Theater Employees Arrangement by Bournonville	I Oehlenschläger: *Tordenskiold*, Drama in Five Acts with Beerggreen A.P.: Bühnernmusik II Thalberg: Fantasy over Themes from Rossini's *Donna del lago* 2) Gade: Overture to Oehlenschläger's *Sanct Hans Aftenspil* 3) Rung: *Gurre* after Andersen (Hansen)
1842-10-02	Leipzig, Gewandhaus	Sophie Schloß Ferdinand David	I Weber: Jubel-Overture

	First Abonnment-Concert	Gewandhaus Orchestra Ltg.: Mendelssohn	Mozart: Scene and Aria *Non temer, amato bene* with Violin (Schloß, David) Weber: *Concertstück* for Pianoforte Donizetti: Aria from *Belisario* (Schloß) Thalberg: Fantasy over Themes from Rossinis "*Donna del lago*" II Beethoven: Seventh Symphony, A-Major
1842-10-20	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Third Abonnement-Concert*	Sophie Schloß Ferdinand David G.B. Montrésor Joh. Friederick Diethe Gewandhaus-Orchestra Ltg.: Theater: Kapellmeister: Bach	I Haydn: Symphony, D-Major Mozart: Recitative and Aria from *The Marriage of Figaro*, "Al desiro" (Schloß) David: Violin-Concert, B-Minor (New) (David) Chopin: Ballade, A#-Major, Op. 47 (New) Beethoven: Sonata Fantasy, C#-Minor II Beethoven: Overture, Op. 124 Bellini: Cavatina from *Piraten* (Montréso) Diethe: Variations over a Theme by Beethoven for Oboe (Diethe) Rossini: Duet from *Tancredi* (Schloß and Montreso)
1842-11-21	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Orchestra - Pensionsfonds-Concert*	Sophie Schloß G.B. Montrésor Mendelssohn Therese Dessoir Gewandhaus-Orchestra Ltg.: Mendelssohn	I Mendelssohn: Overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* Mercadante: Scene and Aria from *Nitocri*, 'Muni! Che intesi!' (Schloß) Moscheles: Große Sonata for Pianoforte Four-Hands (Mendelssohn) Rossini: Duet from *Cenerentola*" (Schloß and Montrésor) II Beethoven: *Egmont* Overture, Songs and Entre-Acts (Schloß) (Text: Dessoir)
1843-01-08	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Musiklaische Morgenunterhaltung of Robert and Clara Schumann*	Sophie Schloß Marie Heinrich Schmidt Ferdinand David Klenge Hunger Wittmann	I Schumann: String Quartet, A-Minor Bach: Prelude and Fugue Schumann, Clara: *Warum willst du andre fragen* (Rückert) (Schloß) Schumann: *Widmung* (Rückert) (Schmidt) Beethoven: Sonata, A-Major, Op. 101 II Bach: Chaconne (David) Schumann: *Wachst du noch Liebchen?, Wer*

			ist vor meiner Kammerthür? (Burns) for Soprano and Tenor (Schloß and Schmidt) Schumann, Clara: *Liebeszauber* (Geibel) Schumann: Piano Quintet
1843-02-02	Leipzig Gewandhaus *16th Abonnement-Concert*	Spohie Schloß Marie Heinrich Schmidt Pögner August Kindermann Chor with Dilettanten Gewandhaus-Orchestra Ltg.: Mendelssohn	I Haydn: Symphony Mozart: Aria, *Deh per questo istante sol* (Schloß) Beethoven: Choral Fantasy Weber: Overture to *Euryanthe* Weber: Chorus from *Leier and Schwert* (Th. Körner) Henselt: Introduction and Variations for Pianoforte II Mendelssohn: *Die erste Walpurgisnacht* (Debut) (Solists: Schloß, Schmidt, Pögner, Kindermann)
1843-02-09	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Concert of Sophie Schloß*	Sopie Schloß Ferd. David Hermann Otto Hunger Marie Heinrich Schmidt Moritz Gotthold Klengel Franz Carl Wittmann G. Heinze jun. Gewandhaus-Orchestra Ltg.: Mendelssohn	I Gade: "Nachklänge" from *Ossian* (with Harp Accompaniment) Mendelssohn: Scene and Aria (New) (Schloß) Lvoff: Fantasy for Violin with Orchestra and Choir over Russian National Lieder (New) (David) Schumann: Two Duets with Pianoforte Accompaniment (Schloß and Schmidt) II Schumann: Piano Quintet (with David, Klengel, Hunger, Wittmann) Rossini: Duet from *Semiramis* (Schloß and Kindermann) Crusell: Adagio for Clarinet (Heinze) Weber: *Unbefangenheit* Schumann, Clara: *Warum willst du andre fragen* Schumann: *Widmung* (Schloß)
1843-08-19	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Muskalische Soirée of Pauline Viardot-Garcia*	Mendelssohn Viardot-Garcia	Schumann: Variations for Two Pianoforte, Op. 46 (with Mendelssohn) Arias by Handel, Rossini, Persiani and Malibran
1843-08-19	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Musikalische Soirée of Pauline Viardot-Garcia*	Viardot-Garcia Joseph Joachim Mendelssohn	Persiani: Aria (Viardot) Beethoven: Sonata Handel: Aria from *Rinaldo* (Viardot) de Béroit: Rondo for Violin and Pianoforte (Joachim, Mendelssohn) Rossini: Rondo-Finale from *La*

			Cenerentola (Viardot) de Bériot: Aria (Viardot) Schumann: Andante and Variations for Two Pianoforte (with Mendelssohn) French, Spanish, and German Romanzen (Viardot)
1843-11-04	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Abendunterhaltung for die Großforstin Helen von Rußland*	Antokla Hiller Ferdinand David Choir Gewandhaus-Orchestra	Mendelssohn: Overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* Schubert-Hiller, Ferd.: Lieder (A. Hiller) David: Variations for the Violin (David) Mendelssohn: Chorus and Solo from *Paulus* Hiller, Ferd: Quintet for Men's Chorus and Soprano Solo (A. Hiller), and Pianoforte-Solo Mendelssohn: *42nd Psalm*
1843-11-20	Dresden Hôtel de Pologn *Musikalische Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Franz Schubert Theorod Uhlig J. Dominik Friederick A. Kummer Marie Wieck Mad. Schubert	I 1) Schumann: Piano Quintet, Op. 44 2) Sung Piece 3) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, D-Minor, Op. 31, Nr. 2 II 4) Moscheles: Große Sonata for Four Hands, Op. 47, Movements One and Two 5) Schumann: *Der Nußbaum* (Mosen), *Die Lotosblume* (Heine), *Widmung* (Rückert) 6) Henselt: Variations, Op. 1
1843-11-30	Dresden Hôtel de Pologne *Second Concert of Clara Schumann*	Franz Schubert Friedr. Aug. Jummer Carl Crägen Joseph Tichatschek Maschinka Schubert	Mendelssohn: Trio, D-Minor (with Schubert and Kummer) Song (Tichatschek, M. Schubert) Schumann: Andantea and Variations for Two Pianos (with Krägen) Beethoven: Sonata
1843-12-02	Dresden *Hofconcert*	Joseph Tichatschek	Beethoven: Sonata, D-Minor Schumann: Lieder (Tichatschek)
1844-02-02	Königsberg Theater *Großes Concert of Clara Schumann*	Bertha Wurst Frl. Haller Concer Master Schuster	I 1) Beethoven: Overture 2) von Winter, P.: Aria from the unverbrochenen Opferfest (Wurst) 3) Weber: *Concertstück* for Pianoforte with Orchestra II 4) Weber: Overture 5) a) Chopin: Nocturne b) Mendelssohn: *Venetian Gondellied*, *Frühlingslied* (Manuscript) c) Scarlatti, D: Piano Piece

			6) a) Schumann, Clara: *Er ist gekommen* (Rückert) b) Schumann: R: *Die Lotosblume* (Heine), *Der Nußbaum* (Mosen) (with Haller) 7) Vieuxtemps: Fantasy-Caprice for Violin 8) Thalberg: *Moses-Fantasy*
1844-02-03	Königsberg Theater *Last großes Concert of Clara Schumann*	Frl. Haller Hr. Grünbaum CM Schuster	I 1) Weber: Overture 2) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, D-Minor 3) Schubert: *Die Post*, Storch: Austrian National Lied (Haller) 4) Henselt: Variations over Donizetti's *Liebestrank* II 5) Mozart: Overture 6) a) Schumann, R.: *Mondnacht* (Eichendorff) b) Schumann, Clara: *Liebeszauber* (Geibel) c) Schumann, R: *Widmung* (Rückert) (Grünbaum) 7) Bériot: Air variée for Violin 8) a) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* b) Schumann: Allegro c) Chopin: Mazurka d) Liszt: Reminiscences de *Lucia di Lammermoor*
1844-12-02	Halle *Musikalisches Soirée of Clara Schumann*	HH. Sturm Stöckel Heller Hendrich Männer-Quartett	I 1) Schumann: Piano Quintet (with Horn) 2) Männer-Quartet 3) a) Mendelssohn: *Gondellied*, *Frühlingslied* b) Chopin: Polonaise (New) II 4) Beethoven: Sonata, C-Major, Op. 53 5) Männer -Quartet 6) Thalberg: Fantasy over Themes from Rossini's *Semiramis*

1844-12-05	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Eighth Abonnement-Concert*	Mad. Mortier de Fontaine Gewandhaus-Orchestra Ltg.: Gade	I Beethoven: Eighth Symphony, F-Major *Psalm LXXXV* (Mortier de Fontaine) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major II Gade: Overture (New, Manuscript) Donizetti: Aria from *La Favorite* (Mortier de Fontaine) Schumann: Fantaiy Piece, *Traumes Wirren* Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte,* G-Major Chopin: Polonaise A flat-Major
1844-12-08	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Musikalische Matinée of Robert and Clara Schumann*	Livia Frefe Ferd David Niels W. Gade Franz Karl Wittmann	1) Schumann: Piano Quartet (with David, Gade, Wittmann) 2) a) Clara Schumann: Lied b) Schumann: Stille Liebe (Kerner) c) Schumann: *O Sonnenschein* (Reinick) 3) a) Mendelssohn: G*ondel-* and *Frühlingslied* b) Chopin: Polonaise 4) Bach: Chaconne (David) 5) a) Schumann: *Die Nonne* (Foelich) b) Schumann: *Ich grolle nicht* (Heine) c) Schumann: *Widmung* (Rückert) 6) Beethoven: Sonata, C-Major, Op. 53
1845-01-06	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe Concert of Moscheles	Ignaz Moscheles Ferd. Hiller	Bach: Concerto for Three Pianos with Accompaniment by the Orchestra
1845-11-25	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe *Second Abonnement-Concert*	Helene Dolby Ltg.: Ferd. Hillere	I 1) Haydn: Symphony 2) Beethoven: Scene and Aria, *Ah perfido* (Dolby) 3) Henselt: Piano-Concerto (Manuscipt) II 4) Gluck: Overture to *Iphigenie in Aulis* 5) Persiani: Cavatina (Dolby) 6) a) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* b) Scarlatti, D.: Piano Piece 7) Scottish Lieder (Dolby) 8) Rietz, Jul.: *Fest Overture*
1845-12-04	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Louise Franchetti Ltg.: Ferd. Hiller	I 1) Hiller: Lustspiel-Overture (Manuscript) 2) Schumann: Piano-Concerto 3) Aria (Franchetti) 4) Chopin: Ballade, A flat-Major II 5) Schumann: Overture, Scherzo, and

			Finale 6) Mendelssohn: Duet for Pianoforte Four Hands (with Hiller) 7) Schumann: a) *Die Lotosblume* (Heine) b) *Der Nußbaum* (Mosen) (Franchetti) 8) a) Bach: Fugue b) Henselt: *Wiegenlied* c) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* from Book Six
1846-01-01	Leipzig Gewandhaus *12th Abonnement-Concert*	Helene Dolby Gewandhaus-Orchestra Ltg.: Gade	I Mozart: Overture to *The Magic Flute* Handel: Chorus and Aria from *Messias* (Dolby) Schumann: Piano-Concerto, *Two English Lieder* (Dolby) Hiller: Impromptu Mendelssohn: Two *Lieder ohne Worte* II Beethoven: Third Symphony
1846-04-12	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Concert of Jenny Lind*	Jenny Lind Ferdinand David	I Beethoven: Violin Sonata, G-Major, Op. 30, Nr. 3 (David, Mendelssohn) Pacini: Aria from *Niobe* (Lind) David: [Variations over Schubert's *Lob der Thränen*] (David) Mozart: Aria from *Don Giovanni* (Lind) II Beethoven: Sonata, C#-Minor (Mendelssohn) Weber: Cavatinas from *Euryanthe* and *Freischütz* (Lind) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* (Mendelssohn), Two *Lieder ohne Worte* (Clara Schumann) Schumann, Clara: Scherzo, Op. 14 Lieder (Lind)
1846-05-03	Dresden Cosel'sches Palais *Matinée of Robert and Clara Schumann*	Antolka Hiller Constanze Jacobi Marie Wieck	I Schumann: Piano Quintet Hiller, Ferd: Psalm with Pianoforte (A. Hiller) Beethoven: Sonata, A-Major, Op. 101 II Hummel: First Movement, Sonata A flat-Major for Pianoforte Four-Hands (with Marie Wieck) Schumann: Lieder for Two Soprano Voices Schumann: Canon Mendelssohn: Capriccio

1846-10-05	Leipzig, Gewandhaus *First Abonnement-Concert*	Schrickel-Steinmüller Gewandhaus-Orchestra Ltg: Mendelssohn	I Weber: Overture to *Freischütz* Donizetti: Recitative and Aria *Perschè non ho* (Schrickel-St.) Henselt: Piano-Concerto (Manuscript) Mozart: Scene and Aria from *Don Giovanni*, "Ich grausam…" (Schrickel-Steinmüller) Mendelssohn: Two *Leider ohne Worte* from Book Six, Schumann: Fugue II Beethoven: Fourth Symphony, B-Major
1846-10-22	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Third Abonnement-Concert*	Sophie Schloß Gewandhaus-Orchestra Ltg.: Mendelssohn	I Haydn: Symphony, Nr. 5 Mozart: Aria, *Parto, ma tu, ben mio* (Schloß) Beethoven: Fourth Piano-Concerto, G-Major II Hiller: Concert-Overture, Nr. 1 Ricci: Recitative and Cavatina, *Vedrò, rifletterò* (Schloß) Chopin: Nocturne Schumann: Canon Chopin: Scherzo B-Minor Lachner, Franz: Overture *Die Menschenalter*
1846-11-16	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Minna Schulz-Wieck Marie Wieck Ferdinand David Gewandhaus-Orchestra Ltg. Mendelssohn	I Schumann: Symphony, C-Major Romberg, A.: *Sehnsucht*, after Schiller (Schulz-Wieck) with Violin (David) Mendelssohn: Piano-Concerto, G-Minor II Spohr: Romanze from *Zemire and Azor* (Schulz-Wieck) with Violin (David) Moscheles: Rondo Four-Hands, Op. 30 (with Marie Wieck) Schumann: *Widmung* (Rückert) Mendelssohn: *Leise zieht Durch mein Gemüth* Curschmann: *Bächlein laßdein Rauschen* (Schulz-Wieck) Hensel, Fanny: Lied Chopin: Barcarole (New) Schumann, Clara: Scherzo
1846-12-10	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde *Concert of Clara*	Mme. Reiter-Bildstein Orchestra of. k.k High Opera Theaters	1) Cherubini: Overture 2) Beethoven: Fourth Piano-Concerto, G-Major 3) Haydn: Aria from *Schöpfung*

	Schumann	Ltg.: Georg von Hellmesberger	4) a) Schumann: Canon for Pianoforte b) Chopin: Barcarole, Op. 60 (New) 5) Stockhausen: *Schweizerlied* (Reiter-Bildstein) 6) a) Schumann: Romanze b) Mendelssohn: *Frühlingslied* c) Scarlatti, D.: Piano Piece
1846-12-15	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde *Second Concert of Clara Schumann*	George and Joseph Hellmesberger Roman Zäch Egid Borzaga Betty Bury Anton Rubenstein	1) Schumann: Piano Quintet, E flat-Major (with Gebr. Hellmesberger, Zäch, Borzaga) 2) a) Lang, Josephine: *Scheideblick* b) Mendelssohn: Songs on the Grand Piano 3) a) Chopin: Polonaise, Op. 53, A flat-Major b) Schumann: Andante with Variations for Two Pianoforte (with Rubenstein) 5) a) Schubert: *Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt* b) Dessauer: *Das Mädchen am Bache* 6) a) Schumann, Clara: Scherzo b) Henselt: *Wiegenlied* c) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte*
1846-12-17	Wien *Concert bei der jungen Kaiserin [Marie Anna]*	Therese Schwarz Joseph Staudigl Elias Parish-Alvars J. Hindle Klavierbegleitung Vizehofkapellmeister Randhartinger	Beethoven: Rondo from the Sonata, D-Minor Cavalcabò, J: *Warum?* (Schwarz) Hindle: Elegy for Kontrabass (Hindle) Randhartinger: Ballade *Elfengesang* (Staudigl) Liszt: Reminiscences over *Lucia di Lammermoor* II Mercandante: Romanze, *T'amo, bell' idol mio!* (Schwarz) Paris-Alvars: Fantasy for the Harp (Parish-Alvars) Speyer: *Schifferlied* (Staudigl) Schumann: Canon for the Pianoforte Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* Scarlatti: Piano Piece
1847-01-01	Wien Gesellschaft for Musikfreunde *Third Concert of Clara Schumann*	Heinrich von Marchion Orchestra of the. k.k. High Opera Theaters Ltg.: R. Schumann	1) Schumann: Symphony, B-Major 2) a) Stein, Carl: *Die Nachtigall* b) Lewy, Carl: *Reseda* (Marchion) 3) Schumann: Piano-Concerto II 4) Chopin: Mazurka and Etude 5) Schubert: a) *Fischermädchen* (Marchion) 6) a) Schubert-Liszt: *Ständchen*, Arranged for Pianoforte b) Mendelssohn: *Volkslied*

			c) Scarlatti: Piano Piece
1847-01-10	Wien Gesellschaft for Musikfreunde, Fourth and Last Concert of Clara Schumann	Jenny Lind	1) Beethoven: Sonata, F-Minor 2) Geraldy: *Canzonetta La Festa* (Lind, Clara Schumann) 3) Bach: Prelude and Fugue, A-Minor 4) a) Mangold; C.A.: Two Songs b) Mendelssohn: Songs (Lind) c) Schumann: *Der Nußbaum* 5) a) Schumann: *Traumes Wirren* b) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* c) Henselt: Etude (*Vöglein wär*)
1847-03-01	Berlin Sing-Akademie *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Pauline Viardot-Garcia Hubert Ries kgl. Chamber Musicians Ronneburger Richter and Griebel	I 1) Schumann: Piano Quintet (with Strings) 2) Pergoleis: *Siciliana* (Viardot) 3) Bach: Prelude and Fugue II 4) Chopin: Barcarole (New) 5) a) Schumann: *Der Hidalgo* (Geibel) b) Chopin: Two Mazurkas (Sung) (Viardot) 6) a) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte*, C-Major b) Mendelssohn: *Frühlingslied* c) Scarlatti, D.: Piano Piece
1847-03-08	Berlin The Schumanns *Matinée von Robert and Clara Schumann*	Carl Eckert Würst	Schumann: Piano Quartet E flat-Major, Op. 47 (with Strings) Hensel, Fanny: Lied Schumann: *Widmung* Schumann, Clara: Piano Trio, G-Minor
1847-03-17	Berlin Sing-Academie *Second Concert of Clara Schumann*	Pauline Viardot-Garcia Hubert Ries Königlich Kammermusiker Robbeburn Richter Griebel	1) Schumann: Piano Quintet (with Strings) 2) Handel: a) Largo: "Tutta raccolta ancor" from *Ezio* b) "Ask if you Damask Rose be Sweet" from "*Susanna*" (Viardot) 3) Beethoven: Sonata, F-Minor 4) Pergolesi: *Siciliana* (Viardot) 5) Mendelssohn: Capriccio, E-Major 6) Spanische Lieder (Viardot) 7) Liszt: Reminisches from *Lucia di Lammermoor*
1847-03-14	Berlin bei Graf Redern *Musikalische Abendunterhaltung*	Dlle. Fodor Hrn. Labocetta Pignoli Monari St. Lèon	First Donizetti: Terzett from "*Lucrezia Borgia*" (Fodor, Labocetta, Pignoli) 2) Mendelssohn: *Lieder ohne Worte* 3) Mercandante: Aria from *Juramento* (Labocetta)

			4) Dreyschock: *L'inquiétude, morceau concertante* (Dreyschock) II 5) Verdi: Romanze from *Hernani* (Monari) 6) Solo for Violin (Léon) 7) Donizetti: Romanze from *Il Furisco* (Pignoli) 8) Dreyschock: a) Rhapsodie b) Variations over *God save the Queen* for the Left Hand (Dreyschock) 9) Rossini: Rondo from *Cenerentola* (Fodor)
1847-07-10	Zwickau Gewandhaus *Concert to help the Needy in the Obergebirge*	Ltg.: R. Schumann Emanual Klitzsch	I 1) Schumann: Symphony, C-Major 2) Mozart: Scene and Aria from *The Marriage of Figaro,* "Nur zu flüchtig" 3) Schumann: Piano Concerto II 4) Cherubini: Overture to *Wasserträger* 5) a) Schubert: Die junge Nonne 2) Mendelssohn: Suleika (Goethe) 6) Schumann: Lied to Close (Feuchtersleben) for Choir with Winds 7) a) Bach: Fugue b) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* c) Liszt: Fantasy
1848-03-26	Dresden Cosel'schen Palais *First Aufführung des Schuamnnschen Chorgesangvereins*	Constanze Jacobi Frl. Sandy Weitz ?…? Hr. Föppel Ltg.: Robert Schumann	1) Gade: Comala, Dramatic poem by Ossian 2) Mendelssohn: Motet, *Herr, nun lässest du deinen Diener in Frieden fahren*, Op. 69 3) Bach: Fugue for Pianoforte, A Minor Pedal 4) Schumann: Lieder over R. Burns 5) Palestrina: Church Piece for Double Choir (Gratres)
1848-04-06	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Second and Last Abonnement-Concert*	Sophie Schloß Gewandhaus-Orchestra Ltg: Gade	I Mozart: Symphony, D-Major (with the Minuet) Mozart: Aria, "Parto, ma tu, ben mio" from *Titus* (Schloß) Schumann: Piano-Concerto Donizetti: Aria from *La Favorite*, "O mon Fernand" (Schloß) Bach: Prelude and Fugue Chopin: Nocturne Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* II Beethoven: Second Symphony, D-Major

1848-04-30	Dresden Coselsches Palasi *Second Performance of the Schumanns Chorgesangverein*	Ltg.: Robert Schumann	1) Bach: Closing Chorus from the *St. John Passion* 2) Schumann: *Nord oder Süd* (Lappe), *Zigeunerleben* (Geibel) 3) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, F-Minor, Op. 57 4) Mendelssohn: Three, Four-Part Songs: *Morgengebet*, *Der erste Frühlingstag*, *Abschied vom Wald* (Eichendorff) 5) Beethoven: Kyrie, *Missa solemnis* 6) Schumann: Two, Two-Voice Lieder: *Altdeutsches* Lied, *Ländliches* Leid (Giebel)
1848-05-23	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe *Musikalische-declamation Matiné for Poland*	Hr. Szezepanowisku Johanna Wagner Jos. Tichatscheck Acc.: August Richter Decl.: Frl. Bayer Eduard Devrient	1) Franchomme: Solo for Cello 2) Lieder (J. Wagner) 3) Goethe: *Tasso*, Second Act, First Scene 4) Chopin: Nocturne 5) Lieder (Tichatschek) 6) Szezepanowski: Solo for Guitar
1848-06-01	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe *Musikalische Armen-Matinée of Franz Schubert*	Franz and Friedrich Schubert Marie Wieck Johann Wagner Elise Schumidt Minna Schulz Acc.: August Richter	I 1) Beethoven: Piano Trio B-Major (with the Schuberts) 2) Mozart: Aria from *The Marriage of Figaro* (J. Wagner) 3) Schubert: F.: *La Napolitana* for Violin 4) Two Lieder (Schmidt) II 5) a) Curschmann: *Die Rose* b) Mendelssohn: Songs on the Grand Piano (Schulz) 6) Mozart: Variation Four-Hands 7) Schumann: Two Duet (J. Wagner and Schmidt) 8) Chopin: Nocturne, Mayber, Charles: Etude (Marie Wieck) 9) Beethoven: Scottish Lieder (J. Wagner) with Pianoforte (Clara Schumann), Violin, and Violincello
1848-06-25	Dresden Cosel'sches Palais *Performance of the Schumanns Chorgesangverein*	Choral Society Lt.: Robert Schumann	1) Palestrina: Church Piece for Two Choruses (Fratres) 2) Mendelssohn: Capriccio for Pianoforte 3) Bach: Aria for Bass with Choir from the *St. John Passion* 4) Schumann: Closing Scene from the Second Part of *Faust*
1848-10-31	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe *Concert for the*	Franz Schubert Ernst Kummer Wilhelmine Scröder-	I 1) Beethoven: Violin Sonata, G-Major 2) Lied (Dettmer)

	New Rathaus and Hilfverein	Devrient Hrn. Weixlstorfer Mitterwurzer Dettmer	3) Kummer, F.A.: Notturno for Cello 4) Gluck: Introduction and Aria from *Orpheus* (Schröder) II 5) Rossini: Trio from *Tell* (Männerst.) 6) Lied (Mitterwurzer) 7) Mendelssohn: Capriccio, E-Major 8) Steirische Leider (Weixlstorfer) 9) Schubert: *Erlkönig* (Schröder)
1848-12-09	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe First Musikalische *Soirée of Clara Schumann and Franz Schubert*	Franz and Friedrich Schubert Theodor Uhlig Dominik Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient	1) Schubert: String Quartet, D-Minor, Opus Posthumous 2) Mozart: *Abdenempfindung* (Schröder-Devrient) 3) Bach: Second Sonata for Pianoforte and Violin, A-Major (with Franz Schubert) 4) Beethoven: Three Scottish Lieder with Pianoforte, Violin and Violoncello-Accompaniment (Schröde-Devrient) 5) Mendelssohn: Piano Trio, Op. 66 (with the Schuberts)
1848-12-28	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe Second Musikalische *Soirée of Clara Schumann and Franz Schubert*	Franz and Friedrich Schubert Theodor Uhlig Dominik Forstenau sen. Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient	1) Beethoven: String Trio (Brüder Schubert, Dominik) 2) Schubert: *Erstarrung*, *Rastlose Liebe* (Schröder-Decrient) 3) Schumann: Piano Quintet (with Strings) 4) Weber: a) Two Scottish Lieder with Trio and Flute Accompaniment (Forstenau) b) *Sernade* (Schröder-Devrient) 5) Mendelssohn: Variations sérieuses, Op. 54
1849-01-05	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe *Third Musikalische Soirée of Clara Schumann and Franz Schubert*	Franz and Friedrich Schubert Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient [Anton Mitterwurzer] Theodor Uhlig Hüllweck Karl Aug. Gust. Riccius Göring Schlick Dominik	1) Sonata for Piano, Violin and Violincello (with the Schuberts) 2) Weber: Recitative and Aria, "Am Quell" from *Euryanthe* (Schröder-Devrient) 3) Mendelssohn: Octet 4) Schumann: *Der Nußbaum*, *Die Lotosblume*, *Frühlingsnach* 5) Beethoven: Sonata for Piano and Violin, A-Minor, Op. 47 (with Franz Schubert)

1849-01-15	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Muskalische Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient Ferd. David Hrn. Klengel Hermann Wittmann	1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, *Les adieux*, Op. 81 2) Mozart: *Abendempfindung* (Schröder-Devrient) 3) Schumann: Piano Quintet 4) a) Mendelssohn: *Schilflied* b) Schumann: *Der Nußbaum* c) Schumann: *Frülingsnacht* (Schröder-Devrient) 5) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* 6) Schubert: *Erlkönig*, *Ungeduld* (Schröder-Devrient)
1849-01-18	Leipzig Gewandhaus *13th Abonnement-Concert*	Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient Gewandhaus-Orchestra Ltg.: Jul Rietz-R. Schumann	I Cherubini: Overture to *Wasserträger* Gluck: Introduction and Aria from *Orpheus* (Schröder-Devrient) Mendelssohn: Piano-Concerto Schubert: *Trockne Blumen, Am Meer* (Schröder-Devrient) Chopin: Barcarole II Schumann: Second Symphony, C-Major
1849-01-20	Leipzig Gewandhaus F*irst Abonnement-Concert*	Joseph Joachim Ferdinand David Hrn. Herrmann Klengel Wittmann Zahn Hunger Friederick Wilhelm Grenser	I Beethoven: String Quartet, Op. 18, Nr. 3 (Joachim, Klengel, Herrmann, Wittmann) Schumann: Piano Trio, D-Minor, Op. 63 (with David and Wittmann) II Gade: Octet
1849-01-30	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe *Fourth Musikal Soirée of Clara Schumann and Franz Schubert*	Franz and Friedrich Schubert Theodor Uhlig Dominik Göring Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient	1) Mozart: String Quintet (Schubert, Uhlig, Dominik, Göring) 2) Weber: Recitative and Cavatina, "Am Quell" from *Euryanthe* (Schröder-Devrient) 3) Beethoven: Piano Trio, Op. 70, Nr. 1 (with Schuberts) 4) Schumann: *Lotosblume*, *Nußbaum*, *Frülingsnacht* (Schröder-Devrient) 5) a) Chopin: Nocturne b) Schumann: Romanze c) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte*
1849-02-06	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe *Fifth Musikalische Soirée of Clara Schumann and Franz Schubert*	Franz and Freiderick Schubert Theodor Uhlig Hüllweck Karl Augus. Gust. Riccius Dominik	1) Schumann: Piano Quartet (with the Schuberts and Dominik) 2) Beethoven: *Adelaide* (Schröder-Devrient) 3) Bach: Chaconne (Franz Schubert) 4) Gade: Octet (New)

		Göring Schlick Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient	5) Heller, St. and Ernst, H.: *Two Pensées fugutives* for Pianoforte and Violin (with Franz Schubert) 6) Schumann, Clara: Lied, Schubert: *Trockne Blumen*, *Die Post*
1849-02-07	Dresden *Stiftungstag von Schumanns Chorgesangverein*	Choral Society Ltg.: R. Schumann	1) Cherubini: *Introduction*, *Graduale* and *Dies Irae* from the Requiem, C-Minor 2) Schubert: *Psalm XXIII* for Women's Voices 3) Schumann: From the *Album for the Young*: *Maigefühl*, *Knecht*, *Rupprecht*, *Mignon*, *Reiterstück*, *Weinlese*, *Lied* 4) Bach: Chorus from the *St. John Passion* 5) Gade: Closing Chorus from *Comala*
1849-02-25	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe *Matiné zur Unterstützung der Emilie Steffens*	Emilie Steffens Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient	1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, C#-Minor (Steffens) 2) Sung Piece (Schröder-Devrient) 3) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* (Clara Schumann) 4) [Moscheles]: *Hommage à Handel* for Two Pianoforte (with Steffens) 5) Leider (Schröder-Devrient) 6) Chopin: Nocturne, Mendelssohn: Capriccio (Steffens)
1849-03-01	Dresden Harmonie-Gesellschaft *Musikalische Abendunterhaltung*	Franziska Schwarzbach W. Dettmer Fr. Seiss Frl. Berg. Hr. Quanter	I 1) Beethoven: Overture to *König Stephan* 2) Duet from *Belisario* (Schwarzzbach and Dettmer) 3) Beethoven: Adagio and Finale from the Sonata, F-Minor, Op. 57 4) Lieder (Schwarzbach) 5) David, Ferdinand: Variations for the Violin (Seiss) II 6) Mozart: *In diesen heiligen Hallen* (Dettmer) 7) Schumann: *Maigefühl*, *Lied*, *Knecht Rupprecht*, *Mignon* from the *Album for the Young* 8) Schiller-Lindpainter (Accompaniment): *Die Glocke* (Berg, Quanter)
1849-11-16	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe *First Musikalische Soirée of Clara Schumann and Franz Schubert*	Franz and Fritz Schubert Theodor Uhlig Dominik Hofoperansängerin Palm-Spatzer	1) Mendelssohn: String Quartet, D-Major 2) Schubert: *Ständchen* (Palm-Spatzer) 3) Mozart: Violin Sonata, G-Major (with Franz Schubert) 4) Mendelssohn: *Frühlingslied* (Palm-Spatzer)

			5) Beethoven: Piano Trio, B-Major, Op. 97 (with the Schuberts)
1849-12-03	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe *Second Musikalische Soirée of Clara Schumann and Franz Schubert*	Franz and Fritz Schubert Theodor Uhlig Dominik Kunze Anton Mitterwurzer	1) Schumann: Piano Quintet (with Strings) 2) a) Hölzel, G.: *Glockengelüute* b) Schumann: *Spanische Romanze*: *Flutenreicher Ebro* (Mitterwurzer) 3) Onslow: String Quartet, F-Minor, Op. 32 4) Loewe: *Dän. Ballade Elvershöh* (Herder) (Mitterwurzer) 5) a) Chopin: Nocturne, C-Minor, Op. 48 b) Heller, St.: Improvisations over Mendelssohn's *Auf Flügeln des Gesanges*
1849-12-20	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe *Third Musikalische Soirée of Clara Schumann and Franz Schubert*	Franz and Fritz Schubert Franziska Schwarzbach	1) Schubert: Piano Trio, B-Major, Op. 99 (with Schuberts) 2) Schubert: *Taubenpost* (Schwarzbach) 3) Tartini: Sonata *Trille du diable* (Franz Schubert) 4) a) Mendelssohn: *O Jugend*, *O schöne Rosenzeit* b) Schumann: *Die Kartenlegerin* (Chamisso) (Schwarzbach) 5) Beethoven: Violin Sonata, C-Minor, Op. 30, Nr. 2 (with Franz Schubert)
1850-01-15	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe Fourth Musikalische *Soirée of Clara Schumann and Franz Schubert*	Franz and Fritz Schubert [Constanze Jacobi]	1) Mendelssohn: Piano Trio, D-Minor, Op. 49 (with the Schuberts) 2) Schumann: Lieder (Jacobi) 3) Beethoven: Sonata, C-Major, Op. 53 4) Mendelssohn: Leider (Jacobi) 5) Heller, St. and Ernst: *Two Pensées fugitives* for the Pianoforte and Violin (with Franz Schubert)
1850-01-26	Dresden Hotel de Saxe *Fifth Musikalische Soirée of Clara Schumann and Franz Schubert*	Franz and Fritz Schubert Theodor Uhlig Domink Göring Anton Mitterwurzer	1) Spohr: Second String Quintet, Op. 33 2) Bach: Prelude and Fugue, G-Major 3) Loewe: Ukranian Ballade: *Die Lauer* (Mitterwurzer) 4) Schumann: Adagio and Allegro for Pianoforte and Violin, Op. 70 (with Franz Schubert) 5) Loewe: Lithuanian Ballade: *Die 3 Budrisse* (Mickienwitsch) (Mitterwruzer) 6) Beethoven: Piano Trio, E flat-Major, Op. 70, Nr. 2 (with the Schuberts)
1850-02-04	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe *Sixth and Last*	Franz and Fritz Schubert Dominik dalle Aste	1) Mozart: Piano Quartet, G-Minor (with Strings) 2) Stoll: Lied (dalle Aste)

	Musikalische Soirée of Clara Schumann and Franz Schubert		3) Tartini: Sonata, *Die verlassene Dido* (Franz Schubert) 4) Scarlatti: Piano Piece, D-Major, Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte*, A-Major 5) Ballade (dalle Aste) 6) Beethoven: Violin Sonata, A-Major, Op. 47 (with Franz Schubert)
1850-02-14	Leipzig Gewandhaus *16th Abonnement-Concert*	Henriette Nissen Ida Buck Bleyel John Pögner Choir Gewandhaus-Orchestra Ltg.: Jul. Rietz	I Beethoven: Overture, Op. 115 Spohr: Scene and Aria (Nissen) Schumann: Introduction and Allegro Appassionato (New, Manuscript) Mozart: Chorus and First Finale from *Titus* (Nissen, Buck, Bleyel, John, Pögner) Chopin: Nocturne, C-Minor, Op. 48 Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte*, A-Major II Schubert: Symphony, C-Major
1850-02-22	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Musikalische Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Ferd. David Jul. Rietz Ida Buck Anna Masius Wilhelmine Clauß Henriette Nissen	Schumann: Second Piano Trio, Op. 80 (with David and Rietz) Hauptmann, M.: "Ach neige" from *Faust* (Buck) Bach: Second Violin Sonata, A-Major (with David) Mendelssohn: Two Lieder for Two Sopranos (Masius and Buck) Schumann: Variations for Two Pianoforte, Op. 46 (with Clauß) a) Nissen, Henriette: *La partenza* b) Swedish Lied (Nissen), Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses*, Op. 54
1850-02-25	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Orchestra - Pensionsfonds-Concert*	Henriette Nissen Eduard Pohle Jehnichen Eduard Julius Leichssenring Carl Conrad Wilke Hr. Stürmer Frl. Schäfer Choir: Dilettanten Gewandhaus-Orchestra Ltg.: Jul. Rietz-R. Schumann	I Schumann: Overture to *Genoveva* (New, Manuscript) (Ltg: Robert Schumann) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, C-Major, Stradella: Aria (Nissen), Schumann: *Concerstück* for Four Horns and Orchestra (New, Manuscipt) (Pohle, Jehnichen, Leichssenring, Wilke) II Mendelssohn: Chorus and Melodrama from *Oedipus auf Kolonos* (Sophocles) (New, Manuscript) (Sprecher: Stürmer, Schäfer)
1850-03-07	Bremen Union *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Otto von Könignslöw Cabisius Behr	I: 1) Schumann: Second Piano Trio, Op. 80 (with Königslöw and Cabisius) 2) Loewe: *Heinrich der Vogler* (Behr) 3) Bach: Chaconne (Königslöw)

		Carl Reinecke	4) Schumann: Variationss for Two Pianoforte (with Reinecke) II 5) a) Chopin: Nocturne, C-Minor b) Mendelssohn: *Leid ohne Worte*, A-Major 6) Schumann: *Die beiden Grenadiere* (Heine) (Behr) 7) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses*
1850-03-16	Hamburg Apollo-Saal *78th Philharmonic Privat-Concert*	Johanna Wagner Eduard Minorenhauer	1) Schumann: Overture to *Genoveva* (Ltg.: Schumann) 2) Schumann: Piano-Concerto, A-Minor 3) Mozart: Aria from *Titus* (Wagner) 4) Vieuxtemps: Concertino for Violin (Minorenhauer) 5) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* II 6) Beethoven: Fifth Symphony, C-Minor
1850-03-17	Hamburg bei Schubert, J. *Schubert's Matinée Musicale*	Carl Hafner Louis Lee John Böie Iversen Jul. Schuberth Werner Jupfer Hamel Nessler Kümpel Schäffer	1) Schumann: Second Piano Trio (with Hafner and Lee) 2) Gesang (Kümpel) 3) Piano-Solo 4) Song for Bass (Schäffer) 5) Schubert, Carl: Octet for Strings
1850-03-19	Hamburg Apollo-Saal *Musikalische Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Carl Hafner Iversen Polack Louis Lee Kümpel Otto Goldschmidt Johanna Wagner	I 1) Schumann: Piano Quintet (with Strings) 2) Schubert: a) *Frühlingsglaube* b) *Die Post* (Kümpel) 3) Schumann: Variations for Two Pianoforte (with Goldschmidt) II 4) a) Chopin: Nocturne, F#-Minor b) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte*, A-Major 5) Schumann: *Nußbaum* b) *Frühlingsnacht* c) *Widmung* (J. Wagner) 6) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, C-Major, Op. 53
1850-03-21	Altona Altonaer Tonhalle	John Böie W. Kupfer Jenny Lind	1) Schumann: Two Piano Trio (with Böie and Kupfer) 2) Lieder (Howitz-Steinau),

	Musikalische Soirée of Clara Schumann	[Frau Howitz-Steinau] [Hr. Kümepl]	Mendelssohn: Two Lieder (Lind) 3) Beethoven: Große Sonata, F-Minor 4) Schumann: Lieder (Kümpel) 5) Bach: Prelude and Fugue 6) Schumann: a) *Der Himmel hat eine Thräne geweint* b) *Stille Liebe* c) *O Sonnenschein* (Lind) 7) Mendelssohn: Two *Leider ohne Worte*
1850-03-23	Hamburg Apollo-Saal *musikalische Matinée of Clara Schumann*	Jenny Lind Carl Haffner Iversen Polack Louis Lee	1) Schumann: Piano Quintet (with Strings) 2) Mozart: Aria from *The Marriage of Figaro* (Lind) 3) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, F-Minor, Op. 57 4) Mendelssohn: Two Lieder (Lind) 5) a) Chopin: Nocturne, C-Minor b) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte*, C-Major 6) Schumann: *Der Himmel hat eine Thräne geweint* b) *Der Nußbaum* c) *Frühlingsnacht* d) *O Sonnenschein*
1850-10-24	Düsseldorf *Geislerscher Saal* *Second Concert*	Mathilde Hartmann Frau Lorent Choir and Orchestra of the Allgemeine Musikvereins Ltg.: R. Schumann	I 1) Beethoven: Große Overture, C-Major, Op. 124 2) Mendelssohn: Piano-Concerto, G-Minor 3) Schumann: *Adventlied* by Rückert for Choir and Orchestra 4) Bach: Prelude and Fugue, A-Minor II 5) Gade: Comala, Dramatic Poem by Ossian (The First Part)
1850-11-05	Köln Casino-Saal *Second Gesellschafts-Concert*	Choir and Orchestra Ltg. V. Ferd. Hiller	I 1) Haydn: Symphony, E flat-Major 2) Mendelssohn: *Verleih uns Frieden* 3) Schumann: Piano Concerto II 4) Cherubini: Hymn for Choir, Soloist, and Orchestra, *Iste dies* 5) a) Hiller, Ferd.: Impromptu, Op. 30, Nr. 2 b) Chopin: Nocturne, Op. 48, Nr. 2 c) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte*, From Book 6 6) Weber: Overture to *Euryanthe*
1850-11-09	Düsseldorf Cürtenscher	Wilhelm Joseph von Wasielewski	1) Schumann: Piano Trio, D-Minor (with Wasielewski and Forberg)

	Saal *Muskalische Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Friederick Wilhelm Forberg Mathilde Hartmann Friederike Altgelt Ferd. Hiller	2) a) Hiller, Ferd.: *Mein Herz ist im Hochland* b) Mendelssohn: *Schilflied* c) Rietz: *Die Elfe* 3) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, F-Minor, Op. 57 4) Schumann: Andante and Variations for Two Pianoforte (with Hiller) 5) a) Mendelssohn: *Das Ährenfelt* b) Schumann: *Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär* and *Ländliches Lied* (Hartmann and Altgelt) 6) a) Hiller: Impromptu, Op. 30, Nr. 2 b) Chopin: Nocturne, F#-Major c) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte*, C-Major
1850-12-02	Düsseldorf Cürtenscher Saal *Muskalische Soirée von Sulot (Organized with Initiave by Robert and Clara Schumann for the Assistance of Sulot)*	Constant Pierre Benoit Sulout Marie Wetschky Jul. Tausch	1) Beethoven: Große Violin Sonata, A-Major, Op. 47 (with Sulot) 2) a) Spohr: *Beruhigung* b) Mendelssohn: *Das erst Veilchen* c) Mendelssohn: *Frühlingsglaube* (Wetschky) 3) de Konstki, A.: Große Fantasy from *Lucia die Lammermoor* (Sulot) 4) Chopin: Barcarole, Op. 60 5) Robberechts, A.: Variations for Violin, Op. 1 (Sulot) 6) Kalliwoda: *Tyrolerlied* (Wetschky) 7) Paganini: Große Fantasy (Sulot)
1851-01-23	Düsseldorf Geislerscher Saal *Fifth Concert (Abonnement-)*	Joh. Kochner W.J. von Wasielewski Mathilde Hartmann	I 1) Mozart: Trio for Piano, Clarinet, and Viola (with Kochner and Wasielewski) 2) Beethoven: Lieder Cycle, *An die fern Geliebte* (Hartmann) 3) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* II 4) Beethoven: Violin Sonata, G-Major (with Wasielewski) 5) a) Schubert: *das Fischermädchen* b) Mendelssohn: *O Jugend*, *O schöne Rosenzeit* c) Mendelssohn: *Frühlingslied* (Hartmann) 6) a) Chopin: Nocturne, B-Major, Op. 62 b) Burgmüller, Norbert: Rhapsody c) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte*, A-Major
1851-02-06	Düsseldorf Geislerscher	Julie Beer Sabinin	I 1) Schumann: Third Symphony,

	Saal *Sixth Concert* *(Abonnement-)*	Nanette Falk Karoline Dupré Orchestra of the Allgemeine Muskvereins Ltg.: R. Schumann	E flat-Major 2) Haydn: Aria from *Schöpfung* (Beer) 3) Bach: Concerto for Three Piano (Falk, Sabinin, Dupré) (The First Time) II 4) Rietz, Jul.: Overture to *Hero and Leander* 5) Russian National Song (Beer) 6) Beethoven: Overture to *Fidelio* 7) a) Schumann: *O Sonnenschein* b) Taubert: *Ich muß nun einmal singen* (Beer)
1851-02-20	Düsseldorf	Frl. A. Weinthal Orchestra of the Allgemeine Musikereins Lt.: R. Schumann-Jul. Tausch	I 1) Tausch: Overture 2) Mozart: Aria from *Titus* (Weinthal) 3) Weber: *Concertstück* for Pianoforte with Orchestra 4) a) Lang, Josephine: *Abschied* b) Schumann: *Ich grolle nicht* c) Schubert: *Die Post* (Weinthal) 5) a) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* b) Chopin: Etude c) Henselt: Andante and Etude (*Poème d'amour*) II 6) Beethoven: Fifth Symphony, C-Minor
1851-03-13	Düsseldorf	Sophie Schloß Nanette Falk Choir and Orchestra of the Allgemeine Musikvereins Ltg.: R. Schumann	I 1) Schumann: Overture to Schuller's *Braut von Messina* 2) Schumann: Introduction and Allegro Appassionato for Pianoforte and Orchestra 3) Schumann: *Nachtlied* by Hebbel for Choir and Orchestra 4) Schumann: a) *Gespenstermährchen* b) *Am Springbrunnen* 5) Schumann: a) *Rose, Meer and Sonne* (Rückert) b) *Der Gärtner* (Mörike) c) Frühlingsnacht (Eichendorff) (Schloß) 6) Beethoven: Sonata quasi Fantasy II 7) Schumann: Third Symphony, E flat-Major
1851-03-17	Elberfeld Casino *Concert of Clara* *Schumann*	MD Wienbrenner, MD Langenbach Hr. Posse Hr. Jäger	I 1) Schumann: Piano Quintet (with Strings) 2) Mozart: Recitative and Aria from

		Mathilde Hartmann Rudolf Nielo	*The Marriage of Figaro* (Hartmann) 3) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, F-Minor, Op. 57 II 4) Schubert: Lied (Nielo) 5) Henselt: Andandte and Allegro (Poème d'amour) 6) Schumann: Duet, *Tanzlied* (Rückert), *Wiegenlied* (Hebbel), *Unterm Fenster* (Burns), for Soprano and Tenor (Hartmann and Nielo) 7) Chopin: Nocturne, Mendelssohn: Two *Lieder ohne Worte*
1852-03-14	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Concert of Robert and Clara Schumann*	Beinrich Behr Frau Dreyschock Frl. Tonner Anna Masius Hr. Schneider Singacademie Pauliner Gesangverein Thomanerchor Gewandhaus-Orchestra Ltg.: R. Schumann	I Schumann: Overture to Byron's *Manfred* Chopin: Second Piano-Concerto, F-Minor Schumann: Ballade of the Harpists (Goethes "W. Meister"), *Die beiden Grenadiere* (Heine) (Behr) Sterndale Bennett: Andantino Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte*, F-Major Heller: Saltarello II *Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*, *Märchen* (Mortiz Horn)
1852-03-18	Leipzig Gewandhuas *19th Abonnement-Concert*	Leopoldine Tuczek-Herrenburg Gewandhaus-Orchestra Ltg.: Jul. Rietz-R. Schumann	I Beethoven: Overture, Op. 124 Weber: Recitative and Aria from *Sylvana*, "Er geht!" (Tuczek) Moscheles: Piano-Concerto, G-Minor de Bériot: Aria, *Predi per me sei libero* (Tuczek), Chopin: Nocturne, B-Major, Barcarole Twietmeyer: *Wär ich ein Stern* Dorn, H.: *Das Mädchen an den Mond* (Tuczek) II Schumann: Große Symphony in Five Movements (Ltg.: Robert Schumann)
1852-03-21	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Musikalische Morgen-Unterhaltung*	Ferdinand David Engelbert Röntgen Friederick Valentin Hermann Jul. Rietz Carl Wiedemann [Caroline Mayer] Johann Andreas Grabau	Schumann: Violin Sonata, A-Minor, Op. 105 (with David) David, Ferdinand: Two Lieder (Widemann) Mendelssohn: Andante, Scherzo and Capriccio for Strings, Op. 81 (David, Röntgen, Hermann, Rietz) Mendelssohn: Lieder (Mayer, Behr) Schumann: Piano Trio, G-Minor

			(Manuscript) (with David and Grabau)
1852-05-06	Düsseldorf Geislerscher Saal *Ninth Musikalische Aufführung* *Concert of Robert Schumann*	Sophie Schloß Dilettanten [Bäumer, Dietrich, Karst, Neilo] Choir and Orchestra of the Allgemeine Musikvereins Ltg.: R. Schumann	I 1) Schumann: First Symphony, B-Major 2) Spohr: Scene and Aris from *Faust* (Schloß) 3) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major II 4) Schumann: Overture to Schiller's *Braut von Messina* 5) Mendelssohn: Variations, B-Major for Pianoforte, Op. 83 6) Schumann: *Der Königssohn*, Ballade of Uhland (Manuscript)
1852-05-20	Düsseldorf Geislerscher Saal *Musikalische Aufführung (For the Poor)*	W.J. Wasielewski Christian Reimers Jul. Tausch Mathilde Hartmann Sophie Scholß Dilettanten	I 1) Mendelssohn: Piano Trio, D-Minor (with Wasielewski and Reimers) 2) a) Rietz, Jul.: Lied (Frühlings Ankuft) b) Beethoven: *Freudvoll and leidvoll* (Hartmann) 3) Moscheles: *Hommage à Handel* for Two Pianoforte (with Tausch) II 4) Schumann: *Spansiche Liederspiel* 5) Chopin: Große Polonaise for Pianoforte, A flat-Major
1852-08-03	Düsseldorf *Großes Vocal- and Instrumental-Concert mit allgemeinen Chören*	Mathilde Hartmann Sophie Schloß Marie Wieck Orchestra of the Allgemeine Musikvereins Ltg.: Schumann-CM Fischer- von Mainz-W. Knappe	I 1) Beethoven: Overture, C-Major, Op. 124 (Robert Schumann) 2) *Erinnerungsworte an des hochsel. Königs Majestät von Herchenbach* 3) Schnable. C.: Psalm for Men's Chorus with Solo 4) Spohr: Scene and Aria from *Faust* 5) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major 6) Fischer: *Meeresstille* for Men's Chorus with Orchestra (Fischer) II 7) Schumann: Overture to Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* 8) Beethoven: Aria from *Fidelio* (Hartmann) 9) Mendelssohn-Moscheles: Variations over a Theme from Weber's *Preciosa* for Two Pianoforte with Orchestra (with M. Wieck) 10) Mendelssohn: Bacchus-Chorus from *Antigone*

			11) a) Heller: Saltarello b) Chopin: Nocturne c) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* 12) Rietz, Jul.: *Altdeutscher Schlachtgesang*
1852-10-16	Elberfeld Casino *Fourth Abonnement-Concert*		I 1) Mendelssohn: Overture to *Fingalshöhle* 2) Weber: *Concertstück* for Pianoforte and Orchestra testra 3) Bach: Chorus, *Du Hirte Israel* 4) Mendelssohn: Variations sérieuses II 5) Mozart: Symphony, C-Major 6) Chopin: Nocturne 7) Heller: *Santarella* (sic! *Saltarello*) 8) Mendelssohn: *42nd Psalm* for Solo, Chorus and Orchestra
1852-10-28	Düsseldorf Geislerscher Saal *First [Abonnement]-Concert*	Mathilde Hartmann Dilettanten Choir and Orchestra of the Allgemeine Musikvereins Ltg.: Jul. Tausche	I Gade: Overture, *Im Hochland* 2: Henselt: Piano-Concerto 3) Weber: Scene and Aria from *Freischütz* (Hartmann) 4) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, D-Minor II 5) Mendelssohn: *Symphony-Cantata Lobgesang* (Solo: Hartmann, Dillettant)
1852-12-30	Düsseldorf Geislerscher Saal *Fourth [Abonnement]-Concert*	Mathilde Hartmann Dilettanten [Frl. Blöm, Rud. Nielo, Bäumer] Rob. Emil Bockmühl Orchestra des Allg. Musikvereins Ltg.: R. Schumann	I 1) Gade: *Frühlingsfantasy* for Four Solo Parts, Pianoforte, and Orchestra (First Time) (with Hartmann and Dilettanten) 2) Franchomme, A.: Solo for Violoncello (Bockmühl) 3) Cherubini: Overture to *Wasserträger* 3) Mendelssohn: Finale from the Opera, *Loreley* (The First Time) (Hartmann) II 4) Beethoven: Seventh Symphony, A-Major
1853-01-37	Düsseldorf Geislerscher Saal *Fifth [Abonnement]-Concert*	Ruppert Becker Mertens Niecks Robert Emil Bockmühl Georg and Babette Gandy	I 1) Schumann: Piano Quintet (with Strings) 2) Rossini: Aria from the *Barber of Sevilla* (B. Gandy) 3) David, Ferd.: Adagio and Capriccio for Violin (Becker) 4) Schubert: *Der Wanderer* (G. Gandy) II 5) Lieder: (B. Gandy) 6) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses*

			7) Spohr: Aria from *Faust* (G. Gandy) 8) Mozart: Duet from *The Marriage of Figaro* (G. and B. Gandy)
1853-02-24	Bonn Zum goldenen Stern *Concert of Clara Schumann*	von Wasielewski Walbrühl Gebrüder Reimers	1) Schumann: Piano Quintet (with Strings) 2) Mendelssohn: Quartet, Op. 88, Nr. 1 and 6, *Newjahrslied* (Hebel), *Der wandernde Musikant* (Eichendorff) 3) Mendelssohn: *Variationes sérieuses* 4) Schumann: *Fantasiestücke* for Pianoforte and Violin (with Wasielewski) 5) Mendelssohn: Four Lieder, Op. 88, Nr. 2 and 4, *Der Glückliche* (Eichendorff), *Deutschland* (Geibel) 6) Beethoven: Große Piano Sonata, F-Minor
1853-03-03	Düsseldorf Geislerscher Saal *Seventh Musikalische Aufführung [Abonnement-Benefiz] Concert of Robert Schumann*	Sophie Schloß Mathilde Hartmann Dilettanten Choir and Orchestra of the Allg. Musikvereins Ltg.: R. Schumnn	I 1) Schumann: Kyrie, Gloria from the Mass 2) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, G-Major 3) a) Mozart: *Das Veilchen* b) Schubert: *Die Forelle* c) Mendelssohn: *Reiselied* (Schloß) 4) Schumann: Symphony, D-Minor (Manuscript) II 5) Schumann: *Vom Pagen and der Königstochter* (Geibel) for Solo, Choir and Orchestra
1853-05-17	Düsseldorf Geislerscher Saal *31st Niederrheinische Musikfest [3 Days] Künstler-Concert*	Heinrich Salomon Ernst Koch Clara Novello Mathilde Hartmann Sophie Schloß von d'Osten Strauven Joseph Joachim Ferd Hiller Choir and Orchestra of the Allgemeine Musikvereins	I 1) Handel: "Halleluja Chorus" from the *Messiah*, Op. 56 2) Mendelssohn: *Gott sei mir gnädig* (from *Paulus*, Op. 36) (Salomon) 3) Hiller, Ferd.: Romanze from *ein Traum in der Christnacht* (Koch) 4) Schumann: Piano-Concerto 5) a-b) Two Scottish Lieder c) *God Save the Queen* (Novello) II 6) Tausche, Jul.: Concert-Overture (Ltg.: Tausch) 7) Beethoven: *Adelaide* (with von d'Osten) 8) Beethoven: Violin-Concerto (Joachim) 9) Cagnoni: *Ah! se potess' anch' io* (Novello)

			10) Hiller, Ferd.: Free Fantasy for the Pianoforte (Hiller) 11) Schumann: *Fest Overture* with Song over the *Reinweinlied* (Hartmann, Schloß, von d'Osten, Strauven)
1853-10-13	Barmen großer Concordia-Saal *Soirée of Mathilde Hartmann*	M. Hartmann Barmer Liedertafel	I 1) Schumann: Piano Quintet 2) Handel: Soprano Aria from *Joshua* 3) Klein, B.: Männerchor 4) Two Duets for Soprano and Alto: a) Reineck b) Schumann II 5) Marschner: Soprano Aria from *Hans Heiling* 6) Chopin: Große Polonaise 7) Two Lieder for Männerchor 8) a) Mendelssohn: *Schilflied* b) Schumann, Clara: *Lust, o Lust* 9) Mendelssohn: Two *Lieder ohne Worte*
1853-10-29	Düsseldorf Cürten'scher Saal *Musikalische Soirée of Clara Schumann and Joachim*	Joseph Joachim Marie Carl Leonie Peters	I 1) Schumann: Violin Sonata, D-Minor (with Joachim) 2) Mozart: Aria from *The Marriage of Figaro* (Carl) 3) a) Chopin: Etude, C-Major b) Schumann: Andante (Canon) c) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte*, A-Major II 4) Parisch-Alvars: Fantasy for Harp over Themes from *Oberon* 5) Pagainini: Two Caprices: Andante, Tema con Variazioni 6) Schumann: *Mondnacht*, Marschner: *Liebschen, wo bist du?* (Carl) 7) Beethoven: Violin Sonata, A-Minor, Op. 47 (with Joachim)
1853-11-08	Köln großer Casino-Saal *Second Gesellschafts-Concert*	Frl. Lorent Ltg.: Ferd. Hiller	I 1) Schumann: Fourth Symphony, D-Minor 2) Mendelssohn: *98th Psalm* 3) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major II 4) Macfarren, G.A.: Overture to the Opera *Don Quixote* (The First Time) 5) Handel: Krönungs-Anthem, *Zadok der*

			Priester 6) a) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte*, F-Major b) Schumann: Romanze c) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte*, A-Major 7) Weber: Overture to *Oberon*
1853-11-12	Bonn Gasthof zum goldenen Stern *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Wilhelm Joseph von Wasielewski	I 1) Schumann: Piano Quartet, E-Major 2) Gesangsvorträge 3) Beethoven: Große Piano Sonata, C-Major, Op. 53 II 4) Schumann: *Märchenbilder* for Pianoforte and Viola (with Wasielewski) 5) Gesangsvorträge 6) a) Chopin: Etude b) Mendelssohn: Two *Lieder ohne Worte*
1854-01-21	Hannover Hof-Theater Concertsaal *Third Abonnement-Concert*	Jos. Joachim Bernard Haas Reimelt Spreine Wenslawsky Theater-Choir	I 1) Mozart: Overture to *The Magic Flute* 2) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major 3) Mendelssohn: Festgesang by the Artist (Schiller) 4) Schumann: Fantasy for Violin II 5 a) Chopin: Nocturne b) Heller: *Saltarello* 6) Rietz: *Dithyrambe* (Schiller) for Men's Voices and Orchestra 7) Schumann: Fourth Symphony, D-Minor
1854-08-26	Ostende Casino-Saal *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Julius Stockhausen Hr. P …	I 1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, C-Major 2) Schubert: Two Lieder (Hr. P) 3) a) Schumann: *Fantasiestück* and Canon b) Henselt: *Poème d'Amour* II 4) Schumann: *Die Stille*, *Mondnacht*, *Frühlingsnacht* (Julius Stockhausen) 5) Chopin: Polonaise, B flat-Major 6) Schumann: *Die beiden Grenadiere* (P) 7) a) Chopin: Nocturne b) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* c) Heller, St.: *Saltarello*
1854-10-19	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Third Abonnement-*	Georgine Stabbach Gewandhaus-Orchestra Ltg.: Jul. Rietz	I Cherubini: Overture to *Anacreon* Mendelssohn: Concert-Aria, *Ah, ritorna* (Goergine Stabbach)

	Concert		Beethoven: Fourth Piano-Concerto, G-Major Handel: Aria from the *Messiah* (G. Stabbach) Schumann: Canon, A flat-Major, *Traumeswirren* Weber: Rondo II Gade: First Symphony, C-Minor
1854-10-23	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Georgine Stabbach Heinrich Behr Hr. Schneider Pauliner Sängerverein Gewandhaus-Orchestra Ltg.: Jul. Rietz	I Schumann: Overture to *Genoveva* Schumann: *Concerstück* for Piano and Orchestra (Manuscript) Duet (Hr. Schneider and Heinrich Behr) Brahms: Andante and Scherzo from the Sonata, F-Minor II Schumann: *Das Glück von Edenhall* (Uhland) (Manuscript) Weber: *Concerstück*, F-Minor Haydn: *The Mermaid's Song* Crouch: Irish Ballade Lee, A.: Scottish Ballade (Georgine Stabbach) Chopin: Nocturne Heller: Tarantella
1854-10-27	Weimar Hof-Theater *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Frl. Genast Hr. Laub	I 1) Schumann: Overture to *Manfred* 2) Schumann: Piano Concerto, A-Minor 3) Schumann: Three Lieder 4) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* 5) Ernst: *Pagageno*-Rondo 6) Chopin: Nocturne and Etude Heller: *Saltarello* II Schumann: Fourth Symphony, D-Minor
1854-11-03	Frankfurt Weidenbuschsaal *Museum First Abend*	Hr. Hardtmuth Ltg.: Franz Messer	1) Mozart: Symphony, G-Minor 2) Haydn: Aria, D-Minor from the *Schöpfung* (Hr. Hardtmuth) 3) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major 4) Lieder (Hardtmuth) 5) a) Chopin: Nocturne b) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* c) Weber: Rondo from the Sonata, C-Major 6) Mendelssohn: Overture to *Melusine*
1854-11-04	Frankfurt a. M. Saal des Hofes von Holland	Christine Diehl Ernst Maschek	1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, Op. 53 2) a) Schumann, Clara: *Warum willst du andre fragen*

	Soirée Musicale of Clara Schumann		b) Schumann: Rose, Meer and Sonne (Christine Diehl) 3) Brahms: Andante and Scherzo from the Sonata F-Minor 4) Maschek: Caprice, Concerto for Violin (Maschek) 5) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* 6) Lieder: a) Messerg, F.: *Der Fremdling* b) Henkel, H.: *Nach Norden* 7) a) Schumann: *Romanze*, F#-Major b) Schumann: *Traumes Wirren* c) Heller: *Saltarello*
1854-11-13	Hamburg Apollo-Saal *99th Philharmonic Privat-Concert*	Frau Maximilien	I 1) Mozart: Symphony D-Major 2) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, G-Major II 3) Beethoven: *Fest-Overture*, Op. 124 4) Schumann: a) *Romanze*, D-Minor, Op. 32, Nr. 3 b) *Des Abends*, *Traumes Wirren*, Op. 12, Nr. 1 and 7 5) Spohr: Aria from *Jessonda* (Maximilien) 6) Weber: *Concerstück* for Pianoforte 7) Rossini: Overture from *Tell*
1854-11-15	Altona Tonhalle *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Carl Hafner Lee Breyther Hohnroth	1) Schumann: Piano Quintet 2) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* 3) Chopin: Polonaise 4) Beethoven: Sonata, C-Major 5) Brahms: Andante and Scherzo from the Sonata, F-Minor 6) a) Schumann: *Des Abends*, *Traumeswirren* b) Heller, St.: *Saltarello*
1854-11-16	Hamburg Apollo-Saal *Musikalische Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Carl Hafner Lee Breyther Hohnroth Fr. Maximilien Hr. Lindemann	I 1) Schumann: Piano Quintet, Op. 44 (with Strings) 2) Mozart: Aria (Frau Maximilien) 3) Brahms: Andante and Scherzo from the Sonata, Op. 1 (Clara Schumann) II 4) Schumann: *Symphonic Etudes*, Op. 13 (Clara Schumann) 5) Lied (Hr. Lindemann) 6) Chopin: Etudes, A flat-Major and F-Minor, Heller: *Saltarello*
1854-11-18	Lübeck Börse	Hr. Ackermann	I 1) Cherubini: Overture to *Anacreon*

	First Abonnement-Concert		2) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major 3) Gluck: Tenor-Aria from *Iphigenie auf Tauris* (Hr. Ackermann) 4) Schumann: *Concertstück* for Pianoforte and Orchestra (Manuscript) (Clara Schumann) II 5) Mendelssohn: Symphony, A-Minor 6) a) Chopin: Nocturne B-Major b) Schumann: *Traumes Wirren* c) Heller, St.: *Saltarello* (Clara Schumann)
1854-11-21	Bremen *Second Privat-Concert*	Caroline Mayer	I Haydn: Symphony, C-Major Mozart: Aria from *Don Giovanni* (Caroline Mayer) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, G-Major II Sobolewski: Overture to Ossian's *Vinvela* (New), Flotow: Aria from *Stradella* (Mayer) Schumann: *Concerstück* for Pianoforte with Orchestra (Manuscript) a) David: *Der Bänkelsänger* b) Rietz: *Die Elfe* (Mayer) Brahms: Scherzo Chopin: Nocturne Heller: *Saltarello*
1854-11-29	Breslau Theater *Großes Concert of Clara Schumann*		Laube, Heinr.: *Birnbaum und Sohn* <u>After the Second Act</u> 1) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto E flat-Major <u>After the Third Act</u> 2) a) Schumann: *Des Abends*, *Traumes Wirren*, Op. 12, Nr. 1 and 7 b) Heller: *Saltarello* <u>At the End</u> 3) Weber: *Concertstück*
1854-12-01	Breslau Theater *By Request: Großes Concert of Clara Schumann*		1) Scribe (-Schlivian): Lustspeil: *Mein Glücksstern!* Schumann: Piano-Concerto 2) Benedix, R.: Lustpiel: *Eigensinn* Menelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* 3) Friedrich, W.-Stiegmann: *Hans und Hanne* (Ländl. Gemälde with Song) a) Brahms: Scherzo from the Sonata, F-Minor b) Chopin: Nocturne c) Weber: Rondo from the Sonata,

			C-Major
1854-12-04	Berlin Sing-Akademie *Instrumental- and Vocal Concert of Clara Schumann*	Friedrich von der Osten	I 1) Schumann: Overture to *Genoveva* 2) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, G-Major 3) Weber: Aria from *Euryanthe* (with Friedrich von der Osten) 4) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* II 5) Weber: *Concertstück* for Pianoforte 6) a) Schumann: *Kennst du das Land* b) Mendelssohn: *Frühlingslied* (von der Osten) 7) a) Schumann: *Traumes Wirren*, Op. 12, Nr. 7 b) Chopin: Nocturne, B-Major, Op. 62 c) Heller: *Saltarello*
1854-12-07	Franfurt a. Oder Gesellschafts-Haus *Musikalische Soirée of Clara Schumann*		I 1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, C-Major 2) Men's Quartet 3) Chopin: Nocturne and Polonaise II 4) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* 5) Sung Piece 6) a) Schumann: *Traumes Wirren* b) Des Abends, Op. 12, Nr. 7, 1 c) Weber: Rondo from the Sonata, C-Major
1854-12-10	Berlin Sing-Akademie *Soirée of Clara Schumann and Josesph Joachim*	Josesph Joachim Friedrich von der Osten	I 1) Bach: Violin Sonata, A-Major 2) Haydn: Aria, "Mit Würd" from the *Schöpfung* (von d'Osten) 3) Beethoven: Violin-Romanze, G-Major 4) Schumann: Symphonic Etudes II 5) Bach: Chaconne 6) Brahms: Andante and Scherzo from the Sonata, F-Minor 7) Radecke: *Nachtlied*, Schumann: *Widmung* (von d'Osten) 8) Beethoven: Violin Sonata, A-Major, Op. 47
1854-12-14	Postdam Barberini-Palast *Musikalische Soirée of Clara Schumann and Joachim*	Josesph Joachim	I 1) Beethoven: Violin Sonata, A-Major, Op. 47 2) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* 3) Beethoven: Violin-Romanze, F-Major II 4) a) Chopin: Impromptu, A flat-Major

			b) Schumann: *Des Abends*, *Traumes Wirren*, Op. 12, Nr. 1, 7 5) Mendelssohn: Violin-Concerto 6) Weber: Rondo for Piano from the Sonata, C-Major
1854-12-16	Berlin Sing-Akademie *Second Soirée of Clara Schumann and Joachim*	Josesph Joachim Members of the Stern'schen Gesangvereins	I: 1) Schumann: Violin Sonata, D-Minor 2) Mendelssohn: *Nachtlied*, *Der frohe Wandersmann* (Eichendorff) 3) Bach: Prelude and Fugue for Violin Solo 4) Mendelssohn: Variations, B-Major, Op. 83 II 5) Beethoven: *Das Hochlandmädchen*, *Der Hochlandbursch* (Burns) 7) a) Bargiel: *Fantasiestück*, Op. 8 b) Chopin: Nocturne, C-Minor c) Weber: Rondo from the Sonata, C-Major 8) a) Bach: Prelude, E-Major b) Paganini: Variations from the Capriccios for Violin
1854-12-20	Berlin Sing-Akademie *Last Soirée of Clara Schumann and Joseph Joachim*	Josesph Joachim	I 1) a) Bach: Prelude and Fugue for the Organ b) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, C-Major, Op. 53 2) a) Beethoven: Violin-Romanze G-Major b) Bach: Sarabande and Double c) Bach: Bourée and Double for Violin 3) Schumann: *Fantasiestücke* for Pianoforte and Violin, Op. 73 II 4) Bach: Andante and Allegro from the Third Sonata for Violin 5) Schumann: a) *Romanze* from Op. 28 b) *In der Nacht*, *Des Abends*, Op. 12, Nr. 5 and 1 6) Beethoven: Violin Sonata, C-Minor, Op. 30
1854-12-21	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Soirée of Clara Schumann and Joachim*	Josesph Joachim Prof. Götze	I Schumann: Violin Sonata, D-Minor Schumann/Schubert: a) Bargiel: *Fantasistück* from Op. 8 b) Chopin: Nocturne in C-Minor, Impromptu in A flat-Major, Beethoven: Violin-Romanze in G-Major II

			Schumann, Clara: Variations over a Theme from Robert Schumann, Op. 20 a) Bach: Prelude for Violin b) Pagainini: Variations over the Capriccios for Violin Beethoven: Violin Sonata A-Major, Op. 47
1855-03-08	Berlin Königliches Schauspielhaus *Concert des Stern'schen Gesangvereins*	Stern'scher Gesangverein Josph Joachim	1) Mendelssohn: *114th Psalm* for Choir and Orchestra 2) Mendelssohn: Violin-Concerto 3) Beethoven: Choral Fantasy 4) Beethoven: Violin-Romanze F-Major 5) Beethoven: Kyrie and Gloria from the *Missa Solemnis*
1855-03-10	Berlin Sing-Akademie Third Abonnement-*Concert of the Frauenvereins to help Gustav-Adolphs-Endowment*	Königl. Cathedral Choir Frl. Hoppe	1) Naumann, Emil: *Psalm 23* (Choir) 2) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, A-Major, Op. 101 3) Mendelssohn: Hymn for Alto Solo and Choir 4) Mendelssohn: *Psalm 43* 5) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* 6) Schumann: *Requiem for Mignon* with Pianoforte Accompaniment
1855-03-15	Griefswald Saal des Herrn D. Otte *Concert of Clara Schumann*		1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, C-Major, Op. 53 2) Song 3) Schumann: From Op. 12 a) *In der Nacht* b) *Des Abends* c) *Träumereien* 4) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* 5) Gesang 6) a) Chopin: Nocturne and Impromptu b) Weber: Rondo from the Sonata, C-Major
1855-03-16	Stralsand Alexander-Saal *Concert of Clara Schumann*		I 1) Gluck: Overture to *Iphigenie* 2) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, F-Minor, Op. 57 3) Sung Piece 4) Chopin: Nocturne and Impromptu II 5) Schumann: Entre-Act for Orchestra from *Manfred* 6) Schumann: *Symphonic Etudes*, Op. 13 7) Sung Piece 8) Mendelssohn: Three *Lieder ohne Worte*
1855-03-17	Grimmen *Soirée of Clara Schumann*		I 1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, C-Major 2) Song

			3) Schumann: *Schlummerlied* and *Traumes Wirren* II 4) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* 5) Song 6) Chopin: Nocturne and Impromptus b) *Lied ohne Worte*
1855-03-18	Bergen-Rügen *bei Dr. von Eckenbrecher*	Dr. von Eckenbrecher Frau von Arndt	1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, C-Major, Op. 53 2) Von Eckenbrecher: Two Lieder, Op. 4 (Eckenbrecher) 3) Schumann: *Romanze* F#-Minor, *Jagdlied*, *Traumes Wirren* 4) Chopin: *Valse*, Two Etudes 5) Von Eckenbrecher: Duet (Frau von Arndt and Echenbrecher) 6) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, C#-Minor
1855-03-19	Stralsand Alexander-Saal *Concert of Clara Schumann*		I 1) Beethoven: Sonata, C#-Minor, *Quasi Fantasia* 2) Sung Piece 3) Chopin: Nocturne, Polonaise 4) Sung Piece 5) Schumann: *In der Nacht*, *Des Abdends*, *Traumes Wirren* II 6) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* 7) Song 8) Chopin: *Valse*, Heller: *Saltarello*
1855-06-26	Detmold Schauspielhaus *Große Vocal- and Instrumental-Concert of Clara Schumann*	Hr. Hagen	I 1) Weber: Overture to *Freischütz* 2) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major 3) Rossini: Tenor-Aria from *Stabat Mater* 4) Schumann: a) *Romanze* b) *des Abends* c) *Traumes Wirren* II 5) Schumann: Overture to *Braut von Messina* 6) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* 7) Halvey: Aria from the *Jüdin* 8) Weber: *Concerstück* for Pianoforte and Orchestra
1855-07-14	Bad-Ems Kursaal *Concert of Clara Schumann with Assistance by*	Jenny Goldschmidt [Lind]	I 1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata C-Major, Op. 54 [sic! 53] 2) Haydn: Aria, "Auf starkem Fittig" from the *Schöpfung*

	Jenny Lind		3) Schumann: a) *Romanze* b) *Des Abends* c) *Traumes Wirren* II 4) Chopin/Goldschmidt, O.: *Recueil of Four Mazurkas*, Arranged with Italian Text and Pianoforte 5) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* 6) a) Schumann: *An den Sonnenschein* b) Taubert: *Wiegenlied* c) Swedish Hirtenlied 7) a) Chopin: Impromptu, Nocturne b) Weber: Rondo C-Major
1855-10-18	Elberfeld *Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Mathilde Hartmann Agnes Schönerstedt Josesph Joachim	I 1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, D-Minor 2) Mozart: Aria from "*The Marriage of Figaro"* (Hartmann) 3) Chopin: Impromptu, Polonaise 4) Moscheles: *Hommage à Handel* for Two Pianoforte (with Agnes Schönerstedt) II 5) Beethoven: Violin-Romanze, G-Major (Joachim) 6) Schumann: a) *Jagdlied* b) *Schlummerlied*, Op. 121 [sic! Op. 124, Nr. 16] c) *Traumes Wirren* 7) Lieder by Clara, Robert Schumann, Brahms (Mathilde Hartmann) 8) Beethoven: Violin Sonata, Op. 47
1855-10-29	Göttingen		1) Beethoven: Sonata *Appassionata*, F-Minor, Op. 57 2) Mendelssohn: Two Lieder for Soprano 3) Brahms: Gavotte, Chopin: Nocturne, Impromptu 4) Schumann: Two Ballades for Bass 5) Schuamnn: *Symphonic Etudes* 6) Hensel, Fanny: Two Lieder for Soprano 7) Mendelssohn: *Two Lieder ohne Worte*, Weber: Rondo
1855-11-03	Berlin Sing-Akademie *Concert of Clara Schumann and Joseph Joachim*	Orchestra Society Lt.: Julius Stern	1) Schumann: Overture to Byron's *Manfred* 2) Schumann: Piano-Concerto, A-Minor 3) Bach: Sonata, G-Major for Violin 4) Beethoven: Variations, C-Minor for Pianoforte

			5) Beethoven: Violin Concerto
1855-11-07	Postdam Barberini Palast *Concert of Clara Schumann and Joseph Joachim*	Josesph Joachim	I 1) Mozart: Violin Sonata, A-Major 2) Beethoven: Variations, C-Minor for Pianoforte 3) Bach: Prelude and Fugue for Violin II 4) Schumann: *Symphonic Etudes* 5) Beethoven: Violin-Romanze, G-Major 6) Beethoven: Violin Sonata, C-Minor 7) Mendelssohn: *Lieder ohne Worte*
1855-11-11	Berlin Sing-Akademie *Soirée of Clara Schumann and Joseph Joachim*	Josesph Joachim	I 1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, E flat-Major, Op. 7 2) a) Schumann: *Lied im Volkston* b) Beethoven: Violin-Romanze, G-Major 3) Bach: Chromatic Fantasy for Piano II 4) Beethoven: Violin Sonata, G-Major, Op. 96 5) Bach: Chaconne for Violin
1855-11-20	Berlin Singakaademie *Second and Last Soirée of Clara Schumann and Joachim*	Josesph Joachim Franziska Mecklenburg	I 1) Mozart: Violin Sonata, A-Major 2) Bach: Adagio and Fugue for Violin 3) a) Schumann: *Jagdlied* from den *Waldscenen* b) Schumann: *Schlummerlied* from the *Albumblättern* c) Mendelssohn: *Scherzo à Capriccio*, F#-Minor 4) Schumann, Clara: Two Romanzes for Piano and Violin II 5) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, *Les Adieux* 6) Gluck: Recitativ and Aria from *Iphigenie* (Mecklenburg) 7) Beethoven: *Kreutzer* Sonata
1855-11-22	Berlin *Fourth Concert of the Orchestra Society*	Josesph Joachim Ltg: Julius Stern-Joachim	1) Beethoven: Fifth Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major, Op. 73 2) Schumann: Violin-Fantasy (Joachim) 3) Joachim: Overture to Shakespeare's *Henry IV* (Ltg.: Joachim) 4) Wagner: Bridal Train, Entreact and Bridal Song from *Lohengrin*

1855-12-03	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Musiklaische Soirée of Clara Schumann and Joachim*		I Beethoven: Violin Sonata, G-Major, Op. 96 Bach: Adagio and Fugue for Violin Schumann: Symphonic Etudes, Op. 13 II Mozart: Violin Sonata, A-Major Bach: Chromatic Fantasy for Piano Haydn: Violin Sonata, G-Major
1855-12-06	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Eighth Abonnement-Concert*		I Weber: Overture to *Oberon* Mozart: Recitative and Aria "Al desio" from *The Marriage of Figaro* (Clotilde von Holdorp) Schumann: Introduction and Allegro Appassionato, Op. 92 Mozart: Duet "Crudel!" from *The Marriage of Figaro* (Holdorp and Albert Eilers) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major II Schumann: Second Symphony, C-Major
1855-12-08	Leipzig Gewandhaus *First Abonnement-Quartet*	Ferdinand David Engelbert Röntjen Herrmann Julius Rietz	I Haydn: String Quartet, C-Major, Nr. 20 Beethoven: *Hammerclavier*-Sonata, B-Major Op. 106 II Schumann: Piano Quintet, E flat-Major, Op. 44
1855-12-12	Rostock Apollo-Saal *Großes Extra-Concert*	Herr Bretschneider	1) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major 2) a) Mendelssohn: *Das erste Veilchen* b) Taubert: Kinderlied, *Der Vögel Abschied* (Bretschneider) 3) Schumann: a) *Jaglied* from *den Waldscenen* b) *Schlummerlied* (Albumblätter) c) *Traumes Wirren* from *Fantasiestücke* II 4) Schumann: Fourth Symphony, D-Minor, Op. 120 5) Beethoven: 32 Variations in C-Minor 6) Schubert: a) *Der Newgierige* b) *Morgengruß* (Bretschneider) 7) Chopin: Nocturne, Mendelssohn: Two *Lieder ohne Worte*
1856-01-07	Wien Gesellschaft der	Josef Hellmesberger Majorst	1) Schumann: Piano Quintet (with Strings)

	Musikfreunde *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Dobihal Borzaga Hr. Marchesi	2) Sung Piece (Marschesi) 3) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* 4) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, A-Major, Op. 101 5) Sung Piece (Marchesi) 6) Schumann: a) Canon B-Minor, Op. 56 b) *Des Abends* c) *Traumes Wirren* from Op. 12
1856-01-13	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde *Second Concert of Clara Schumann*	Marie Seebach	1) Schumann: Symphonic Etudes, Op. 13 2) Schumann: *Schön Hedwig* (Hebbel) (with Seebach) 3) Chopin: Nocturne, Impromptu 4) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, D-Minor, Op. 31 5) Schumann: *Der Haideknabe* (Hebbel) (Seebach) 6) a) Schumann: *Jaglied* from *den Waldscenen* b) Schumann: *Schlummerlied*, Op. 121 [sic! Op. 124, Nr. 16] c) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte*
1856-01-20	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde *Third Concert of Clara Schumann*	Josef Hellmesberger Borzaga Hr. Wolf	1) Schumann: First Piano Trio (with Strings) 2) Rubinstein: Two Leider from *The Russian*, Op. 27, Nr. 1 and 2 (Wolf) 3) Chopin: 32 Variations in C-Minor for Piano 5) a) Abt: *Sie flüstert liese gute Nacht* b) Eckert, Carl: *Tausendschön* 6) a) Brahms: Sarabande and Gavotte (Manuscript) b) Weber: Rondo from the Sonata C-Major
1856-02-07	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde *Fourth Concert of Clara Schumann*	Mathilde Marchesi Bernard Hildebrand-Rombert	1) Beethoven: *Hammerclavier*-Sonata, B flat-Major Op. 106 2) Schumann: a) *Erstes Grün* (Kerner) b) From *den östlichen Rosen* (Rückert) 3) *Frühlingsnacht* (Eichendorff) (Marchesi) 3) a) Schumann, Clara: *Variations over à Capriccio* F#-Minor 4) Romberg, B.: *Le Rève* for Cello (Hildebrand-Romberg) 5) Schumann: *Carneval* [sic!] Op. 9
1856-02-10	Wien Redouten-Saal *First*	Ltg: Carl Eckert Hr. Ander	1) Schumann: Overture to *Manfred* 2) Gluck: Duet from *Iphigenie auf Tauris* (Hrn. Ander and Steger)

	Philharmonisches Concert	Hr. Steger Frl. Tiejens Frl. R. Hermann-Csillag	3) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major 4) Mozart: Duet from *Davide penitente* (Frl. Th. Tietjens and Frl. R. Hermann-Csillag) 5) Beethoven: Seventh Symphony, A-Major
1856-02-12	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde *Fifth and Last Concert of Clara Schumann*	Carl Olschbauer	1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, *Les Adieux* 2) Schumann: *Der Knabe mit dem Wanderhorn* (Geibel) (Olschbauer) 3) a) Schubert: *Moments musical*, Nr. 4 and 3 b) Brahms: Andante and Scherzo from the Sonata, C-Major 4) a) Mendelssohn: Variations, B-Major, Op. 83 b) Chopin: Scherzo B-Minor 5) Schumann: *Der Hidalgo* (Geibel) (Olschbauer) 6) Schumann: *In der Nacht*, *Des Abends*, *Traumes Wirren* from Op. 12
1856-03-02	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde *Farewell Concert of Clara Schumann, By Request*	Adele Ferrari	1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, C-Major, Op. 53 2) Mozart: Recitative and Aria from *Titus* (Ferrari) 3) a) Schubert: *Moment musical*, Op. 94, Nr. 3 b) Mendelssohn: Scherzo à Capriccio F#-Minor 4) Bach: Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue 5) Schumann: *Waldesgespräch* (Eichendorff) (Ferrari) 6) Schumann: *Carneval* [sic!] Op. 9
1856-10-28	Frankfurt a. M. Hof von Holland *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Hr. H. Hecht	1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, D-Minor 2) Mendelssohn: a) *Das Waldschloß* b) *Frühlingslied* (Christine Diehl) 3) Mendelssohn: Cello Sonata 4) a) Schumann: *Du bist wie eine Rose* b) Hecht, Eduard: *Jägerlibe* (Geibel) (Hr. H. Hecht) 5) a) Schubert: Two *Moments musical* b) Chopin: Nocturne and Impromptu 6) Haydn: Solo-Adagio for Cello 7) Schumann: *Carneval* [sic!] Op. 9
1856-11-01	Karlsruhe Museum *Concert for the Public by Clara*	Hr. and Fr. Hauser	I: 1) Beethoven: Große Piano Sonata, C-Major 2) Stradella: Kirchen-Aria (Fr. Hauser) 3) Schumann: a) *Romanze*

	Schumann		b) *Schumannlied* c) *Traumes Wirren* II 4) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* 5) a) Schumann, Clara: *Lieszauber* b) Schubert: *Wohin*? (Hr. Hauser) 6) a) Chopin: Nocturne b) Impromptu c) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte*
1856-11-03	Darmstadt Große Saal of the Vereinigten *Gesellschaft Concert of Clara Schumann*	Niederhof Leydhecker Büchler Bauer Frl. Newkäufler Caroline Wagner	I: 1) Schumann: Piano Quintet 2) Gesang (Newkäufler) 3) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* II 4) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, C-Major 5) a) Schumann: *Widmung* b) Mendelssohn: *Frühlingslied* (C. Wagner) 6) a) Schumann: *Schlummerlied* b) Chopin: Impromptu c) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte*
1856-11-05	Göttingen Gasthof zur Stadt London *Concert of Clara Schumann and Joachim*	Joseph Joachim	1) Beethoven: Violin Sonata, G-Major, Op. 96 2) a) Schubert: Two *Moments Musical* from Op. 94 b) Mendelssohn: *Scherzo à Capriccio* F#-Minor 3) Schumann: Fantasy for the Violin 4) Mozart: Violin Sonata, A-Major 5) Bach: Adagio and Allegro for Violin 6) *Carneval*, Op. 9
1856-11-11	Kopenhagen *Musikforeningens Concert*		1) Schubert: Symphony, C-Major 2) Mendelssohn: Finale from *Loreley* 3) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major 4) Schumann: *Zigeunerleben* 5) Schumann: *Fantasiestücke*: *Traumes Wirren, Des Abends,* Op. 12, Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte*
1856-11-27	Kopenhagen Casino *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Frl. Land	1) Schumann: Piano Quartet, E flat-Major, Op. 47 2) Gade: Sneedronningen (Land) 3) a) Schubert: *Two Moments Musical*, Op. 94 b) Chopin: Nocturne Op. 55, Nr. 1 c) Chopin: Impromptu A flat-Major, Op. 29 4) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, D-Minor, Op. 31, Nr. 2 5) Schumann: a) *Ich sende einen Gruß*,

			Widmung (Land) 6) Schumann: *Carneval* [sic!], Op. 9
1856-12-02	Kopenhagen Musikforeningens *First* *Abonnement-* *Concert*		1) Haydn: Symphony, D-Major 2) Mozart: Concert-Aria, *Mentre ti laschio*, for Bass, E flat-Major 3) Schumann: Piano-Concerto, A-Minor 4) Weber: Aria "Arabiens einsam Kind" from *Oberon*, Spohr: Recitative and Duet "Was sie ich" from *Jessonda* 5) Chopin: Nocturne in C-Minor, Polonaise in A flat-Major
1856-12-06	Kopenhagen Musikforeningens *Second* *Abonnement-* *Concert*		1) Schumann: Piano Quintet, E flat-Major, Op. 44 2) Mozart: Clarinet Quintet, A-Major 3) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, C-Major, Op. 53
1856-12-11	Kopenhagen Casino *Concert of Clara* *Schumann*	Frl. Land W. Tofte	1) Beethoven: *Prometheus*-Overture 2) Schumann: Piano-Concerto, A-Minor 3) Mozart: Concert-Aria for Soprano (Land) 4) Mendelssohn: *Lieder ohne Worte* 5) Spohr: Adagio for Violin (Tofte) 6) Beethoven: *Sonata quasi fantasia*, E flat-Major, Op. 27, Nr. 1 7) Schubert: *Trochne Blumen*, *Ungeduld* – from the *Schönen Müllerin* (Land) 8) Weber: *Concertstück*, F-Minor for Pianoforte and Orchestra
1856-12-13	Kopenhagen Musikforeningens *Third* *Abonnement-* *Concert*		1) Mendelssohn: Piano Trio, C-Minor 2) Beethoven: *Adelaide* 3) Bach: Prelude and Fugue, A-Minor 4) Schubert: *Schönen Müllerin*: *Der Newgierige*, *Hal*, 5) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, D-Minor, Op. 31, Nr. 2
1857-01-01	Leipzig Gewandhuas *11th Abonnement-* *Concert*		I Bach Suite: Overture, Air, Gavotte, Bourée, Gigue Mozart: Second Concert-Aria, *Rest, o cara* (Henriette Saloman-Nissen) Stradella: *Aria di Chiesa* (Hr. C. Schneider) Mozart: Piano-Concerto, D-Minor II Cherubini: Overture to *Elise* Bellini: Aria, "Qui la voce" from den *Puritanern* (Nissen) Méhul: Recitative and Aria from *Joseph* (Schneider)

			Beethoven: Variations and Fugue, E flat-Major, Op. 35 Schumann: Fourth Symphony, D-Minor
1857-01-03	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Fourth* *Abonnement-* *Quartet*	Ferdinand David Röntgen Hermann Grützmacher BackHaus Landgraf Weissenborn Lindner	I Schumann: Third Piano Trio, G-Minor, Op. 110 (with David and Grützmacher) Schubert: Octet, Op. 166 II Beethoven: Piano *Sonata quasi fantasia*, E flat-Major, Op. 27, No. 1
1857-01-08	Leipzig Gewandhaus *12th Abonnement-* *Concert*	Ltg.: Julius Rietz	I Haydn: Symphony, Nr. 9 C-Minor Mozart: Second Concert-Aria, *Resta, o cara* (Henriette Nissen-Saloman) Schumann: Piano-Concerto, A-Minor II Beethoven: Overture to *Leonore* Nr. 1 Bériot: Fifth Violin-Concerto (Hr. H. Lauterbach) Bellini: Aria, "Qui la voce" from *Puritani* (Nissen) Schumann: *Schlummerlied* from Op. 121 [sic! Op. 124, Nr. 16] Schubert: Two *Moments Musical* Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte*, A-Major
1857-01-10	Hannover Hoftheater: Concertsaal *Third* *Abonnement-* *Concert*	Frl. Stöger Hr. Wachtel Jospeh Joachim	I Mozart: Symphony, D-Major Spohr: Aria from *Jessonda* (Wachtel) Schumann: Piano-Concerto II Beethoven: Violin Sonata, A-Minor, Op. 47 Schumann: a) *Dichterliebe* b) *Widmung* Beethoven: *Fest-Overture*, Op. 124
1857-02-14	Hannover Hof-Theater *Sixth* *Abonnement-* *Concert*	Frl. Stöger Tettelbach Hrn. Bernard Schott Jospeh Joachim	Beethoven I Overture to *Egmont*, Op. 84 Quartet from *Fidelio* Violin-Romanze, Op. 50 Piano-Concerto, G-Major Op. 48 [sic! Op. 58] Terzet from *Fidelio* (Stöger with Men's Chorus), *Eroica*-Variations, Op. 35 II Second Symphony, D-Major
1857-02-18	Göttingen	Grimm	1) Grimm: Symphony for großes

	von Mengershausen-Saal *Concert of Jul. Otto Grimm*	Joseph Joachim	Orchestra 2) Handel: Tenor-Aria from *Samson* 3) Beethoven: Violin Sonata, G-Major 4) a) Grimm: *In der Mondnacht* b) Brahms: *Liebestreue* (Reinick) for Soprano 5) Scarlatti, D.: a) Presto b) Allegretto c) Presto for Pianoforte 6) Bach: Prelude and Fugue for Violin 7) Mendelssohn: *95th Psalm* for Choir and Orchestra
1857-03-10	Bremen *10th Privat-Concert*	Ida Krüger	I Schubert: Symphony, C-Major Mozart: Aria from *The Marriage of Figaro* (Krüger) Mozart: Piano-Concerto, D-Minor II Mendelssohn: Scherzo from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* Weber: Cavatina from *Euryanthe* (Krüger) Beethoven: Variations and Fugue, E flat-Major, Op. 35 Mendelssohn: "Hochzeitsmarsch" from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*
1857-03-17	Köln Großer Casino-Saal *Eighth Gesellschafts-Concert*	Soloisten: D. Mampé-Babnigg Schreck Göbbels M. DuMont-Fier Ltg: Ferdinand Hiller	I 1) Frank, Eduard: *Trauerspiel*-Overture 2) Mendelssohn: First Piano-Concerto, G-Minor 3) Gluck: Scene for Alto, Chorus and Orchestra from *Orpheus*, "Wer ist der Sterbliche" (Schreck) 4) a) Schumann: *Schlummerlied*, Op. 124 b) Schubert: *Moment Musical*, Op. 94, Nr. 3 c) Chopin: Impromptu, A flat-Major, Op. 29 II Beethoven: Ninth Symphony
1857-03-28	Elberfeld Casino *Concert of Clara Schumann and Joachim*	Josesph Joachim	I 1) Schumann: Overture to *Manfred* 2) Mendelssohn: Piano-Concerto, G-Minor 3) Bach: Adagio and Fugue for Violin II 4) Beethoven: Violin-Concerto 5) Schumann: *Fantasiestück*, Op. 111, Nr. 3 Chopin: Nocturne F-Minor,

			Impromptu, Op. 29 6) Beethoven: Violin Sonata, A-Major, Op. 47
1857-10-28	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe *Soirée Musical of Clara Schumann and Joachim*	Josesph Joachim	I Mozart: Violin Sonata, A-Major Bach: Chaconne for Violin Solo Schumann: *Symphonic Etudes*, Op. 13 II Beethoven: Violin-Romanze, G-Mjoar Scarlatti, D.: Two Piano Pieces Beethoven: Violin Sonata, A-Major, Op. 47
1857-11-03	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe *Second Soirée Musical of Clara Schumann and Joachim*	Josesph Joachim Marie Wieck	I 1) Schumann: Violin Sonata, A-Minor, Op. 105 2) Bach: From the Sonata for Violin a) Andante (C-Major) b) Prelude, Minuet, and Gavotte (E-Major) 3) Beethoven: [*Eroica*-] Variations, E flat-Major, Op. 36 II 4) Beethoven: Violin Sonata, G-Major, Op. 96 5) Schumann: Variations for Two Pianoforte, B-Major, Op. 46 (with Marie Wieck) 6) Mendelssohn: *Rondo capriccioso* for Pianoforte E-Major, Op. 14 7) Paganini: Two Caprices for Violin
1857-11-07	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Musikalische Soirée of Clara Schumann and Joachim*	Josesph Joachim	I 1) Schumann: Violin Sonata, A-Minor, Op. 105 2) Bach: From the Sonata for Violin: a) Andante (C-Major) b) Prelude, Loure, Minuet and Gavotte (E-Major) 3) a) Mozart: Rondo, A-Minor b) Handel: Overture, Presto, Sarabande, Passacaglia from the Seventh Suite, G-Minor for Pianoforte II 4) Schumann: Fantasy for the Violin 5) Mendelssohn: Rondo Capriccioso for Pianoforte, Op. 14 6) Beethoven: Violin Sonata, C-Minor, Op. 30
1857-11-11	Augsburg großer Saal der	Hrn. Kammerländer Niggl	I 1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, D-Minor,

	goldenen Traube *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Weber Weinmaier Hofstetter	Op. 31, Nr. 2 2) Quartet for Men's Voices 3) Chopin: Nocturne, F-Minor, Impromptu in A flat-Major II 4) a) Mozart: Andante, A-Minor b) Mendelssohn: Rondo Capriccioso, Op. 14 5) Quintet for Men's Voices 6) a) Schumann: *Schlummerlied*, Op. 124, Nr. 16 b) Mendelssohn: Two *Lieder ohne Worte*
1857-11-14	München Königliches Odeon *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Ltg.: Franz Lachner Hr. Heinrich Frl. Schwarzbach	I 1) Cherubini: Overture to *Anacreon* 2) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major 3) Paer: Aria from *Sargino* (Frl. Schwarzbach) 4) Schumann: *Des Abends*, *Traumes Wirren*, Op. 12, Nr. 1 and 7 II 5) Voss, Ch.: Romance, Graben-Hoffmann: *O stille dies Verlangen* (Hr. Heinrich) 6) Mendelssohn: Capriccio, G-Minor for Pianoforte with Orchestra 7) Schumann: *Sag an, o liber Vogel mein*, Mendelssohn: *O Jugend, schöne Rosenzeit* (Schwarzbach) 8) a) Chopin: Impromptu, Nocturne b) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte*, C-Major
1857-12-25	München *Fourth Abonnement-Concert*	Fr. Diez	I Beethoven: *Pastoral* Symphony II 1) Schumann: Piano-Concerto (The First Time) 2) Mozart: *Abendempfindung, Das Veilchen* 3) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* 4) Weber: Overture to *Euryanthe*
1857-12-28	München Museum *Soirée musicale of Clara Schumann*	Hrn. Lauterbach Kahl Hippolyt Müller Fr. Diex Heinr. Schönchen	I: 1) Schumann: Piano Quintet (with Strings) 2) a) Esser, H.: *Grüner Frühling kehr ein* b) Schubert: *Die Forelle* (Diez) 3) Scarlatti, D.: Tempo di Ballo, Allegrissimo, Bach: Prelude and Fugue, A-Minor from the Pedal-Fugues II 4) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, D-Minor, Op. 31, Nr. 2

			5) Lachner, Franz: *Waldvöglein* with Horn Accompaniment (Diez, Strauss) 6) Mendelssohn: Rondo capriccioso, Op. 14
1857-12-30	Augsburg gr. Saal der goldenen Traube *Soirée musicale of Clara Schumann*	Frl. Then Hrn. Kammerlander Bosche	I 1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, C-Major, Op. 53 2) Spohr: Duet from *Jessonda* 3) Schumann: Variations for Two Pianoforte II 4) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* 5) Kammerlander: a) *War ein Herz treueigen halt* b) *Kommen und Gehen* 6) a) Scarlatti, D.: Tempo di ballo b) Allegrissimo c) Chopin: Polonaise, A flat-Major
1858-01-08	Nürnberg Goldner Adler *Musikalische Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Dr. von Welz Hr. Herzogenrathh	I 1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, Op. 53 2) a) Niedermeyer: Romanze: *Der See* b) Büchner: *In die Ferne* 3) Schumann: *Des Abends*, *Traumes Wirren*, Op. 12, Nr. 1 and 7 II 4) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* 5) Vieuxtemps: Caprice: *La Chasse* for Violin 6) a) Chopin: Impromptu and Nocturne b) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte*
1858-01-11	*Forth Concert*	Frl. Goldstein	I 1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, D-Minor, Op. 31, Nr. 2 2) a) Füchs: *Widmung* b) Mendelssohn: *Frühlingslied* 3) a) Mozart: Rondo, A-Minor b) Bach: Prelude and Fugue, A-Minor II 4) Chopin: Nocturne and Polonaise 5) a) Schäffer: *Des Vaters Rückkehr* b) Abt: *Der Zufall hat es gemacht* 6) Mendelssohn: Capriccio[so], Op. 14
1858-01-12	Nürnberg Mueusm *Großes Concert*	Hrn. Heinrich Jacobi	I 1) Gluck: Overture to *Iphigenie in Aulis* 2) Méhul: Aria from *Joseph* (Heinrich) 3) Vieuxtemps: Fantasy-Caprice (Jacobi) 4) Mendelssohn: Piano-Concerto, G-Minor II

			5) Cherubini: Overture to the *Wasserträger* 6) Bériot: Tremolo (Jacobi) 7) a) Voß: Romanze b) Abt: *Der Zufall* (Heinrich) 8) a) Schubert: Two Pieces from *Moments Musical* b) Chopin: Polonaise, A flat-Major
1858-01-13	Erlangen Harmonie *Vocal- and Instrumental-Concert*	Wallenreiter Ludwig von Poissl	I Beethoven: Piano Sonata, D-Minor, Op. 31, Nr. 2 Weber: Aria from *Euryanthe* (Wallenreiter) Von Poissl: Fantasy for the Violin (Poissl) Scarlatti, D.: Tempo di Ballo and Allegro Bach: Preflude and Fugue, A-Minor II Mozart: Aria from *The Magic Flute* (Wallenreiter) Béroit: First Violin-Concerto, Op. 16 (Poissl) Mendelssohn: *Jagdlied* Schumann: *Schlummerlied* from Op. 124 Mendelssohn: Two *Lieder ohne Worte*
1858-01-15	Karlsruhe Museum *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Hauser Frau Howitz-Steinau	I 1) Beethvoen: Piano Sonata, D-Minor 2) Schumann: Two Lieder 3) a) Scarlatti, D.: Tempo di Ballo and Allegrissimo b) Bach: Preflude and Fugue, A-Minor II 4) Mendelssohn: Capriccio, Op. 14 5) Beethoven: *Der Wachtelschlag* (Howitz-Steinau) 6) Schumann: *Carneval* [sic!], Op. 9
1858-01-16	Stuttgart oberes Museum *Soirée musicale of Clara Schumann*	Hrn. Barnbeck Häser Debuyssère Bock Pischek Speidel Mad. Marlow	I 1) Schumann: Piano Quintet (with Strings) 2) Kücken: Lied (Marlow) 3) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* II 4) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, D-Minor, Op. 31, Nr. 2 5) a) Schubert: *Die Waldesnacht* b) Speidel, W.: Lieder (Pischek) 6) a) Chopin: Nocturne b) Mendelssohn: Two *Lieder ohne Worte*

1858-01-21	Stuttgart oberes Museum *Soirée musicale of Clara Schumann*	Hrn. Horlacher Pischek	I 1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, C-Major Op. 53 2) Schumann: *Der Nußbaum*, *Frühlingsnacht* (Horlacher) 3) a) Mozart: Andante A-Minor b) Bach: Prelude and Fugue, A-Minor II 4) Schumann: *Carnaval*, Op. 9 5) Speidel: *Auf dem Meere*, *Sturmlied* (Pischek) 6) Mendelssohn: Capriccio, Op. 14
1858-04-11	Berlin Schauspielhaus Wohlthätigkeits *-Matinée der Hof-Schauspielerinnen Crelinger and Fried-Blumauer*	Leopoldine Herrenburg-Tuczwk Bürde-Ney Wippern Baldamus Jenny Meyer Hrn. Formes Fricke Giovanni di Dio Ed. Ganz and Orchestra Ltg.: Wilj. Taubert Schauspieler Frls. Marie Seebach Formes Döllinger	I 1) Overture 2) Rossini: Duet, *Mira la bianca luna* (Leopoldine Herrenburg-Tuczek and Formes) 3) Goethe: *Alexis und Dora* (Crelinger) 4) a) Schubert: *Das Meer* b) Mendelssohn: *Reisenlied* (Jenny Meyer) 5) Verdi: Aria from *Ernani* (Bürde-Ney) 6) Moritz G. Saphir: *Wir müssen auf's Land* (Blumauer, Formes, Döllinger) II 7) Overture 8) Servais: Fantasy for Cello (Giovanni di Dio) 9) Schubert: *Der Wanderer* (Fricke) 10) Schumann: *Schön Hedwig*, *Haideknabe* (with Seebach) 11) [Spohr]: Terzet from *Zemire and Azor* (Wippern, Baldamus, Meyer)
1858-07-16	Weisbaden Cursaal *Concert of the Männergesang-Vereins*	Hrn. Ulram Prätorius Clara Gross Theater-Orchestra	I Mendelssohn: Chorus from *Antigone* with text by H. Weismann II 1) Mendelssohn: Piano-Concerto, G-Minor 2) Mozart: Aria from *The Marriage of Figaro* (Gross) 3) a) Schumann: *Traumes Wirren*, *Des Abends* b) Chopin: Etude
1858-07-21	Weisbaden Cursaal *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Hrn. Baldenecker Scholle Arnold Grimm Frls. Schönschen Pellet	I 1) Schumann: Piano Quintet, Op. 44 (with strings) 2) Schumann: Lieder (Schönchen) 3) Chopin: Nocturne and Polonaise II

			4) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, D-Minor 5) Schumann: *Schön Hedwig*, *Haideknabe* (Hebbel) (Pellet) 6) a) Bach: Fugue, A-Minor b) Mendelssohn: Rondo capriccioso
1858-10-14	Düsseldorf Geisler'scher Saal *Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Otto von Königslöw Agnes Schönerstedt Christine Petack	I Beethoven: Violin Sonata, C-Minor (with Königslöw) 2) Schubert: *Frühlingsglaube*, *Taubenpost* (Petack) 3) Beethoven: *Eroica*-Variations, Op. 35 II 4) Marschner: Aria from *Hans Heiling* (Sauset) 5) Schumann: Variations for Two Pianoforte (with Schönerstedt) 6) a) Beethoven: Violin-Romanze b) Bach: Gavotte and Ronde (Königslöw) 7) a) Schumann: *Schlummerlied* b) Chopin: Impromptu 8) Schumann: a) *Sag an*, *du lieber Vogel mein* b) Provincial Lied from *Sängers Fluch* (Petack) 9) Brahms: Hungarian Dances (Manuscript)
1858-10-16	Elberfeld Stadt-Theater *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Hr. Petack Joahnnisberger Capelle	I 1) Bennet: Overture to the *Najaden* 2) Mozart: Aria from *The Magic Flute* 3) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major II 4) Beethoven: Overture to *Coriolan* 5) Schumann: *Carneval* [sic!], Op. 9 7) Schubert: Lieder 7) Mendelssohn: Rondo and Capriccio, Op. 14
1858-10-19	Köln Gürzenich-Saal *First Gesellschafts-Concert*	Auguste Brenken Ltg.: Ferdinand Hiller	I 1) Beethoven: Eighth Symphony 2) Mozart: Piano-Concerto, D-Minor 3) Mendelssohn: Finale from *Loreley* (Loreley: Brenken) II 4) Mendelssohn: Capriccio for Pianoforte 5) Marschner: Aria, "Wehe mir" from *Hans Heiling* (Brenken) 6) Beethoven: Choral Fantasy

1858-10-21	Aachen Kurhaus *First Städt. Abonnements-Concert to help the Orchestra Fund*	Hr. Guiglicimi Dilettanten Ltg.: Franz Wüllner	I 1) Cherubini: Overture to *Medea* 2) Mendelssohn: Piano-Concerto, G-Minor 3) Stradella: *Kirchen*-Aria (Guglicimi) 4) Beethoven: *Eroica*-Variations 5) Haydn: *Des Staubes eitle Sorgen* for Chorus and Orchestra 6) a) Schumann: *Traumes Wirren*, *Des Abends*, Op. 12, Nr. 7 and 1 b) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* II 7) Beethoven: Second Symphony, D-Major
1858-10-23	Crefeld Hotel de la Redoute *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Liedertafel Sinverein	I 1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, C-Major 2) Mendelssohn: Choral-Lieder a) *Newjahrslied* b) *Andenken* 3) Schumann: *Des Abends*, *Traumes Wirren*, Op. 12, Nr. 1 and 7 4) Beethoven: *Eroica*-Variations II 5) a) Schubert: *Gondelfahrer* for Männerchor b) Schumann: *Waldchor* for Männerchor 6) a) Chopin: Nocturne b) Mendelssohn: Capriccio, Op. 14
1858-11-14	Wien Redouten-Saal *First Concert der GdM*	Singerein der GdM Ltg.: J. Herbeck Orchestra .-Ltg.: Joseph Hellmesberger	1) Reinecke: Overture *Dame Kobold* (New) 2) Schumann: Piano-Concerto (New) 3) a) Schumann: *Das Hochlandmädchen* b) Schubert: *Am Feste Allerseelen* 4) Gade: Symphony, C-Major
1858-12-05	Wien Gesellschaft der *Musikfreunde* *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Caroline Pruckner	I 1) Beethoven: *Sonata quasi fantasia*, E flat-Major, Op. 27, Nr. 1 2) Schumann: a) *Erstes Grün* b) *Ich grolle nicht* c) *Frühlingsnacht* (Pruckner) 3) Schumann: a) Romanze, Op. 32, Nr. 3 b) Canon from the Grand Piano Pieces, Op. 56 c) Novellette D-Major, Op. 21, Nr. 2 II 4) Chopin: Nocturne, Scherzo B-Minor 5) Schumann: a) *Du bist wie eine Blume* b) *Frühlingslust*

			c) *Wiedmung* (Pruckner) 6) Mendelssohn: Rondo Caprissioso, Op. 14
1858-12-12	Wien Gesellschaft der *Musikfreunde* *Second Concert of Clara Schumann*		I 1) Schumann: Second Piano Trio, F-Major, Op. 80 (with Hellmesberger and Cossmann) 2) Pergolesi: *Celebre Siciliana* (Antonie Urbanetz) 3) Bach: a) Gavotte b) Fugue, A-Minor II 4) Beethoven: *Eroica*-Variations, Op. 35 5) a) Esser: *Mutterseelenallein* b) Hager: *Die Quelle* (Urbanetz) 6) a) Scarlatti, D.: Tempo di Ballo b) Weber: Scherzo from the Sonata, A flat-Major
1858-12-17	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde *Third and Last Concert of Clara Schumann*		I 1) Beethoven: *Pastoral* Sonata, D-Major, Op. 28 2) Declamation (Julie Rettich) 3) Schumann: Third *Fantasiestücke* for Pianoforte and Violin, Op. 73 (with Jos. Hellmesberger) II 4) a) Mozart: Andante, A-Minor b) Bach: Prelude and Fugue, A-Minor 5) R. Schumann: *Schön Hedwig* (Hebbel) b) *Vom Haideknaben* (Julie Rettich) 6) Brahms: Hungarian Dances (Manuscript)
1859-01-02	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde *Farewell-Concert of Clara Schumann*	Louise Dustmann Julie von Asten	I 1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, A-Major, Op. 101 2) Schubert, Mendelssohn: Lieder (Dustmann) 3) Schumann: *Kreisleriana* Nrs. 1, 2, 5, 4, 7 and 8 II 4) Schumann: Andante and Variations for Pianoforte, Op. 46 (with von Asten) 5) a) Schumann, Clara: Lied b) Schumann, R: *Stille Liebe* (Dustmann) c) Schumann, Clara: *O Lust, am Berg ein Lied...* 6) a) Bach: Sarabande and Gavotte b) Scarlatti, D.: Presto
1859-02-12	Wien	Louise Dustmann-	I

	Stadt Freiung: Saal zum römischen Kaiser *First Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Meyer Ida Flatz Julie von Asten	1) Schumann: Piano Sonata G-Minor Op. 22 2) Mendelssohn: a) *Venetian Gondellied* b) Suleika (Dustmann) 3) Beethoven: Variations C-Minor Op. 36 [sic! 80] II 4) Schumann: a) *Tourniermarsch* b) *Beim Kränzewinden* c) *Abendlied* d) *Am Springbrunnen* from Op. 85 (with von Asten) 5) Schumann: Duet *Lotosblume*, *Herbstlied*, *Ländliches Lied* (Dustmann and Flatz) 6) Chopin: Nocturne, Two Mazurkas
1859-02-20	Wien Quartett-Produktionen II *Second Abend*	Th. Klein	Nottebohm, G.: Quartet (Manuscript, New) Schumann: Piano Quartet Mozart: Clarinet Quintet
1859-02-18	Wien Stadt Freiung: Saal zum römischen Kaiser *Second Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Joseph Hellmesberger H. Röver Luise Dustmann Ida Flatz	I 1) Schumann: Third Piano Trio, G-Minor, Op. 110 (with Hellmesberger and Röver) 2) a) Brahms: *Liebeslied* [sic] from Op. 3 b) Kirchner, Th.: *Du wandersüßes Kind* (Dustmann) 3) Bach: a) Sarabande and Bouree from the Third English Suite b) Fugue, A-Minor II 4) Schumann, Clara: Romanzes for Pianoforte and Violin, Op. 22 (with Hellmesberger) 5) Schumann: Duet: *Nelken wind ich*, *Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär*, *Schön Blümelein* (Dustmann and Flatz) 6) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses*
1859-02-23	Wien Stadt Freiung: Saal zum römischen Kaiser *Third and Last Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Joseph Hellmesberger Josef Lewinsky Luise Dustmann Ida Flatz	1) Schumann: Violin Sonata, Op. 105 2) a) Mendelssohn: *Schilflied* b) Schumann: *Schöne Fremde*, Op. 39, Nr. 4 b) Schumann: *Nichts Schöneres*, Op. 36, Nr. 3 (Dustmann) 3) a) Bargiel: *Fantasiestück* from Op. 9 b) Kirchner: Piano Piecee, Op. 2, Nr. 2, 9 4) Chamisso: *Die Kreuzschau*, *Minnedienst* (Lewinsky)

			5) Handel: Seventh Suite 6) Schumann: Three Duets, Op. 43 (Dustmann and Flatz) 7) Schumann: *Kreisleriana*, Op. 16
1859-03-07	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe *Soirée musicale of Clara Schumann*	Marie Wieck Hr. von der Osten	1) Beethoven: *Sonata quasi fantasia*, Op. 27 2) Mendelssohn: Cavatine from *Paulus* (Osten) 3) Schumann: a) Romanze, Op. 32, Nr. 3 b) *Schlummerlied*, Op. 124, Nr. 16 c) Study (Canon) for the Grand Piano from Op. 56 4) a) Grell: Three Duets from *Lorbeer und Rose* b) Schumann: *Schlaflied*, Op. 78, Nr. 4 c) Schumann: *Liebesgarten*, Op. 34, Nr. 1 (Marie Wieck and Osten) 5) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* 6) Beethoven: *An di ferne Geliebte* (Osten) 7) a) Bach: Gavotte from the English Suite D-Minor b) Weber: Scherzo from the Sonata, A flat-Major
1859-03-14	Dresden *Concert der Sing-Akademie (Chorgesangverein)*	Frau Krebs-Michalesi Jul. Stockhausen	I Schumann: *Des Sängers Fluch* (Uhland-Pohl) II 1) Bach: a) Prelude and Fugue, A-Minor b) Gavotte (from the *English Suite*, D-Minor) 2) Hiller, Ferd: *Gesang der Geister über den Wassern*, Op. 36 3) Gade: *Frühlingsbotschaft* (Geibel) for Chorus and Orchestra, Op. 35 4) Beethoven: Choral Fantasy, Op. 80
1859-03-16	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe *Second and Last Concert of Clara Schumann*	Julius Stockhausen Marie Wieck	1) Mozart: Sonata for Two Pianos (with Marie Wieck) 2) Handel: Aria from *Aetius* (Stockhausen) 3) Beethoven: Variations, C-Minor, Op. 32 [sic! 80] 4) Rossini: Aria from *Diebischen Elster* (Stockhausen) 5) Chopin: a) Nocturne C-Minor b) Scherzo B-Minor 6) Schumann: a) *Frühlingsfahrt* b) *Nußbaum* c) *Waldesgespräch* (Stockhausen)

			7) Schumann: *Carneval* [sic!]
1859-04-09	Berlin Singakademie *Third Abonnement-Concert of R. Radecke*	Agnes Büry Leibig'sche Kapelle	I Beethoven: Fest-Overture, Op. 124 Mendelssohn: Concert-Aria (Büry) Schumann. Piano-Concerto, A-Minor Lieder (Büry) II Beethoven: Ninth Symphony
1859-10-20	Aachen Kurhaus *First Concert to help the Orchestra Funds*	Ltg.: Franz Wüllner	I 1) Schumann: First Symphony, B-Major II 2) Mozart: Piano-Concerto, D-Minor 3) Mendelssohn: *115th Psalm* for Chorus, Soloist, and Orchestra, Op. 31 4) a) Chopin: Impromptu C#-Minor b) Schumann: *Schlummerlied*, Op. 124, Nr. 16 c) Bach: Gavotte from the Suite, D-Minor 5) Beethoven: Overture to *Leonore*, Nr. 1
1859-10-25	Köln Gürzenich-Saal *First Gesellschafts-Concert*	Charlotte Beste Frl. Saardt Andr. Pütz Ltg.: Ferdinand Hiller	I 1) Weber: Overture to *Euryanthe* 2) Mozart: *Ave verum* for Chorus and Orchestra 3) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, G-Major 4) Mendelssohn: "Höre, Israel" from *Elias*, Op. 70 (Beste) 5) a) Chopin: Scherzo, B-Minor b) Bach: Gavotte II 6) Mendelssohn: *Sympony-Cantata, Lobgesang*
1859-11-03	Krefeld *First Abonnement-Concert*	Wilhelm Müller	I 1) Cherubini: Overture to the *Abenceragen* 2) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major 3) Schumann: *Zigeunerleben* for Choir II 4) Gade: Overture *Nachklänge an Ossian* 5) Schumann: a) Canon, B-Major b) *Warum*? c) *Aufschwung* 6) a) Schubert: *Frühlingstraum* (Wilhelm Müller) b) Wilhelm Carl: *Wie schön ist's am Rhein!* (Tenor) 7) Mendelssohn: *43rd Psalm* 8) a) Chopin: Impromptu C#-Minor

			b) Bach: Gavotte
1859-11-16	Bonn Goldener Stern *Abonnement-Concert*	Ltg.: Albert Dietrich	I 1) Cherubini: Overture to *Anacreon* 2) Mozart: Piano-Concerto, D-Minor 3) Schumann: *Adventlied* (Rückert) 4) Mendelssohn: Capriccio, C-Minor, Op. 14 II 5) Haydn: Symphony, E flat-Major 6) Beethoven: Choral Fantasy
1859-11-22	Bremen *Second Privat-Concert*	Wilhelmine von Kettler	I Spohr: Third Symphony, C-Minor Handel: *O du, die Wonne verkündet in Zion* (Kettler) Schumann: Piano-Concerto, A-Minor II Mendelssohn: Overture to *schönen Melusine* Rossini: Recitative and Cavatina from *Semiramis* (Kettler) a) Chopin: Fantasy-Impromtu, C#-Minor b) Schumann: *Schlummerlied*, D-Minor a) Mendelssohn: *Da lieg ich unter den Bäumen* b) Schumann: *Ich grolle nicht* c) Schottische Ballade: *Comin' thro' the rye* (Kettler) Beethoven: Overture to "*Egmont*"
1859-11-26	Düsseldorf Geisler'scher Saal *Second Concert*	Allgemeiner Musik-Verein Ltg.: Jul. Tausch	I 1) Bach: Orchestral-Suite, D-Major 2) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major II 3) Spohr: Overture, Introduction and Chorus from *Jessonda* 4) a) Chopin: Impromptu b) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* c) Bach: Gavotte from the Suite, D-Minor
1859-12-01	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Seventh Abonnement-Concert*	Ltg.: Julius Rietz Ida Dannemann Raimand Dreyschock Gewandhaus-Orchestra	I: Haydn: Symphony, Nr. 8 B-Major Mozart: Scene and Ara with Violin, *Laß o Freand* (Ida Dannemann) Mendelssohn: First Piano-Concerto, G-Minor II Schneider, Friedr.: Overture from *Motive Academic Lieder* a) Schubert: *Gretchen am Spinnrad*

			b) Schumann: *Er, der herrlichste* (from *Frauenliebe*) (Dannemann) Beethoven: 32 Variations Bach: Gavotte for Pianoforte Schumann: Overture to *Genoveva*
1859-12-06	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Musikalische Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Ida Dannemann Raimand Dreyschock Grützmacher Luise Hauffe	Beethoven: *Pastoral Sonata*, Op. 28; Mozart: Aria from *The Marriage of Figaro* (Dannemann) Schumann: Three Pieces in Volkston (with Grützmacher) Bach: Fugue (Dreyschock) Schumann: Andante and Variations for Two Pianoforte, Op. 46 Chopin: Scherzo, B-Minor Schubert: *Gute Nacht* Mendelssohn: *Das Veilchen* (Dannemann) Schumann: *Carneval*
1859-12-10	Hannover Museum *Musikalische Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Joseph Joachim Eyert I and II Linder	1) Schumann: Piano Quintet E flat-Major 2) a) Beethoven: Violin-Romanze, G-Major b) Bach: Bourrée and Double 3) Beethoven: Variations, C-Minor II 4) Haydn: Andante and Variations over *Gott erhalte* for String Quartet 5) a) Chopin: Impromptu b) Schumann: *Schlummerlied* c) Bach: Gavotte D-Minor 6) Beethoven: *Kreutzer*-Sonata, Op. 47
1859-12-17	Hannover *Second Abonnement-Concert*	Joseph Joachim Frau Nottes	1) Cherubini: Overture to *Faniska* 2) Tartini: Violin Sonata 3) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, G-Major 4) Mendelssohn: Concert-Aria (Nottes) 5) Scarlatti: Tempo di Ballo, Schumann: *Des Abends*, Weber: Scherzo 6) Schumann: Second Symphony, C-Major
1859-12-19	Celle Wierss-Saal *Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Joseph Joachim	1) Beethoven: *Kreutzer*-Sonata, Op. 47 2) Chopin: Nocturne and Impromptu 3) Beethoven: Violin-Romanze, F-Major 4) a) Schumann: *Traumes Wirren* b) Schumann: *Des Abends* c) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* 5) a) Schumann: Piece in Volkston b) Bach: Gavotte and Rondeau 6) Haydn: Violin Sonata

1859-01-19	Berlin Sing-Akademie *Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Rudolph Otto	I 1) Beethoven: *Eroica*-Variations, Op. 35 2) Schumann: *Der arme Peter* (Heine), Op. 53, Nr. 3 (Otto) 3) Chopin: Scherzo B-Minor II 4) Schumann: *Kreisleriana*, Op. 16 Nr. 2, 5, 6, 8 5) Schumann: a) *Dein Angesicht*, Op. 127, Nr. 2 b) *Ständchen*, Op. 36, Nr. 2 c) *Wanderlied* Op. 35, Nr. 3 (Otto) 6) a) Bach: Sarabande and Gavotte, E-Minor b) Mendelssohn: Rondo capriccioso, Op. 14
1860-01-24	Kassel Hoftheater *Third Abonnement-Concert*	Frl. Seelig Erhartt Hr. Hochheimer	I 1) Bach-Esser H.: Organ-Toccata for Orchestra 2) Handel-Meyerbeer: Aria from *Rinaldo* (Seelig) 3) Schumann: Piano-Concerto 4) Spohr: Duet from *Pietro von Albano* (Erhartt and Hochheimer) 5) a) Chopin: Impromptu b) Schumann: *Schlummerlied* c) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* 6) a) Schumann, Clara: *Der Mond kommt still gegangen* b) Schumann, R.: *Frauenliebe and Leben*, Nr. 2 II Beethoven: Symphony, C-Minor
1860-01-26	Braunschweig Odeon *Musikalische Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Joseph Joachim Frl. Hänisch Hr. Weiss	I 1) Mozart: Violin Sonata 2) Mendelssohn: *Suleika*, Schumann: *Mondnacht*, *An den Sonnenschein* (Hänisch) 3) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* 4) Bach: Chaconne II 5) a) Schumann: *Schlummerlied* b) Scarlatti, D.: Tempo di Ballo c) Bach: Gavotte 6) Marschner: Aria from *Hans Heiling* (Weiss) 7) Beethoven: *Kreutzer*-Sonata
1860-03-01	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde	Joseh Hellmesberger H. Röver Gabriele Krauss	1) Schumann: Piano Trio, D-Minor, Op. 63 2) Lieder (Krauss)

	First Abonnement-Concert of Clara Schumann		3) Chopin: Nocturne, Impromptu C#-Minor II 4) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, C-Major, Op. 53 5) Lieder (Krauss) 6) Schumann: *Carnaval*, Op. 9
1860-03-08	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Second *Abonnement-Concert of Clara Schumann*	Joseph Hellmesberger H. Röver Eugen von Soupper	1) Schumann, Clara: Piano Trio, Op. 17 2) Schumann: a) *Warum*? b) *Aufschwung* c) Canon from Studies for the Grand Piano 4) Schubert: *Der Leiermann* 5) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, E-Major, Op. 109 6) Schumann: a) Clara: *Warum willst du andre fragen* b) R.: *Es zogen two rüstge Gesellen* (Soupper) 7) Mendelssohn: Capriccio E-Major, Op. 33, Nr. 2
1860-03-15	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde *Third Abonnement-Concert of Clara Schumann*	Julie von Asten Eugen von Soupper	1) Mozart: Sonata for Two Pianos, D-Major Op. 53 2) Schumann: a) *Dem rothen Röslein gleicht*, Op. 27, Nr. 2 b) *Dein Angesicht* (Soupper) 3) Chopin: Ballade A flat-Major, Op. 47 II 4) Bach: Sarabande and Gavotte 5) Schumann: a) R.: *Lotosblume* b) Clara: *Warum willst du andre fragen* (Soupper) 6) Schumann: *Faschingsschwank aus Wien*, Op. 26
1860-03-19	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde *Concert of Soupper*	Eugen von Soupper Julie von Asten	1) Schubert: a) *Der Wegweiser* b) *Mein* 2) Chopin: Scherzo B-Minor 3) Beethoven: Bass Lied from Gellert's geistliche Liedern 4) Declamation 5) Schumann: a) Cllara: *Warum willst du andre fragen* b) R.: *An den Sonnenschein* 6) Schumann, R.: Andante and Variations for Two Pianoforte 7) a) Schubert: *Der Leiermann* b) Rubinstein: *Der Asra*

1860-03-22	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde *Second Ciclus* [sic] *First Abonnement-Concert of Clara Schumann*	Joseph Hellmesberger Röver Louise Dustmann Eugen von Soupper	1) Beethoven: Piano Trio, Op. 70 2) Schumann: a) *Mignon* (Goethe) b) *Schneeglöckchen* (Rückert) c) *Er ist's* (Mörije) (Dustmann) 3) a) Brahms: Ballade and b) Intermezzo from Op. 10 c) Mendelssohn: Capriccio, F#-Minor 4) Schuamnn: a) *So wahr die Sonne scheinet* b) *Schlaflied* (Hebbel) (Dustmann and Soupper) 5) Schumann: Etudes in the form of Variations, Op. 13
1860-03-25	Wien Hof-Operantheater *Musikalische-Deklamation Akademie for the Bürger-hospital*	Ltg.: Heinrich Proch Decl: Lewinsky	I 1) Cherubini: Overture to *Di Tage der Gefahr* 2) Mozart: Aria from *Entführung* (Louise Dustmann) 3) Proch: Lied from Saphir's *Wilden Rosen* (Carl Schmidt) 4) Mendelssohn: Piano-Concerto, G-Minor 5) a) Gumbert: *Die stille Rose* b) Fesca: *Liebeslied* (A. Grimminger) 6) Massé, V.: *Der Carneval von Venedig* (Louise Liebhart) 7) Bürger: *Leonore* (Declamation) II 8) Wagner: Aria from *Il Giuramento* (Henriette Sulzer) 10) Declamation (Zerline Gabillon) 11) Loewe: *Archibald Douglas* (Ernst Förchtgott) 12) Allard: Souvenir of Mozart for Violin (Theres Kreß) 13) Schumann: *Liebesgarten* (Reinick) (Liebhart and Grimminger) 14) Meyerbeer: Festmarsch for Schiller's 100th Birthday (New)
1860-03-27	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde *Abo-Concert II Second of Clara Schumann*	Josef Hellmesberger Röver Lewinsky	1) Mendelssohn: Piano Trio, C-Minor, Op. 66 2) Schumann: *Haideknabe* (Hebbel) (Lewinsky) 3) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, E#-Major, Op. 7 4) Goethe: *Der Gott und die Bajadere* 5) Schumann: Ten Pieces from the *Davidsbündlertänzen*, Op. 6
1860-03-30	Wien Gesellschaft der	Josef Hellmesberger Röver	1) Schumann: Second Piano Trio, Op. 80

	Musikfreunde *Ab-Concert II* *Third and Last of* *Clara Schumann*	Lewinsky Förchtgott	2) Loewe: *Harold* (Uhland) (Förchtgott) 3) Chopin: Polonaise, A flat-Major, Op. 53 4) Declamation (Lewinsky) 5) a) Mozart: Andante, A-Minor b) Bach: Chromatic Fantasy 6) Schumann: *Belsatzar* (Heine) (Förchtgott) 7) Schumann: *Kreisleriana*, Op. 16
1860-04-16	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe *Soirée musicale of* *Clara Schumann*	Franziska Ritter Katharine Lorch [Rudolph]	1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, C-Major, Op. 53 2) a) Mozart: *das Veilchen* b) Schumann: *Schneeglöckchen* c) *Des Knaben Berglied* 3) Schumann: *Aufschwung*, *Warum*, *Traumes Wirren*, Op. 12, Nr. 2, 3, 7 4) Schumann: *Schön Hedwig* (Hebbel) (Ritter) 5) a) Mozart: Andante b) Bach: Fugue 6) Schumann: *Haideknabe* (Hebbel) (Ritter) 7) Mendelssohn: Rondo capriccioso
1860-08-06	Kreuznach Kursaal	Marie Wieck Julius Stockhausn	I 1) Beethoven: Sonata, D-Minor, Op. 31 (Clara Schumann) 2) Boieldieu: *Cavatine de la fête du Village* (Stockhausen) 3) Chopin: Impromptu and Polonaise, A flat-Major (Clara Schumann) II 1) Mendelssohn: Allegro brillante for Four Hands 2) Schubert: Frülingsglaube (Stockhausen) 3) Mendelssohn: *Reinisches Volkslied* (Stockhausen) 4) Schumann: *Frühlingsnacht* (Stockhausen) 5) Bach: Gavotte D-Minor (Clara Schumann) 6) Schumann: *Schlummerlied*, Op. 124 (Clara Schumann) 7) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* (Clara Schumann)
1860-10-26	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe *First Soirée* *musicale of Clara*	Joseph Joachim Marie Wieck Katharina Lorch	1) Schumann: Violin Sonata, D-Minor, Op. 121 2) Weigl: *Wer hörte wohl jemals mich klagen* (Lorch)

	Schumann and Joachim		3) Chopin: Ballade G-Minor 4) Mendelssohn: Allegro brilliant for Four Hands (with M. Wieck) 5) Tartini: Violin Sonata with the Devil's Trills 6) a) Schubert: *Im Freien* (Seidl) b) Schumann: *Schneeglöckchen* (Rückert) c) *Er ist's* (Mörike) (Lorch) 7) Beethoven: Violin Sonata, A-Minor, Op. 23
1860-10-29	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe *Second Soirée musicale of Clara Schumann and Joachim*	Joseph Joachim Schnorr von Carolsfeld	1) Bach: Sonata, A-Major for Pianoforte and Violin 2) Schumann: a) *Waldesgespräch* (Eichendorff) b) *Dein Angesicht* (Heine) (Schnorr) 3) Clementi: Sonata, B-Minor 4) Schubert: Rondo brillant for Pianoforte and Violin, Op. 70 5) Spohr: Adagio and Scherzo for Violin 6) Schumann: a) *Geständniß* (Geibel) b) *Der Hidalgo* (Geibel) (Schnorr von Carolsfeld) 7) Beethoven: Sonata, A-Major, Op. 47
1860-11-01	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe *Third Soirée musicale of Clara Schumann and Joachim*	Joseph Joachim Schnorr von Carolsfeld Frau Garrigues-Schn.	1) Mozart: Violin Sonata, F-Major 2) Schubert: a) *Thränenregen* b) Mein (Garrigues-Schn.) 3) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, Op. 101 4) a) Loewe: *Heinrich der Vogler* b) Chopin: Lithuanian Lied (Garrigues-Schn.) 5) a) Beethoven: Violin-Romanze b) Bach: Bourrée and Double for Violin 6) Schumann: *In der Nacht* (Geibel), *Unterm Fenster* (Burns) (Schnorr) 7) Haydn: Violin Sonata, G-Major
1860-11-05	Berlin Singakademie Second Abonnement-*Concert of R. Radecke*	Carl Schneider Leibig'sche Kapelle Ltg.: Rob Radecke	I Mozart: Serenade for Two Oboes, Clarinet, Bass, Basson, Four Horns, Violincello, and Contrabass (1780) Mendelssohn: Piano-Concerto, G-Minor Beethoven: *An die ferne Geliebte* II Schumann: Second Symphony, C-Major
1860-11-11	Berlin Singakademie *First Soirée of Clara Schumann*	C. Bargheer Dr. Bruns Alexis Hollaender	1) Schumann: Piano Trio, D-Minor 2) a) Mozart: Andante b) Bach: Fugue 3) Tartini: Violin Sonata (Bargheer) 4) Chopin: Ballade G-Mionr 5) Spohr: Adagio for Violin (Bargheer)

			6) Beethoven: Violin Sonata, G-Major, Op. 30 (with Bargheer)
1860-11-15	Berlin Singakademie *Second Soirée of Clara Schumann*	F. Laub Joseph Carl Davidoff Hr. Flögel Alexis Holländer	I 1) Beethoven: Piano Trio, E flat-Major, Op. 70 2) Schumann: a) *Mit Myrthen and Rosen* b) *Dein Bildnis wanderselig* (Flögel) 3) Schumann: Etudes in the form of Variations, Op. 13 II 4) Mendelssohn: Cello Sonata, D-Major (with Davidoff) 5) Stöckardt: a) *Nachtgesang* b) *Loreley* (Flögel) 6) Solo for Cello (D.) 7) a) Schubert: *Moment musical* (Hungarian) b) Chopin: Nocturne, F-Minor c) Weber: Scherzo from the Sonata, A flat-Major
1860-11-21	Berlin Singakademie *Third and Last Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Marie Wieck Ernestine Borchard F. Laub Robert Radecke Dr. Bruns	I 1) Schumann: Piano Quartet, Op. 47 2) Mozart: *Ach nur einmal noch im Leben* (Borchard) 3) Mendelssohn: Allegro brillant for Four-Hands II 4) a) Schumann: *Des Abends*, *Aufschwung* b) Chopin: Nocturne, C-Minor 5) Mozart: Sonata D-Major for Two Pianos 6) a) Schubert: *Frühlingsglaube* b) Franz, R.: *Er ist gekommen* (Borchard) 7) Schumann: *Carneval* [sic!], Op. 9
1860-11-29	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Eighth Abonnement-Concert*	[Charlotte Scharnk] Hardtmuth Raimand Dreyschock	I Rietz: Concert Overture Schumann: Piano-Concerto, A-Minor Mozart Recitativ and Aria from *The Marriage of Figaro* (Hardtmuth) Schubert: *Der Schäfter und der Reiter Der Alpenjäger* (Hardtmuth) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* II Beethoven: Fourth Symphony, B-Major
1860-12-02	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Second Abend-Unterhaltung for Kammermusik*	Ferdinand David Hrn. Haubold Hermann Davidoff	I Haydn: String Quartet, E flat-Major Mozart: Piano Quartet, G-Minor II Schumann: String Quartet, A-Minor, Op. 41, Nr. 1 Beethoven: Piano Sonata,

			A-Major, Op. 101
1860-12-04	Erfurt Theater-Saal *Familien-Concert of the Musik-Vereins*	Fr. Wettig-Starke	I 1) Haydn: Symphony, C-Minor 2) Soprano-Aria 3) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major II 4) Meyerbeer: *Schiller-Marsche* 5) a) Schumann: *Aufschwung*, *Des Abends* b) Bach: Gavotte 6) Schumann: *Stille*, *Frühlingsnacht* 7) Mendelssohn: Rondo capriccioso
1860-12-10	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Musikalische Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Ferdinand David Carl Davidoff Charolotte Scharnke	I Beethoven: Piano Trio, E flat-Major, Op. 70 Haydn: Aria from *Schöpfung* (Scharnke) Bach: Sarabande and Gavotte from the Suite, G-Minor Chopin: Ballade, Op. 23 II Mendelssohn: Second Cello Sonata, D-Major David: Character Pieces for Violin with Pianoforte Accompaniment: Tarantella, Mazurka, *Am Springquell* (Manuscript) Reinecke: Two Lieder for Soprano with Pianoforte and Violin (Sche., D.), *Waldesgruß*, *Frühlingsblumen* Schumann: *Kreisleriana* Op. 16, Nr. 1, 2, 5, 4, 8
1861-01-11	Hamburg Wörmer'scher Concertsaal *127th Philharmonic Privat-Concert*	Jenny Meyer	I 1) Schumann: Symphony, B-Major 2) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major 3) Mozart: Aria from *Titus* II 4) Weber: *Concertstück* 5) a) Liszt: *Mignon* b) Schubert: *Ständchen* 6) Beethoven: Overture to *Fidelio*
1861-01-15	Hamburg Wörmer'scher Concertsaal *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Joseph Joachim Brahms Nicolfrom Schaller Damenchor	1) Beethoven: Sonata, Op. 47 2) Brahms: Lieder for Frauenchor, Harp and Two Horns 3) Schumann: *Symphonic Etudes*, Op. 13 II 4) Schumann: Andante and Variations for Two Pianoforte (with Brahms) 5) Spohr: Barcarole and Scherzo for Violin 6) Brahms: Lieder for Frauenchor

			7) Chopin: Nocturne 8) Bach: Gavotte
1861-01-16	Altona Bürger-Verein Große Saal *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Joseph Joachim Johannes Brahms Nic. Schaller Damenchor	1) Beethoven: Violin Sonata, Op. 30 2) Brahms: Lieder for Frauenchor with Harp and Two Horns 3) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* II 4) Schumann: Andante with Variations for Two Pianos 5) Bach: Chaconne 6) Brahms: Lieder for Frauenchor 7) Schumann: *Carneval* [sic!], Op. 9
1861-01-22	Hamburg Logen-Saal *Second Soirée for Kammer-Musik*	Johannes Brahms Johan Kappelhofer C. Rische C. Otterer Ad. Schmahl Wendland Meiselbach Daute Ed. Sachse Julius Möller	1) Mozart: Sextet, Nr. 2, F-Major 2) Bach: Concerto for Two Pianos with Double Quartet, C-Major (with Brahms) 3) Beethoven: Quintet for Winds with Pianoforte, Op. 16 (Brahms, Daute, Sachse, Wendland, Möller) 4) Mozart: Sonata for Two Pianos (with Brahms)
1861-01-23	Altona Stadt-Theater Extra-Vorstellung *Concert of Clara Schumann*		Benedix R.: Lustspiel: *Doctor Wespe* <u>After the Second Act</u> Mendelssohn: Piano-Concerto, G-Minor <u>At the End</u> a) Bach: Gavotte b) Schumann: Schlummerlied c) Chopin: Etude
1861-01-29	Onasbrück Großer Club *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Gesangverein	I 1) Mendelssohn: Two Choruses from *Elias* 2) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, D-Minor, Op. 31, Nr. 2 3) Mendelssohn: Two Duets for Soprano and Alto 4) Chopin: Nocturne, Mazurka, Impromptu II 5) Schubert: Psalm for Frauenchor 6) Schumann: Piano Trio 7) Schumann: Lied, Abt: Lied for Soprano 8) Bach: Gavotte, Mendelssohn: Capriccio, Op. 14
1861-02-05	Detmold Schauspielhaus *Große Vocal- and Instrumental*	Fr. Schröder-Chaloupka Concert Master C. Bargheer	I 1) Weber: Overture to *Oberon* 2) Beethoven: Aria of Leonore from *Fidelio*

	Concert of Clara Schumann	Ltg.: Kiel	3) Mendelssohn: Piano-Concerto, G-Minor II 4) Mendelssohn: Overture to *Fingalshöhle* 5) Beethoven: Violin Sonata, G-Major 6) Böhimsche Lieder 7) Beethoven: Violin-Romanze 8) a) Bach: Gavotte b) Schumann: *Schlummerlied* c) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte*
1861-02-19	Köln großer Gürzenich-Saal *Eighth Gesellschafts-Concert*	Emilie Genast Ltg.: Ferdinand Hiller	I 1) Lachner, Franz: Third Symphony, D-Minor (For the First Time) 2) Gade: *Frülingsbotschaft* for Chorus and Orchestra (Geibel) 3) Schumann: Piano-Concerto, A-Minor II 4) Mozart: *Laudate Dominum* for Soprano, Choir, and Orchestra 5) a) Chopin: Nocturne b) Weber: Scherzo from the Sonata, A flat-Major 6) Schubert-Hiller: Gretchen am Spinnrad, instrumental (Genast) 7) Beethoven: Choral Fantasy
1861-05-21	Aachen *38th Niederrheinische Musikfest III Großes Künstler-Concert*	Joseph Joachim Fr. Ptthoff-Diehl Fr. Rübsamen-Veith Hrn. Krause Schneider	I 1) Weber: Overture to *Oberon* 2) Rossi: Aria from *Mitrane* (Diehl) 3) Schumann: Piano-Concerto, A-Minor 4) Mozart: Aria from *The Marriage of Figaro*, C-Major (Krause) 5) Beethoven: "Sanctus" and "Benedictus" from the *Missa solemnis* II 6) Lachner, Franz: Prelude and Fugue for großes Orchestra 7) Handel: "Halleluja" (Soprano) from *Esther* (Veith) 9) Beethoven: Violin-Concerto 9) Weber: Aria from *Euryanthe* 10) Haydn: Closing Chorus from the First Part of *Schöpfung*
1861-07-20	Kreuznach Kursaal *Soirée musicale of Clara Schumann*	Marie Wieck Carl Hill	1) Beethoven; Piano Sonata, D-Minor 2) Mendelssohn: 'Gott sei mir gnädig' from *Paulus* (Hill) 3) a) Chopin: *Trauermarsch* b) Schubert: Impromptu 4) Schumann: Two Lieder (Hill) 5) Mozart: Sonata for Two Pianos

			6) a) Gellert: *Ich klopf an deine Thüre* b) Goltermann: *Am Rhein* (Hill) 7) a) Schumann: *Nachstück* b) Romanze D-Minor c) Mendelssohn: Capriccio
1861-07-25	Aachen Kurhaus *Concert of Franz Wüllner*	Wüllner, N. N. .geboren Deutz Ltg.: Wüllner	I 1) Hiller: Overture to *Traum in der Christnacht* (The First Time) 2) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, G-Major, Op. 58 (Wüllner) 3) Schumann: Kyrie, Sanctus, Benedictus, Agnus Dei from the *Missa Sacra* (Manuscript) II 4) Mozart: Sonata for Two Pianoforte, D-Major 5) Wüllner: a) *Um Mitternacht* (Rodenberg) from Op. 5 b) *Lieb' um Liebe* (Goethe, Divan), Op. 2 c) *Thu nicht so spröde* (a.d. Liedern des Mirza-Schaffy von Bodenstedt), Op. 8 6) Beethoven: March and Chorus from the *Ruinen von Athen*
1861-08-08	Kreuznach Kursaal *Concert of Marie Wieck*	Ludwig Strauss Marie Wieck	1) Beethoven: Violin Sonata, G-Major 2) Mozart: "Dove sono" from *The Marriage of Figaro* (M. Wieck) 3) a) Chopin: Nocturne and Etude b) Weber: *Aufforderung zum Tanz* (M. Wieck) 4) Molique: Adagio and Rondo for Violin 5) Schumann: Andante and Variations for Two Pianoforte 6) a) Scarlatti, D.: Temp di Ballo b) Schumann: *Des Abends* c) Bach: Gavotte 7) Reißiger: *Schlummerlied* b) Curschmann: *Bächlein laß dein Rauschen* (M. Wieck)
1861-10-25	Hamburg Logensaal *Konzert of the Akademie of 1851-Carl Grädner*	Johannes Brahms John Böie Friedrich Breyther F. Honroth Kupfer Louis Lee Carl Otterer	Grädener Carl: Second Piano Trio, E flat-Major, Op. 35 Schuamnn: Andante and Variations for Two Pianos Op. 46 (with Brahms) Grädener: Third String Quartet, E flat-Major, Op. 23 Schumann: Three Pieces from *Kreisleriana*, Op. 16 Gade: Octet for Strings, Op. 17

1861-11-16	Hamburg kleiner Wörmer'scher Saal *Musikalische Abend-Anderhaltung of Clara Schumann*	J. Boie F. Breyther L. Lee Johannaes Brahms	1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, A-Major, Op. 101 2) Brahms: Lieder for Frauenchor: *In stiller Nacht*, *Mein Herzlein thut mir gar zu weh!*, *Wach auf, mein's Herzens Schöne* 3) Brahms: Piano Quartet II 4) Schumann: *Carneval* [sic!], Op. 9 5) Brahms: Lieder for Frauenchor, *Dort* [*Da*] *unten im Thale*, *Der Holdseligen*, *Wohin ich geh' and schaue* 6) Mozart: Sonata for Two Pianos, D-Major (with Brahms)
1861-11-19	Bremen *Second Privat-Concert*	Mathilde Enequist-Biondini	I Schumann: Second Symphony, C-Major Mendelssohn: Concert-Aria Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, G-Major II Mozart: Overture to *The Marriage of Figaro* Massé, Victor: Aria from *Les noces de Jeannette* Schumann: *Carneval* [sic!] Beethoven: Overture to *Leonore*, Nr. 3, C-Major
1861-11-23	Hannover Hoftheater: Concertsaal *Second Abonnement-Concert*		I 1) Haydn: Symphony, D-Major 2) Mozart: Piano-Concerto, C-Minor II 3) Schumann: Overture, Scherzo, and Finale 4) Mendelssohn: Three *Lieder ohne Worte* 5) Beethoven: Third Overture to *Leonore*
1861-11-25	Oldenburg Casino *First Abonnement-Concert*	Capellmusikus Müller II Großherzogl. Hofcapelle	I Mendelssohn: *Meeresstille und glücklicht Fahrt* Schumann: Piano-Concerto, A-Minor Pape, L.: Elegy for Clarinette and Orchestra Chopin: Impromptu Mendelssohn: Rondo capriccioso Bach: Gavotte, D-Minor Cherubini: Overture to the *Abencerragen* II Beethoven: Symphony, B-Major
1861-12-03	Hamburg Wörmer'scher Concertsaal 131st	Fr. Michal-Michaeli	I 1) Weber: Overture to *Euryanthe* 2) Mozart: Aria from *Don Giovanni* 3) Brahms: Piano-Concerto, D-Minor

	Philharmon. Privat-Concert		II 4) Herold: Aria from the *Zweikampf* 5) a) Chopin: Impromptu C#-Minor b) Schumann: *Schlummerlied* c) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* 6) Beethoven: Symphony, C-Major
1861-12-07	Hamburg kleiner Wörmer'scher Saal *Musikalische Abend-Anderhaltung of Clara Schumann*	Hrn. Dauthe Möller Sachse Wendlandt J. Böir Adolf Schulze	1) Mozart: Quintet for Piano and Wind Section, E flat-Major (with Winds) 2) Stradella: *O del mio dolce ardo* (Schulze) 3) Brahms: Handel-Variations II 4) Beethoven: Violin Sonata, G-Major, Op. 30, Nr. 3 5) a) Schubert: *Greisen-Gesang* b) Schumann: Ballade of the Harpists (Schultze) 6) a) Schumann: *Nachstück* b) Canon from the Studies for Grand Piano c) Bach: Gavotte, D-Minor
1861-12-12	Leipzig Gewandhaus *10th Abonnement-Concert*	Ltg.: Carl Reineck-S. Jadassohn; Gewandhaus-Orchestra Choir	I Reinecke: *Salvum fac regem* for Männerchor (For the First Time) Beethoven: Eighth Symphony, F-Major Schumann-Grädener: *Zigeunerleben*, Instrumental Mozart: Piano-Concerto, C-Minor Jadassohn: Overture (New, Manuscript) (Ltg.: Jadassohn) Schumann: Lieder for Mixed Chorus (The First Part) Hochländisches Lied (Burns) Das Schifflein (Uhland) a) Scarlatti: Andante and Presto b) Bach: Sarabande with Double and Gavotte, D-Minor
1861-12-14	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Fourth Abend-Unterhaltung for Kammermusik*	Dreyschock Raimand Röntgen Engelbert Hermann Davidoff Carl	I Mozart: String Quartet, D-Major Brahms: Handel-Variations (Manuscipt) II Bruch: Second String Quartet, E-Major (The First Part) Schumann: Piano Quartet, E flat-Major
1861-12-19	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Orchestra Pension Funds Concert*	Anna Reiss Moscheles Pauliner Sänger-Verein Ltg.: Carl Reinecke Gewandhaus-	I Bach, Carl Philip Emanuel: Third Symphony, F-Major (The First Time) Lachner, Franz: Aria from *Catharina Conaro* (Reiss) Bach: Concerto, C-Major for Three

		Orchestra	Grand Piano (with Moscheles and Reinecke) (The First Time) II Gade: Overture *Michel Angelo* (The First Time) Rossini: Cavatina from *La gazza ladra* (Reiss) a) Schumann: *Nachtstück* b) Canon A flat-Major for Grand Piano c) Chopin: Impromptu C#-Minor Schumann: Fest-Overture with Chorus over the *Rheinweinlied* (The First Time)
1862-01-21	Köln *Musicalische Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Julius Stockhausen Otto von Königslöw C. Derckum Fr. Weber A. Schmidt Ferdinand Hiller	I 1) Schumann: Claver Quintet 2) a) Hiller: *Harold* b) Schubert: *Aufenthalt* 3) a) Hiller: Capriccio, Op. 88 b) Mendelssohn: Two *Leider ohne Worte* II 4) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, D-Minor, Op. 31, Nr. 2 5) a) Schubert: *An die Leyer* b) Schumann: *Sonntags am Rhein* 6) a) Bach: Sarabande and Gavotte, G-Minor b) Scarlatti, D.: Andante and Presto
1862-01-23	Bonn Hôtel zum Goldenen Stern *Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Otto von Königslöw Frl. Schreck Dilettantin	1) Beethoven: *Kreutzer*-Sonata, Op. 47 2) Schumann: Lieder a) *Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär* b) *Herbstlie* 3) Chopin: Etude, Impromptu 4) Reinecke: Violin-Romanze 5) Schumann: *Carneval* [sic], Op. 9 6) Brambach, C.J.: a) *Abendgebet* b) *Das trübe Auge* 7) Mendelssohn: a) *Lied ohne Worte* b) Capriccio
1862-01-31	Frankfurt Junghof *Sixth Museums-Concert*	Caroline Dory-Roettger Ltg.: C. Müller	I 1) Haydn: Symphony, B-Major, Op. 98 2) Gluck: "Che faro senza Eurydice," from *Orpheus* 3) Schumann: Piano-Concerto, A-Minor II 4) Rossini: Aria from *Semiramis* 5) a) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* b) Chopin: Impromptu c) Bach: Gavotte, D-Minor 6) a) Mendelssohn: *Das erste Veilchen* b) Schubert: *Auf dem Wasser zu singen*

			7) Cherubini: Overture to the *Abencerragen*
1862-02-02	Frankfurt kleiner Concert-Saal *Musikalische Soirée of Clara Schumann*	C. Gloggner R. Becker H. Brinkmann	I 1) Mendelssohn: Second Piano Trio, C-Minor 2) Bach: Aria from the *Weihnachtsoratorium* (Gloggner) 3) a) Bach: Sarabande and Gavotte b) Scarlatti, D.: Andante and Presto II 4) Beethoven: *Sonata quasi fantasia*, E flat-Major 5) Schumann: a) *Mignon* b) *Hidalgo* (Gloggner) 6) Schuamnn: *Carneval* [sic], Op. 9
1862-02-05	Karlsruhe Hoftheater Foyer *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Hrn. Will Zahlberg Leikam Linder Hauser	I 1) Schumann: Piano Quintet 2) Schumann: Songs from Heine's *Dichterliebe* (Hauser) 3) a) Scarlatti, D.: Andante and Presto b) Bach: Gavotte, D-Minor II 4) Beethoven: *Sonata quasi fantasia*, E flat-Major 5) Schumann: a) *Frühlingsfahrt* (Eichendorff) b) *Waldesgespräch* (Eichendorff) (Hauser) 6) a) Chopin: Impromptu, C#-Minor b) Mendelssohn: Two *Lieder ohne Worte*
1862-02-12	Mühlhausen Salle de la Bourse *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Julius Stockhausen Hegar Kahnt	1) Mendelssohn: Piano Trio, C-Minor 2) Mozart: Aria from *The Marriage of Figaro* 3) Schumann: *Aufschwung*, *Schlummerlied* Chopin: Impromptu 4) Bach: Prelude, Loure, Gavotte, Rondo and Two Minuets 5) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, D-Minor 6) Schubert, Schumann: Lieder 7) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte*, Capriccio
1862-07-11	Kreuznach Cursaal *Concert to the Help the Orphanage of Veteran*	Damcke Frl. Drazdik Maximilian Wolff Ulrich	1) Weber: *Jubel*-Overture 2) Schubert: *Der Wanderer* (Damcke) 3) Beethoven: Violin-Romanze, Mendelssohn: Scherzo (Wolff) 4) Donizetti: Aria from *Linda di Chamounix* (Drazdik) 5) Mendelssohn: Piano-Concerto, G-Minor 6) a) Gumbert: *Zwei Äuglein braun*

			b) Häser: *Frühlingstoaste* (Damcke) 7) Goltermann: Cello-Concerto 8) Hölzel: *Ich hab im Traum geweinet*, Flotow: Aria from *Martha* (Drazdik) 9) David: Russian Fantasy for Violin
1862-07-21	Kreuznach Kursaal *Soirée musicale of Clara Schumann*	Frl. Oppenheimer Maximilian Wolff	1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, C-Major 2) Mozart: Aria from *Titus* (Oppenheimer) 3) a) Schumann: Romanze b) *Schlummerlied* c) Chopin: Etude 4) Beethoven: Violin-Romanze, F-Major (Wolff) 5) Mozart: Violin Sonata, A-Major (with Wolff) 6) Two Lieder (Opp.) 7) a) Bach: Gavotte b) Mendelssohn: Two *Lieder ohne Worte*
1862-10-04	Mühlhausen Salle de la Bourse *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Julius Stockhausen F. Hégar Lübeck	1) Mendelssohn: Piano Trio, C-Minor 2) Grétry: Aria 3) Servais: *Adagio religioso*, *Rondo militaire* for Violincello 4) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, F-Minor, *Appassionata* 5) a) Mendelssohn: *Rheinisches Volkslied* b) Schubert: *Aufenthalt* c) Schumann: *O Sonnenschein* 6) Bach: Gavotte b) Schumann: *Des Abends* c) Weber: Rondo
1862-10-06	Baden-Baden Salon Louis *XIV Soirée Musicale*	Mme. Beringer Hrn. Monari-Rocca Sivori Oudshorn Stenebrüggen	1) Mozart: Duet from *The Marriage of Figaro* (Beringer and Monari) 2) Beethoven: Piano Sonata 3) Sivori: Fantasy *Homma à Bellini* 4) a) Mercadante: *La Rosa* b) Donizetti: Rondo from *L'Esule di Roma* (Beringer) 5) Reißiger: Serenade for Horn and Cello 6) a) Schumann: Romanze b) Mendelssohn: *Lieder ohne Worte* 7) Donizetti: Romanze from *Marie di Rudenz* (Monari) 8) Paganini: *Recitativee, Prière de Moise et Thème varié auf 1 Saite* 9) Verdi: Duet from *Rigoletto*
1862-11-04	Barmen *Die schöne*		Schubert: *Die schöne Müllerin* (Im Winter zu lesen)

	Müllerin		*Der Dichter, als Prolog* [First Part (with Two Breaks) by: "Mein"] Intermezzo Beethoven: Piano Sonata, C#-Minor [Leider, with Four Breaks between]
1862-11-07	Frankfurt Junghof *Second Museums-Concert*	Ltg.: C. Müller	I 1) Haydn: Symphony, B-Major 2) Rietz: *Altdeutscher Schlachtgesang* for Männerchor and Orchestra 3) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, G-Major II 4) Schubert: *Gesand der Geister über den Wassern* for Eight Voices, Männerchor with Instruments 5) a) Schumann: Novellette, D-Major b) Romanze, F#-Major c) Chopin: Etude G flat-Major 6) Beethoven: Overture, Op. 115
1862-11-13	Frankfurt a. M. großer Concert-Saal *Soirée of Clara Schumann and Stockhausen*	Julius Stockhausen	I 1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, F-Minor 2) Schubert: *Der Wanderer* 3) Chopin: Ballade G-Minor II 4) Schumann: *Dichterliebe* (Heine), First Book 5) Schumann: Three Pieces from *Kreisleriana* 6) Schumann: *Dichterliebe*, Second Book
1862-11-15	Karlsruhe Foyer des Hoftheaters *Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Hrn. Willl Lindner Frl. Genast	I 1) Mendelssohn: Piano Trio, D-Minor 2) Schumann: a) *Der arme Peter* b) *Der Nußbaum* (Genast) 3) Schumann: a) *Aufschwung* b) *Des Abends* c) *Traumes Wirren* II 4) Beethoven: *Sonata quasi Fantasia*, C#-Minor 5) Hiller: *Die Wallfahrt nach Kevlaar* (Heine) (Genast) 6) Chopin: a) Nocturne b) Etude
1862-11-25	Hamburg großer Wörmer'scher Saal *Soirée of Clara Schumann and*	Julius Stockhausen	I 1) Beethoven: *Sonata quasi Fantasia*, C#-Minor, Op. 27, Nr. 2 2) Buononcini: Romanze from *Griselda* 3) Brahms: Handel-Variations II

	Stockhausen		4) Schumann: *Dichterliebe* (Heine), First Book 5) Schumann: Three Pieces from *Kreisleriana* 6) Schumann: *Dichterliebe*, Second Book
1862-11-27	Hamburg großer Wörmer'scher Saal *Second Soirée of Clara Schumann and Stockhausen*	Julius Stockhausen J. Böie F. Breyther A. Hohnroth L. Lee	1) Schumann: Piano Quintet, Op. 44 2) Schubert: Reisebilder von Wilhehl Müller, *Winterreise*: a) *Gute Nacht* b) *Die Wtterfahne* c) *Gefrorne Thränen* d) *Erstarrung* 3) a) Bach: Gavotte, G-Minor b) Scarlatti: Andante and Presto 4) [Schubert]: *Reisebilder* 5) *Der Lindenbaum* 6) *Die Post* 7) *Wasserfluth* 8) *Auf dem Flusse* 9) *Rückblick* 5) Mendelssohn: Two *Lieder ohne Worte*, F-Major, A-Major 6) [Schubert]: *Reisebilder* 10) *Der griese Kopf* 11) *Die Krähe* 12) *Letzte Hoffnung* 13) *Im Dorfe*
1862-12-06	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Soirée of Clara Schumann and Stockhausen*	Julius Stockhausen	Beethoven: Piano Sonata, C#-Minor Gretry: Aria from *La ffromse magie* Piano-Solo Schumann: *Dichterliebe* (Heine), First Book Schumann: a) Romanze, D-Minor b) Andante F#-Major c) Novellette D-Major Schumann *Dichterliebe*, Second Book
1862-12-08	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe *Soirée musicale of Clara Schumann*	Marie Wieck Katharina Lorch	1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata *Appassionata*, Op. 57 2) Mozart: Recitativee and Aria from *The Marriage of Figaro* (Lorch) 3) a) Rameau: Gigue, Musette and Tambourin b) Chopin: Ballade, Op. 23 4) Schumann: Three Duets for Two Sopranos: a) *An den Abendstern* b) *An die Nachtigall* c) *Schön Blümelein* 5) Schumann: Andante and Variations

			for Two Pianoforte (with Marie Wieck) 6) Schumann: a) *Es weiß and räth es doch keener* b) *An den Sonnenschein* 7) a) Bach: Gavotte, G-Major b) Mendelssohn: Two *Lieder ohne Worte*, F-Major, A-Major
1862-12-11	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Ninth Abonnement-Concert*	Ltg.: Carl Reinecke	I Cherubini: Overture to the *Abenceragen* Schumann: *Concertstück* for Pianoforte Bach: Suite for String Instruments Beethoven: Variations, Op. 35 II Beethoven: *Eroica* Symphony
1862-12-13	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Third Abend-Unterhaltung for Kammermusik*	Ferdinand David Raimand Röntgen Hermann Krumbholz Marie Wieck	I Beethoven: String Quartet, F-Major, Op. 135 Schumann: First Piano Trio, D-Minor (with David and Krumbholz) II Haydn: String Quartet, E flat-Major Mozart: Sonata for Two Pianos, D-Major (with M. Wieck)
1862-12-30	Dresden Hôtel de Save *Second and Last Musikalische Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Marie Wieck Katharina Lorch	1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, Op. 27 2) Donizetti: Scene and Romanze from *Lucretia Borgia* (Lorch) 3) Schumann: Two Romances, Op. 32, Nr. 3 and Op. 28, Novellette D-Major 4) a) Horn, Aug.: *Vöglein in den sonn'gen Tagen* b) Schumann: *Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär* c) *Pflücket Rosen* (Marie Wieck and Lorch) 5) Mozart: Sonata for Two Pianoforte (with Marie Wieck) 6) a) Mendelssohn: *Auf Flügeln des Gesanges* (Lorch) 7) Chopin: a) Nocturne, C-Minor b) Valse C#-Minor c) Etude G flat-Major
1863-01-27	Köln Gürzenich *Sixth Gesellschafts-Concert*	Salvatore Marschesi Ltg.: Ferdinand Hiller-Woldemar Bargiel	I 1) Schumann: Overture to *Genoveva* 2) Handel: Aria from *Ezio* 3) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major 4) Bargiel: *Psalm XIII* for Chorus and Orchestra (The First Time, Ltg.: Bargiel) 5) a) Schumann: Novellette, Op. 21, Nr.

			2 b) Chopin: Nocturne F#-Minor c) Mendelssohn: *Frühlingslied* (A-Major) 6) Mozart: Aria from *The Marriage of Figaro* II 7) Beethoven: Fourth Symphony, B-Major
1863-02-05	Bonn Goldener Stern *Fourth Abonnement-Concert*	Ltg.: C.J. Brambach	I Gade: Overture, "Nachklänge" from *Ossian* Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major Bach: Credo (Chorus) from the B-Minor Mass II Schumann: Novellette Mendelssohn: Two *Leider ohne Worte*, F-Major and A-Major Mozart: Symphony, D-Major
1863-04-20	Trier großer Casino-Saal *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Fr. Hartmann	I 1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, C-Major, Op. 53 2) Spohr: Aria from *Faust* 3) Schumann: *Novellette*, *Schlummerlied*, *Traumes Wirren* II 4) a) Chopin: Impromptu and Nocturne b) Bach: Gavotte 5) Schubert, Schumann: Lieder 6) Mendelssohn: Capriccio, Op. 14
1863-04-27	Saarbrücken Casino *Concert of Clara Schumann*		I 1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, D-Minor, Op. 31, Nr. 2 2) Schubert: Lieder 3) Schumann: a) *Traumes Wirren* b) *Schlummerlied* c) *Romanze* II 4) a) Rameau: Gigue, Musette and Tambourin b) Scarlatti: Andante c) Bach: Gavotte 5) Schumann: Lieder 6) Mendelssohn: Capriccio, Op. 14
1863-07-07	Baden-Baden Maison de Conversation *Grand Concert of*	Pauline Viardot Jean Becker Auguste Müller Männerquartett:	I: Beethoven: Seventh Symphony, A-Major II 1) Marcello: Fragment *19th Psalm*

	the Mannheimer Theater-Orchestras To help the Orphanages and Widows	Schlosser Rocke Stepan Ditt Choral Society of Baden Ltg: V. Lachner	(Viardot and Choir) 3) Graun: Aria from *Britannico* 4) Lachner, V: Männer-Lieder a) *An die Kunst* b) *Männergesang* 5) Beethoven: Violin- Conerto (Jean Becker) 5) Mozart: *Ave verum* (Choir) 7) Müller, A.: Adagio for Contrabass (Auguste Müller) 8) Schumann: a) *Ich grolle nicht* b) *Frühlingsnacht* 9) a) Kücken: *Die jungen Musikanten* b) Lachner, V.: *Rheinland* (Männer-Quartet--Schlosser, Rocke, Stepan, Ditt) 10) Weber: Overture to *Freischütz*
1863-09-29	München Odeon *Third Concert in the Rahmen of the Three-Days Musikfest*	Ltg.: Franz Lachner Lousie Dustmann Sophie Diez Philippe von Edelsberg Anna Deinet Mayer Emma Seehofer Hr. A. Kindermann Joseph Joachim Musikalische Akademie	I 1) Mendelssohn: Overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* 2) Spohr: Aria from *Jessonda* (Dustmann) 3) Schumann: Piano-Concerto 4) Mozart: Aria from *The Marriage of Figaro* (Hr. A. Kindermann) 5) Beethoven: Violin-Concerto 6) Chelard: Terzet from *Macbeth* (The First Three) II 7) Haydn: Aria from *Orpheus and Eurydice* (Spohie Diez) 8) Schumann: Violin Sonata, A-Minor 9) Schubert: *Ständchen* (Grillparzer) (Edelsberg, Deinet, Diez, Seehofer, Mayer) 10) Bach: Chaconne 11) a) Schumann: Lied from *Mignon* b) Mendelssohn: *Frühlingslied* (Klingemann) c) Schubert: *Heidenröslein* (Goethe) (Dustmann) 12) Weber: Overture to *Freischütz*
1863-10-01	München Odeon *Concert der musikalischen Akademie*		I 1) Weber: Overture to *Oberon* 2) Spohr: Violin-Concerto, E-Minor 3) Lachner, F.: Aria from *Catharina Cornaro* (Sophie Stehle) 4) Mendelssohn: Piano-Concerto, G-Minor II

			5) Tartini: Sonata with the *Teufelstriller* 6) Schubert: Two Lieder (Stehle) 7) a) Schumann: *Schlummerlied* b) Kreisleriana c) Scarlatti, D.: Andante and Presto 8) Cherubini: Schlummerlied from *Blanche de Provence* 9) Beethoven: Große Violin Sonata, A-Minor
1863-10-21	Aachen Kurhaus *First Abonnement-Concert*	Frau C. Newss Ltg.: Franz Wüllner	I 1) Cherubini: Overture to *Anakreon* 2) Beethoven: Fourth Piano-Concerto, G-Major 3) Mendelssohn: Finale from *Loreley* 4) Weber: Concertstück for Pianoforte II 5) Beethoven: Eroica Symphony
1863-10-23	Frankfurt a. M. großer Concert-Saal *Second Museums-Concert*	Eurphrosyne Parepa Ltg.: C. Müller	I 1) Haydn: Symphony, D-Minor (The First Time) 2) Handel: Aria from *Samson* 3) Mendelssohn: Piano-Concerto, G-Minor II 4) Mozart: Aria, The Queen of the Night 5) Beethoven: *Eroica*-Variations, Op. 35 6) Auber: Aria from *Der Schwur* 7) Beethoven: Overture, Op. 124
1863-10-25	Frankfurt a. M. kleiner Concert-Saal *First Kammermusik-Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Fr. Konewka-Martin Hrn. L. Strauz H. Brinkmann	I 1) Schmitt, Aloys: Piano Trio, Op. 122 2) Rossini: Aria from *La gazza ladra* (Konewka) 3) Schumann: Etudes in the Form of Variations, Op. 12 [sic! Op. 13] II 4) Beethoven: Piano Trio, E flat-Major, Op. 70 5) Stradella: *Kirchen*-Aria (Konewka) 6) a) Schumann: *Schlummerlied* b) Mendelssohn: Scherzo à Capriccio
1863-10-30	Frankfurt kleiner Concert-Saal *Second Kammermusik-Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Pauline Wiesemann Str.:L. Straus Ruppert Becker Dietz Brinkmann	I 1) Schumann: Piano Quintet 2) a) Hauptmann: *Ach neige* b) Mozart: *Das Veilchen* (Wiesemann) 3) Beethoven: Variations, C-Minor, Op. 36 [sic!: 80] II 4) Mozart: Violin Sonata, A-Major

			5) Schumann: a) *Widmung* b) *Mondnacht* (Wiesemann) 6) a) Kirchner: *Albumblätter*, Op. 7, Nr. 1, 2 b) Piano Piece E flat-Major from Op. 2 c) Chopin: Etude, G flat-Major
1863-11-03	Mannheim Theater-Saal *Großes Concert of* *Clara Schumann*	Hr. Lück Frl. Rohn	Castelli: Lustspiel, *Die Schwäbin* 1) Mendelssohn: Symphony, A-Major 2) Beethoven; Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major 3) Méhul: Aria from *Joseph in Ägypten* (Lück) 4) Schumann: a) *Romanze*, Op. 32, Nr. 3 b) *Schlummerlied*, Op. 124, Nr. 16 c) *Traumes Wirren*, Op. 12, Nr. 7 5) Spohr: Aria from *Faust* (Rohn) 6) Mendelssohn: Rondo capriccioso, Op. 14
1863-11-09	Münster *Concert des* *Musik-Vereins*		I 1) Cherubini: Overture to the *Abencerragen* 2) Mendelssohn: Piano-Concerto, G-Minor 3) Grimm, Jul. O: *Hymne an die Musik* (L. Schücking) for Choir and Orchestra (Manuscript) II 4) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, D-Minor 5) Schumann: Three Romanzes for Frauenchor: a) *Jäger Wohlgemuth* (Wanderhorn) b) *Klosterfräulein* (Kerner) c) *Soldatenbraut* (Mörike) 6) a) Schumann: Romanze, D-Minor, Op. 32, Nr. 3 b) *Schlummerlied*, Op. 124, Nr. 16 c) Chopin: Etude, G flat-Major 7) a) Schumann-Grädner: *Zigeunerleben* (Geibel) b) Beethoven: Feierl. Marsch and Chorus from the *Ruinen of Athen*
1863-11-13	Hamburg Wörmer'scher Saal *139th* *Philharmonische* *Privat-Concert*	Dr. Gunz	I 1) Beethoven: Overture to *Leonore*, Nr. 1 2) Boieldieu: Aria from *Die weiße Dame* 3) Mendelssohn: Piano-Concerto, G-Minor 4) a) Schubert: *Normann's Gesang* b) Schumann: *Der Hidalgo* c) Mendelssohn: *Frühlingslied*

			5) Beethoven: *Eroica*-Variations II 6) Schumann: Second Symphony
1863-11-15	Hamburg *Matinée for Kammer-Musik of Stockhausen and Clara Rose*	Julius Stockhausen Clara Rose Beer Brandt Hegar Otterer	1) Mozart: String Quartet, E flat-Major 2) Beethoven: *Adelaide* 3) Brahms: String-Sextet 4) Schubert: *Geistliche Lieder* 5) Schumann: Piano Quartet
1863-11-18	Hamburg *Soirée musicale of Clara Schumann*	Julius Stockhausen Rose Hegar	1) Beethoven: Piano Trio, E flat-Major, Op. 70, Nr. 2 2) Schumann: *Dichterliebe* (Heine), Book One 3) a) Bach: *Preamble*, G-Major b) Handel: Sarabande, Gigue, Passacaglia 4) Schumann: *Dichterliebe*, Book Two 5) a) Schumann: *Novellette-Nachtstückt* b) Mendelssohn: Scherzo, F#-Minor
1863-11-21	Rostock Apollo-Saal *First Abonnement-Concert*		I 1) Mozart: Symphony, Nr. 6, C-Major 2) Mendelssohn: Piano-Concerto, G-Minor II 3) Schumann: Overture to *Genoveva* 4) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, D-Minor 5) Mozart: Andante from the Sonata, C-Minor, Arranged for Orchestra 6) a) Schumann: Romanze, D-Minor, Schlummerlied b) Chopin: Etude, G flat-Major
1863-11-23	Schwerin Schauspielhaus *Second Abonnement-Concert*	Frl. Flies Hr. Berger	I 1) Schmitt, A.: Concert Overture 2) Schumann: Piano-Concerto, A-Minor 3) Mozart: Aria from *Titus* with Clarinet 4) a) Scarlatti: Andante and Presto b) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* c) Rondo capriccioso II 5) Beethoven: Symphony, A-Major
1863-11-26	Wismar	Zahn Fincke Rosenkranz Bellmann Lüstner Kupfer	1) Schumann: Piano Quintet, Op. 44 2) Schumann: *Widmung*, *Waldesgespräch* *Frühlingsnacht* (F. Fincke) 3) Chopin: a) Impromptu b) Nocturne c) Etude G flat-Major II 4) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, D-Minor, Op. 31, Nr. 2

			5) Raaf: Quartet Adagio (Zahn, Lüstner, Kupfer, Bellmann) 6) a) Schumann: *Schlummerlied* b) Mendelssohn: Rondo capriccioso
1863-11-28	Güstrow Hotel zum Erbgroßherzog *Concert of Clara Schumann*		I 1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, D-Minor, Op. 31, Nr. 2 2) a) Schubert: Romanze from *Rosamande* b) Schumann: *Du Ring an meinem Finger* (Alto) 3) a) Schubert: *Moment musical* b) Chopin: Nocturne c) Impromptu 4) Bazzini: a) *Elegie* b) *La ronde des lutins* (Violin) II 5) Schumann: Etudes in the Form of Variations, Op. 13 6) a) Schumann: *Dein Angesicht* b) Franz: *Blümlein im Garten* (Baritone) c) Schumann: *Frühlingsnacht* 7) Mendelssohn: Rondo capriccioso
1863-12-03	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Eighth Abonnement-Concert*	Ltg: Carl Reindecke-Woldemar Bargiel Choir Gewandhaus-Orchestra	I Mozart: Symphony, G-Minor Haydn: *Der Sturm*, for Choir and Orchestra Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, G-Major II Schumann: Overture to *Genoveva* Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* Bargiel: *XIII Psalm* for Choir and Orchestra (The First Time, Ltg.: Bargiel)
1863-12-04	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Third Abend-Unterhaltung für Kammermusik*	Ferdinand David Röntgen Hermann Lübeck Bolland Pester	I Rudorff, Ernst: String Sextet (New, Manuscript) Schumann: Second Piano Trio, F-Major (with David and Lübeck) II Schumann: String Quartet, Nr. 3 Beethoven: Variations, C-Minor
1863-12-08	Braunschweig *Verein for Concert-Musik*	Amalie and Joseph Joachim	1) Schumann: Violin Sonata, A-Minor 2) Schubert: "Kolmas Klage" from *Ossian* 3) Beethoven: Variations, C-Minor, Op. 36 [sic! 80] 4) Bach: Suite for Violin 5) Schumann: a) *Blondels Lied* b) *Loreley*

			6) Beethoven: Violin Sonata, G-Major
1863-12-18	Detmold Schauspielhaus *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Carl Bargheer Forstliche Hofkapelle	1) Spohr: Overture to *Faust* 2) Kreutzer, R.: Andante and Rondo for Violin 3) Schumann: Piano-Concerto, A-Minor II 4) Mendelssohn: *Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt* 5) a) Scarlatti, D.: Allegro b) Chopin: Nocturne and Etude 6) David: Minuet and Etude from the *Bunten Reihe* 7) Mendelssohn: Capriccio, B-Minor for Pianoforte with Orchestra
1863-12-20	Detmold *Hofconcert*		1) Beethoven: Overture to *Leonore*, Nr. 1 2) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major II 3) Schumann: *Carneval* [sic!] 4) Viotti: Adagio for Violin 5) Weber: *Concerstück* for Pianoforte and Orchestra
1863-12-22	Bremen *Fourth Privat-Concert*	Caroline Bettelheim	I Schumann: Second Symphony, C-Major Rossi: Aria from *Mitrane* Mendelssohn: Piano-Concerto, G-Minor II Bargiel: Overture to *Medea* Rossini: Aria from the *Italienerin in Algier* Beethoven: Variations, C-Minor a) Schubert: *Der Tod und das Mädchen* b) Schumann: *Sonntags am Rhein* Mozart: Overture to *The Magic Flute*
1863-12-29	Köln große Gürzenich-Saal *Fifth Gesellschafts-Concert*	Pauline Wiesemann Ltg.: Ferd. Hiller-Max Bruch	I 1) Gade: Sixth Symphony 2) Hiller: Aria from *Saul* 3) Mozart: Piano-Concerto, C-Minor 4) Cherubini; Overture to *Lodoisca* 5) a) Schumann: Canon, A flat-Major from the Pedal Studies b) Hiller: Impromptu, D-Minor, Op. 30 c) *Zur Guitarre* 6) Brucht: *Die Flucht der heiligen Familie* (Eichendorff) for mixed Chorus and Orchestra (The First Time) 7a)[Schubert]: *Die junge Nonne* b) Schumann: *Widmung* 8) Beethoven: Choral Fantasy

1864-01-07	Köln *Muscalische Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Otto von Königslöw Schmit Ferdinand Hiller Josephine Daberkow	I 1) Schumann: First Piano Trio, D-Minor 2) Haydn: Aria from *Schöpfung* 3) Beethoven: Variations, C-Minor, Op. 36 II 4) Mozart: Sonata, D-Major for Two Pianoforte 5) Schumann: a) *Warum soll ich denn wandern* b) *Dein Bildnis* c) *Frühling läßt sein blaues Band* 6) a) Schubert: Two *Moments musical* from Op. 94 b) Schumann: *Des Abends* c) Chopin: Impromptu
1864-01-16	Hannover Schauspielhaus *Abonnement-Concert*	Mad. Caggiati Ltg.: Joseph Joachim	I 1) Cherubini: Overture to *Anakreon* 2) Weber: *Concerstück* 3) Spohr: Aria from *Faust* 4) a) Schumann: Canon, A flat-Major b) Hiller, Ferdinand: *Zur Guitarre* c) Impromptus II 5) Beethoven: Ninth Symphony
1864-01-19	Hamburg *Concert of the Sing-Academie*	Julius Stockhausen A. Schulze Sing-Academie	I Bach: Cantanta, *Wachet auf* II Beethoven: Choral Fantasie III Schumann: Scene from Goethe's *Faust*, Third Section
1864-01-27	Königsberg Deutsches Haus *Concert of Clara Schumann*		I 1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, D-Minor, Op. 31, Nr. 2 2) Schumann: a) *Dein Angesicht*, Op. 127, Nr. 2 b) *Wanderlied*, Op. 35, Nr. 3 3) Schumann: a) *Romanze* from Op. 28 b) *Des Abends* c) *Traumes Wirren*, Op. 12, Nr. 1, 7 II 4) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses*, Op. 54 5) Schubert: Müller-Lieder a) *Der Newgierige* b) *Des Müllers Blumen* 6) a) Schubert: Two Pieces from the *Moments musical*, Op. 94

			b) Chopin: Nocturne and Etude
1864-01-29	Königsberg Deutsches Haus *Second Concert of Clara Schumann*		I 1) Schumann: Etudes in the Form of Variations, Op. 13 2) Beethoven: *Adelaide*, Op. 46 3) a) Bach: Gavotte, D-Minor b) Scarlatti: Allegro, Andante and Presto II 4) a) Kirchner: Piano Piece from Op. 2 b) Albumblätter, Op. 7, Nr. 1, 2 c) Chopin: Impromptu C#-Minor 5) Schumann: *Her Hidalgo*, Op. 30, Nr. 3 6) a) Schumann: *Schlummerlied*, Op. 124, Nr. 16 b) Mendelssohn: Rondo capriccioso
1864-02-03	Königsberg Deutsches Haus *Third and Last Concert of Clara Schumann*	Adolph Jensen	1) Mozart: Sonata for Two Pianoforte, D-Major 2) Gluck: Recitative and Aria from *Orpheus* 3) Schumann: *Carneval* [sic], Op. 9 4) Rubinstein: Two Lieder a) *Lied* b) *Räthsel* 5) Schumann: Andante and Variations for Two Pianoforte, Op. 46 6) a) Mendelssohn: *Da lieg ich unter den Bäumen*, Op. 84, Nr. 1 b) Schumann: *Waldesgespräch*, Op. 39, Nr. 3 (Sopr) 7) a) Chopin: Impromptu, A flat-Major b) Hiller, Ferdinand: *Zur Guitarre* c) Mendelssohn: Two *Lieder ohne Worte*, F-Major, C-Major
1864-06-02	Königsberg Königshalle *Muskalische Soirée*		1) a) Chopin: Nocturne b) Scarlatti: Sonata 2) Song 3) Moscheles: *Hommage à Handel* for Two Pianoforte II 4) Beethoven: *Sonata quasi fantasia*, C#-Minor, Op. 27, Nr. 2 5) Gesang 6) a) Chopin: Valse and Mazurka b) Schumann: *Schlummerlied* c) Schubert: Two Pieces from *Moments musical* 7) Gesang 8) Mendelssohn: Rondo capriccioso

1864-07-06	Baden-Baden Maison de Conversation *Concert of Hr. and Fr. Heermann*	Hugo Heermann Oudshorn Strauss Reichel Hélène Heermann Pauline Viardot	I 1) Schumann: Piano Quintet 2) Thomas, John: *Adieu my Native Country* (Harp) 3) Viardot: a) *Die Sterne* (with Violincello-Accompaniment) b) *Die Meise* (with Violincello-Accompaniment II 4) a) Hiller, Ferdinand: Impromptu, *Zur Guitarre* b) Mendelssohn: Two *Lieder ohne Worte* 5) Vieuxtemps: Ballade and Polonaise 6) Schumann: a) *Waldesgespräch* b) *Der Hidalgo* 7) Oberthür: Harp Fantasy over an Irish Lied
1864-09-13	Baden-Baden Maison de Conversation *Grand Concert of the Orchestra of the Hoftheater of Karlsruhe*	Pauline Viardot J. Hauser Ed. Singer J. Pohl Ltg: Kalliwoda Orchestra des Hoftheaters Karlsruhe	1) Beethoven: Fifth Symphony, C-Minor 2) Rossini: Aria from the *Italienerin in Algier* (Viardot) 3) Weber: *Concerstück* 4) Schumann: Fragment [sic] from *Faust* (Hauser, with Harp) 5) Paganini: First Violin-Concerto, First Movement 6) a) Schumann: Andante b) Chopin: Scherzo 7) Gluck: Aria from *Orpheus* (Viardot) 8) Vieuxtemps: Rêverie for Violin 9) Mendelssohn: *Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt*
1864-10-25	Heidelberg Museum *Großes Concert of Clara Schumann*	Frau Beggrow Hrn. Konig Heydt Mayber Kündinger	I 1) Schumann: Piano Quintet 2) a) Levi, H.: *Der Letze Gruß* b) Schubert: *Der Lindenbaum* c) Ständchen (Beggrow) 3) Chopin: a) Fantasy-Impromptu b) Nocturne c) Weber: Rondo II 4) Beethoven: Große Piano Sonata, Op. 53 5) Schumann: a) *Helft mir, Schwestern* b) *Soldatenbraut* c) *Frühlingsnacht* (Beggrow) 6) Schumann: a) *Warum*? b) *Aufschwung* 7) Mendelssohn: Two *Lieder ohne Worte*

1864-10-27	Mannheim Theater-Saal *Großes Concert of Clara Schumann*	Fanny Deconei	L. Schmidt: *Derzerbrochene Krug* (in One Act) 1) Mendelssohn: *Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt* 2) Schumann: Piano-Concerto, A-Minor 3) Gluck: Aria from *Orpheus* 4) a) Schubert: *Moment musical*, Nr. 1 b) Hiller: *Zur Guitarre* c) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* 5) Schubert: a) *Der Newgierige* b) *Der Wanderer* 6) Weber: *Concerstück*
1864-11-02	Karlsruhe Hoftheater: Foyer *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Will Leikam Lindner Kammersänger Hauser	I 1) Schumann: Piano Quartet 2) Brahms: Romanze from Tieck's *Magelone* 3) a) Bach: Sarabande and Gavotte, G-Minor b) Mendelssohn: Scherzo F#-Minor II 4) Schumann: Etudes in the Form of Variations, Op. 13 5) Schumann: a) *Aufträge* b) Romanze from den *Spanischen Liebesliedern* 6) a) Schubert: *Moment Musical*, Nr. 1 b) Hiller: *Zur Guitarre* c) Weber: Scherzo
1864-11-08	Mannheim Theater *First Musikalische Akademie of the Hoftheater-Orchestra*	Gr. Hess. Hofoperansänger Nachbauer	I Schumann: Overture, Scherzo, and Finale II 1) [Boieldieu:] Aria from *Die weiße Frau* (Nachbauer) 2) Mendelssohn: Piano-Concerto, G-Minor 3) Schubert, Abt: Lieder (Nachbauer) 4) Schumann: Etude in the Form of Variations 5) Rietz: Concert-Overture
1864-11-15	Köln Hôtel Disch *First Soirée for Kammermusik*	[F. Hiller] Otto von Königslöw F. Derckum G. Japha A. Schmit	1) Schumann: String Quartet, F-Major, Op. 41, Nr. 2 2) Beethoven: Piano Trio, E flat-Major, Op. 70, Nr. 2 3) Beethoven: String Quartet, F-Minor, Op. 95

1864-11-19	Elberfeld Casino *First Abonnement-Concert*	J.A. van Eyken Ltg.: MD Schornstein	1) Gluck: Overture to *Iphigenie in Aulis* 2) Schumann: Piano-Concerto 3) Brahms: *Geistliches Lied* for Mixed Chorus with Organ Accompaniment 4) a) Schubert: *Moment Musical*, Op. 94, Nr. 1 b) Hiller, F: Impromptu *Zur Guitarre* c) Weber: Scherzo from the Sonata, A flat-Major 5) Burch: *Die Flucht der heiligen Familie* for Mixed Chorus with Orchestral Accompaniment 6) Beethoven: Symphony, C-Minor
1864-11-22	Bremen *Second Privat-Concert*	Aglaja Orgeni	I Schumann: Overture, Scherzo and Finale Mozart: Recitative and Aria from *Don Giovanni* (Orgeni) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major II Rubinstein, Anton: Concert-Overture (New) Verdi: Scene and Aria from *La Traviata* (Orgeni) Weber: *Concerstück* Schumann: a) *Lust der Sturmnacht* b) *Stille Liebe* c) *Ich wandre nicht* (Orgeni) Mendelssohn: Overture to *Ruy Blas*
1864-11-24	Düsseldorf Tonhalle *Rittersaal Soirée*	Josesph Joachim	1) Schumann: Violin Sonata, A-Minor 2) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* 3) Bach: Loure, Minuet, and Gavotte for Violin 4) a) Hiller: Impromptu *Zur Guitarre* b) Chopin: Nocturne, G-Minor c) Weber: Scherzo, A flat-Major 5) Beethoven: Violin Sonata, Op. 47
1864-11-29	Braunschweig Verein for Concert-Musik *Fourth Abonnement-Concert*	Amalie and Joseph Joachim	1) Schumann: Second Violin Sonata, D-Minor 2) Schubert: *Memnon* 3) a) Schubert: *Moment Musical*, Op. 94, Nr. 1 b) Hiller, Ferdinand: Impromptu *Zur Guitarre* c) Chopin: Scherzo, B-Minor 4) Bach: Chaconne (Violin) 5) a) Schubert [sic! Schumann]: *Der Schatzgräber*, *Die Hütte*

			6) Beethoven: Violin Sonata, G-Major, Op. 96
1865-12-2	Hamburg Wörmer'scher Concertsaal *146th philharmonisches Privat-Concert*	Therese Tietjens	1) Mozart: Symphony, G-Minor 2) Weber: "Wie nahte mir der Schlummer" from *Freischütz* 3) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major 4) Schumann: a) *Er, der Herrlichste von allen* b) *Der Nußbaum* 5) a) Schubert: *Moment Musical*, Op. 94, Nr. 1 b) Hiller: Impromptu *Zur Guitarre* c) Weber: Scherzo, A flat-Major 6) Mendelssohn: Finale from *Loreley*
1864-12-04	Hamburg *Matinée for Kammer-Musik*	Julius Stockhausen Rosé Mazkowski Beer Hegar	1) Haydn: String Quartet, D-Major 2) French Folk Lieder 3) Brahms: Piano Quartet, A-Major 4) Schubert: *Erlkönig* 5) Volkmann: String Quartet, G-Minor
1864-12-06	Hamburg *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Julius Stockhausen Rosé Hegar	1) Beethoven: Piano Trio, B-Major, Op. 97 2) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses,* Op. 54 II 3) Schumann: *Dichterliebe* (Heine), Book One 4) a) Kirchner: *Album-Blätter*, Nr. 1, 2, 5, 6 b) Schumann: Canon from Op. 56 5) Schumann: *Dichterliebe*, Book Two
1864-12-09	Kiel *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Julius Stockhausen Rosé Hegar	1) Mendelssohn: Großes Piano Trio, D-Minor, Op. 49 2) Schubert: *Der Zwerg* 3) Schumann: a) *Romanze*, Op. 32, Nr. 3 b) *Schlummerlied*, Op. 124, Nr. 16 c) *Traumes Wirren*, Op. 12, Nr. 7 II 4) Beethoven: *Sonata quasi fantasia*, C#-Minor, Op. 27, Nr. 2 5) Schumann: a) *An den Sonnenschein* b) *Der Nußbaum* c) *Frühlingsnacht* 6) a) Chopin: Impromptu, C#-Minor b) Mendelssohn: Two *Lieder ohne Worte*
1864-12-13	Schwerin Schauspielhaus *Second Abonnement-*	Fr. Reiss Choir of the Hoftheaters	I 1) Burgmüller, N.: Symphony in D-Major, Three Movements (The First Time)

	Concert		2) Gluck: Scene and Aria from *Lucio vero* (The First Time) 3) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, G-Major II 4) Schumann: Overture to *Genoveva* (The First Time) 5) a) Schumann: *Romanze*, D-Minor b) *Warum* c) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte,* C-Major 6) Schmitt, A.: a) *Festmarsch* b) Scene for Soprano and Choir from *Maienzauber*
1865-01-07	Berlin Singakademie *Concert of Clara Schumann and Stockhausen*	Julius Stockhausen de Ahna Hegar	1) Schumann: Piano Trio, D-Minor 2) Schubert: a) *An die Leyer* b) *Waldesnacht* 3) Beethoven: Variations, C-Minor, Op. 36 [sic!: Op. 80] 4) Schumann: Lieder Cycle over Eichendorff, First Half 5) a) Schubert: *Moment Musical*, Op. 94, Nr. 1 b) Chopin: Nocturne, G-Minor c) Mendelssohn: Scherzo and Capriccio 6) Schumann: Lieder Cycle over Eichendorff, Second Half
1865-02-21	Köln großer Gürzenich-Saal *Eighth Abonnement-Concert*	Pauline Wiesemann F. Hiller Ltg.: Hiller	I 1) Haydn: Symphony 2) Mozart: Rondo with Violin from *Il re pastore* 3) Mozart: Große Sonata for Two Pianoforte 4) a) Schubert: *Des Mädchens Klage* b) Beethoven: Clärchens Lied from *Egmont* 5) Gade: *Frühlingsbotschaft* for Chorus and Orchestra 6) a) Chopin b) Mendelssohn: Scherzo capriccioso, F#-Minor II 7) Hiller: *O weint um sie* for Soprano, Chorus, and Orchestra 8) Schumann: Second Symphony, D-Minor
1865-02-25	Hannover Hoftheater Concertsaal *Eighth and Last*	Frau Niemann-Seebach Regan Nanitz	I 1) Gluck: Overture to *Iphigenie* 2) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major

	Abonnement-Concert	Hrn. Porth Wikelmann Pirk Stägemann Haas Leinauer Ltg.: Joachim	II Schumann: *Manfred*
1865-03-02	Leipzig Gewandhaus A*rmenconcert*	Hr. Degele Frau Thelen Männerchor and Orchestra Ltg: Carl Reineck-Max Bruch	I Gade: Seventh Symphony, F-Major (The First Half) Schumann: a) *Schöne Wiege meiner Leiden* b) *Sonntags am Rhein* (Degele) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major II Bruch: Scene from the *Fritjof-Sage* for Solist, Männerchor, and Orchestra
1865-03-04	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe *Soirée musicale of Clara Schumann*	Hedwig Scheuerlein Marie Wieck	1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata D-Minor, Op. 31 2) Handel: Aria from *Rinaldo* 3) Schumann: a) Novellette F-Major b) Nachtstück c) Kreisleriana, Nr. 8 4) Lindblad: Lied 5) Schumann: Andante with Variations for Two Pianoforte 6) Schumann: a) *Er, der Herrlichste* b) *An den Sonnenschein* 7) a) Schubert: *Moment Musical,* Op. 94, Nr. 1 b) Hiller: Impromptu *Zur Guitarre* c) Mendelssohn: Scherzo capriccioso, F#-Minor
1865-03-11	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe *Soirée musicale of Clara Schumann*	Valesca von Facius Franz Schubert Friedr. Aug. Kummer	1) Beethoven: Piano Trio, E flat-Major, Op. 70 2) Schumann: *Junges Grün*, *Der arme Peter* 3) Bach: Chromatic Fantasy 4) Schubert: *Frühlingstraum*, *Der Wegweiser* 5) a) Kirchner: Three Pieces from the *Albumblättern*, Op. 7 b) Weber: Scherzo A flat-Major 6) French and Tuscan Volkslied, *La chanson de lisette* 7) Schumann: *Carneval* [sic!], Op. 9
1865-03-14	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Hedwig Scheuerlein Ferd. David Röntgen Hermann	I Beethoven: Piano Trio, D-Major, Op. 70 [74] Handel: Aria from *Rinaldo*

		Lübeck BackHaus Gumpert Linder	a) Schubert: *Moment Musical*, Op. 94, Nr. 1 b) Hiller: Impromptu *Zur Guitarre* c) Mendelssohn: Scherzo Capriccioso, F#-Minor II Mozart: Divertimento, D-Major, Op. 61 for Strings and Two Horns Schumann: a) *Er, der Herrlichste* b) *An den Sonnenschein* Schumann: *Carneval* [sic], Op. 9
1865-03-18 1865-05-20	Zwickau *Deutsches Haus* *Soirée musicale*	Hedwig Scheuerlein	I Beethoven: Piano Sonata, C#-Minor Haydn: Aria, *Schöpfung* Schumann: a) *Aufschwung* b) *Des Abends* c) *Romanze*, D-Minor II a) Hiller: *Zur Guitarre* b) Chopin: Nocturne c) Impromptu, Schumann: *Widmung*, *Du bist eine Blume*, *Frühlingsnacht* 6) Mendelssohn: Rondo capriccioso
1865-03-24	Naumburg großer Saal des Rathskellers *Concert of Clara* *Schumann*		Beethoven: Piano Sonata, D-Minor, Op. 31 Handel: Aria from *Rinaldo* Schumann: a) *Romanze*, D-Minor b) *Des Abends* c) *Traumes Wirren* a) Stöckhardt, R.: *Nachtgesang* b) Taubert: *In der Fremde* a) Hiller: *Zur Guitarre* b) Chopin: Nocturne, Impromptu Mendelssohn: a) *Es brechen im schallenden Reigen* b) Songs on the Grand PIano c) *Durch den Wald, den dunkeln* Mendelssohn: Rondo capriccioso, Op. 14
1865-03-26	Leipzig Gewandhaus Fourth and Last *Abend-* *Unterhaltung for* *Kammermusik* *Second Cycle*	Ferdinand David Röntgen Hermann Lübeck Pester Elzig BackHaus	Bach: Concerto for Two Violins, Two Violincellos, Cello and Contrabass (The First Time) Brahms: Piano Quartet, A-Major (The First Time) Bach: Corrente and Sarabande for Violincelle Beethoven: *Kreutzer*-Sonata, A-Major, Op. 47
1865-07-26	Kreuznach Kursaal	Wi[e]niawsky Wilhelmine Szarvady	1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, C#-Minor 2) Weber: Aria "Glöcklein" from

	Soirée musicale of Clara Schumann	Frau Scala-Borzaga	*Euryanthe* (Borzaga) 3) a) Kirchner: Two Small Pieces from the *Albumblättern* b) Schumann: *Nachstück* c) *Romanze* 4) Violin-Solo II 5) Schumann: Andante and Variations for Two Pianoforte 6) a) Hiller: *Zur Guitarre* b) Chopin: *Nocturne* c) Mendelssohn 7) a) Mozart: *Das Veilchen* b) Schumann: *Frühlingsnacht* (Borzaga) 8) Beethoven: *Kreutzer*-Sonata
1865-09-19	Baden-Baden Maison de Conversation *Grand Concert of the Orchestra of the Hoftheaters Karlsruhe*	Pauline Viardot Ludwig Strauss Ltg: Hermann Levi	I 1) Beethoven: Eighth Symphony, F-Major 2) Schumann: Piano-Concerto 3) Mozart: Aria from *Titus* with Basset-Horn 4) Spohr: Violin-Concerto (Gesangs-Scene) 5) Mendelssohn: Scherzo from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* 6) a) Schubert: *Gretchen am Spinnrad* b) Schumann: *Der Hidalgo* 7) Chopin: a) Mazurka b) Nocturne c) Etude 8) Cherubini: Overture to the *Abencerragen*
1865-10-31	Frankfurt a. M. großer Concertsaal *Concert of Clara Schumann and Joseph Joachim*	Josesph Joachim Elise Schumann	1) Beethoven: *Kreutzer*-Sonata, Op. 47 2) a) Brahms: Variations over an Original Theme b) Schumann: Novellette, D-Major, Op. 21 3) Bach: Prelude, Loure, Minuet, Gavotte (Violin) 4) Schumann: Andante and Variations for Two Pianoforte 5) a) Hiller: Adagio b) Spohr: Scherzo (Violin) 6) Haydn: Violin Sonata, G-Major
1865-11-04	Heidelberg Museum *Großes Concert of Clara Schumann and Joseph*	Joseph Joachim	I 1) Mozart: Violin Sonata, A-Major 2) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* 3) Bach: Chaconne for Violin II

	Joachim		4) Schumann: a) *Fantasiestück* b) *Nachtstück* c) *Novellette* 5) Spohr: Andante for Violin 6) Beethoven: *Kreutzer*-Sonata, Op. 47
1865-11-06	Karlsruhe große Museums-Saal *Concert of Clara Schumann and Joseph Joachim*	Josesph Joachim Kammersänger Hauser	1) Schumann: Violin Sonata, A-Minor 2) Schumann: *Die beiden Grenadiere* 3) Beethoven: 32 Variations, Op. 36 [sic! 80] 4) Tartini: Teufelstriller-Sonata 5) Brahms: Two Romanzen from Tieck's *Magelone* 6) a) Scarlatti: Allegretto b) Handel: Sarabande, Gigue and Passacaglia 7) Bach: Praeludium, Menuett and Gavotte for Violin 8) Beethoven: Violin Sonata, G-Major, Op. 30
1865-11-08	Darmstadt Vereinigte Gesellschaft *Concert of Clara Schumann and Joachim*	Josesph Joachim	1) Beethoven: Violin Sonata, Op. 96 2) a) Scarlatti: Tempo di Ballo b) Handel: Sarabande, Gigue, and Passacaglia 3) Bach: Prelude and Fugue for Violin II 4) a) Schumann: *Romanze*, Op. 32, Nr. 3 b) *Nachtstück*, Op. 23 c) Chopin: Etude, G flat-Major 5) a) Spohr: Scherzo b) Barcarole c) Schumann: *Abendlied*, Arranged for Violin and Pianoforte 6) Haydn: Violin Sonata, G-Major
1865-11-10	Frankfurt großer Concert-Saal *Third Museums-Concert*	Joseph Hauser Ltg: C. Müller	I 1) Schubert: Symphony-Fragments (1815, 1816, 1818) (The First Time) 2) Marschner: Aria from *Hans Heiling* 3) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major II 4) a) Brahms: Third Romanze from Tieck's *Magelone* b) Levi, Hermann: *Der Last Gruß* c) Schumann: *Frülingsnacht* 5) a) Chopin: Nocturne b) Schumann: *Nachtstück* c) *Romanze* 6) Resca, F. E.: Overture to *Cantemire*

1865-11-17	Hamburg Wörmer'scher Saal *152nd Privat-Concert*	A. de. Vroye	1) Gade: Fourth Symphony, B-Major, Op. 20 2) Mozart: Andante for Flute, Op. 26 3) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, G-Major 4) Demersseman: *Grand Air varié* for Flute 5) a) Brahms: Variations over an Original Theme, Op. 21, Nr. 1 b) Schumann: *Novellette*, D-Major 6) Schumann: Overture, Scherzo, and Finale, Op. 52
1865-11-22	Berlin Sing-Akademie *Soirée of Clara Schumann and Joseph Joachim*		I 1) Beethoven: Violin Sonata, G-Major, Op. 96 2) a) Bach: Prelude B-Minor from the Six Preludes and Fugues for Organ b) Schumann: Canons in A flat-Major and B-Minor, Op. 56, Nr. 4, 5 3) Tartini: *Teufelstriller*-Sonata II 4) Schumann: Violin Sonata, D-Minor 5) Mendelssohn: a) Caprice E-Major, Op. 33, Nr. 2 b) *Lied ohne Worte*, A-Major 6) a) Spohr: Barcarole and Scherzo for Violin b) Schumann: *Abendlied*, Op. 85
1865-11-27	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe *Soirée Musical of Clara Schumann and Joachim*	Josesph Joachim	1) Mozart: Violin Sonata, A-Major 2) Schumann: Etude in the Form of Variations, Op. 13 3) Bach: Chaconne, Violin II 4) Chopin: Scherzo, B-Minor 5) a) Spohr: Barcarole b) Scherzo for Violin c) Schumann: *Abendlied* 6) Beethoven: *Kreutzer*-Sonata, Op. 47
1865-11-29	Berlin Sing-Akademie *Second Soirée of Clara Schumann and Joachim*	Josesph Joachim	I 1) Mozart: Violin Sonata, A-Major 2) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* 3) Beethoven: Violin-Romanze II 4) Schumann: a) *Warum*? Op. 12, Nr. 3 b) *Nachtstück* from Op. 23 c) *Novellette*, D-Major from Op. 21 5) Bach: Praeludium, Loure, Menuette and Gavotte (Violin) 6) Beethoven: *Kreutzer*-Sonata, Op. 47
1865-12-05	Breslau	Lt.: Dr. Leopold	1) Beethoven: Symphony, D-Major

	Orchestra - Verein *Fifth Abonnement-Concert*	Damrosch	2) Schumann: Piano-Concerto 3) Schumann: Overture to *Genoveva* 4) a) Schubert: *Moment Musical*, Op. 94, Nr. 1 b) Hiller: *Zur Guitarre*, *Improvisata* c) Weber: Scherzo A flat-Major 5) Mendelssohn: Overture, *Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt*
1865-12-11	Königsberg Deutsches Haus *Concert of Clara Schumann*		1) Beethoven: Große Piano Sonata, C-Major, Op. 53 2) Beethoven: Lieder Cycle, *An die ferne Geliebte*, Op. 98 3) Bach: Prelude, B-Minor from the Six Preludes and Fugues for Organ 4) Schumann: a) *Die Capelle* b) *Tamburisnschlägerin*, Romanzen for Frauen-Voices, Op. 69, Nr. 6 and 1 5) Schumann: Five Pieces from the *Kreisleriana* 6) Möhring, F.: *Märchen* for Four Frauen-Voices, Op. 6 7) Mendelssohn: a) Caprice E-Major, Op. 33, Nr. 2 b) *Lied ohne Worte*, A-Major
1865-12-15	Königsberg Deutsches Haus *Second and Last Concert of Clara Schumann*	CM Schuster G. Jensen Gräve MD Hünerforst	I 1) Schumann: Piano Quintet, Op. 44 2) Haydn: Aria from the *Jahreszeiten* 3) a) Brahms: Two Ballades from Op. 10 b) Schubert: *Fantasiestück* (from the *Nachlaß*) c) *Moment Musical*, Op. 94, Nr. 5 II 4) Beethoven: Variations, C-Minor, Op. 36 [sic! Op. 80] 5) Schumann: *Frauenliebe und Leben*, Op. 42 6) a) Schumann: *Novelette*, B-Minor, Op. 99, Nr. 9 b) *Nachstück*, F-Major from Op. 23 c) Weber: Scherzo, A flat-Major
1866-01-10	Koblenz Aula des Gymnasiums *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Marie Büschgens	I 1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, F-Minor Op. 57 2) Weber: Cavatina from *Euryanthe* 3) Schumann: a) *Romanze*, D-Minor b) *Warum*? c) *Traumes Wirren* II

			4) Hauptmann, M.: *Niege, du Schmerzensreiche* 5) a) Schubert: *Moment Musical*, Op. 94, Nr. 5: Hungarian b) Hiller: *Zur Guitarre* c) Chopin: Impromptu C#-Minor 6) Schumann: Lieder from *Frauenliebe und Leben*, Nr. 1, 2, 3 7) Mendelssohn: Rondo capriccioso, Op. 14
1866-01-16	Braunschweig Verein for Concert-Musik *Sixth Abonnement-Concert*	Herzogl. Hof-Capelle	1) Mozart: Overture to *The Magic Flute* 2) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major, Op. 73 3) Mendelssohn: Andante from the Fourth Symphony 4) Mendelssohn: Rondo capriccioso, Op. 14 5) Schumann: Fourth Symphony, D-Minor
1866-01-27	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Joseph Hellmesberger Röver Fr. Dustmann	1) Schumann: Second Piano Trio, F-Major 2) Schubert: *Suleika* 3) Bach: Prelude from the Six Preludes and Fugues for Organ II 4) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, F-Minor *Appassionata* 5) Schumann: a) *Dein Angesicht* b) *So oft sie kam* c) *Lehn deine Wang* 6) a) Schubert: Allegreto (Manuscript) b) Hiller: *Zur Guitarre* c) Weber: Scherzo from the Sonata, A flat-Major
1866-02-01	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde *Second Concert of Clara Schumann*	Frl. Bettelheim Julie von Asten	1) Schubert: Piano Sonata, B-Major 2) Schumann: *Frauenliebe und Leben*, Nr. 1-4 3) Beethoven: Variations, C-Minor, Op. 36 [sic! Op. 80] II 4) Rudorff, Ernst: Duet for Two Pianos 5) Schumann: *Frauenliebe und Leben*, Nr. 5-8 6) Schumann: a) *In der Nacht*, Op. 12, Nr. 5 b) *Schlummerlied*, Op. 124, Nr. 16 c) *Novellette* D-Major, Op. 21, Nr. 2

1866-02-04	Wien *Quartet* *Hellmesberger* *1865-66* *VIII*		1) Volkmann: Quartet, G-Minor 2) Mozart: Sonata, A-Major 3) Beethoven: Quartet, B-Major, Op. 130
1866-02-09	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde *Third Concert of* *Clara Schumann*	Joseph Hellmesberger Röver Hr. Walter	1) Beethoven: Piano Trio, B-Major, Op. 97 2) [Gluck]: "Nur ein Wunsch" from *Iphigenie auf Tauris* 3) a) Handel: Variations, E-Major b) Scarlatti: Andante and Presto II 4) Schumann: *Humoreske* 5) a) Schumann, Clara: *Warum willst du andre fragen* b) Schumann, R.: *Dur bist wie eine Blume* 6) a) Chopin: Nocturne F#-Minor b) Mendelssohn: Caprice E-Major
1866-02-15	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfruende *Fourth Concert of* *Clara Schumann*	Fr. Dustmann	1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, D-Minor, Op. 31, Nr. 2 2) Schumann: a) *Stille Liebe* b) *Schneeglöcken* c) *Er ist's* 3) Bach: Chromatic Fantasy II 4) a) Brahms: Ballades, Op. 10, Nr. 2, 3 b) Chopin: Impromptu, A flat-Major 5) Schumann: a) *Die Hütte* b) *Der Hidalgo* 6) Schumann: *Carneval* [sic], Op. 9
1866-02-20	Newstadt bei Wien Saal zum Gold. Hirschen *Concert of Clara* *Schumann*	Hr. Dr. Gänsbacher	1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, D-Minor, Op. 31, Nr. 2 2) Schubert: *Gute Nacht*, *Ständchen* 3) Schumann: a) *Romanze*, D-Minor, Op. 32, Nr. 3 b) *Des Abends* c) *Traumes Wirren*, Op. 12, Nr. 1, 7 4) a) Schubert: *Moment Musical*, Op. 94, Nr. 1 b) Hiller: *Zur Guitarre* c) Chopin: Impromptu A flat-Major 5) Schumann: *Schöne Wiege*, *Frühlingsnacht* 6) a) Schumann: *Schlummerlied*, Op. 124, Nr. 16 b) Mendelssohn: Rondo capriccioso, Op. 14
1866-02-26	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde	Joseph Hellmesberger Dobyhal	1) Schumann: Piano Quartet 2) Chamisso: *Die Retraite* (Declamation) 3) Beethoven: Piano Sonata,

	Fifth Concert of Clara Schumann	Röver HofSchauspieler Lewinsky	A-Major Op. 101 II 4) Schumann: a) *Novellette*, Op. 21, Nr. 1 b) Canons in A flat-Major and B-Minor, Op. 56, Nr. 4, 5 5) Goethe: a) *Die Legende vom Hufeisen* b) *Der Zauberlehrling* (Declamation) 6) Mendelssohn: Rondo capriccioso, Op. 14
1866-03-01	Wien Gesellscaft der Musikfreunde *Concert for the Newly Establishhed Pensions-Fund of the Prefessors at the Conservatory*	Josef Hellmesberger C. Hofmann F. Dobyhal C. Schlesinger Hr. G. Walter Frl. C. Bettelheim Conservatoriums-Zöglinge HofSchauspieler Lewinsky	1) Beethoven: String Quartet, G-Major 2) Leitner: *Der Freiherr und der Schreiner* (Declamation) 3) Schumann: *Fantasiestücke*, Op. 88 4) Schubert: *Sei mir gegrüßt*, *Ständchen* (Walter) 5) Hiller: *Zur Guitarre*, Chopin: Scherzo B-Minor 6) Schumann: *Mein Herz ist schwer*, Schubert: *Der Doppelgänger* (Bettelheim) 7) Paganini: *Motto perpetuo* (Conservatoriums-Zöglinge)
1866-03-03	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde *Sixth and Last Concert of Clara Schumann*	Hr. Walter J. Lewinsky	1) Schumann: Piano Quintet 2) Schiller: *Die Kraniche des Ibykus* (Declamation) 3) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, E flat-Major, Op. 27, Nr. 1 II 4) a) Kirchner: Nr. 1, 2, 6, from the *Albumblättern*, Op. 7 b) Henselt: Etude *Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär* 5) Schumann: a) *Der Nußbaum* b) *Loreley*, Op. 53, Nr. 2 c) *Wanderleid*, Op. 35, Nr. 3 (Walter) 6) Schumann: *Kreisleriana*, Op. 16, Nr. 1, 2, 8
1866-03-11	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde *Concert of Julie von Asten*	Caroline Bettelheim Julie von Asten Sing-Verein	1) Mozart: Sonata, D-Major for Two Pianos 2) Schubert: *Ständchen* for Alto-Solo with Frauenchöre 3) Schumann: *Impromptus*, Op. 5 (Asten) 4) Schumann: *Der Wassermann*, Brahms: *Minnelied* Schumann: *Tambourinschlägerin* (Frauenchöre) II 5) Schumann: *Moment Musical*, F-Minor, Mendelssohn: *Two Lieder ohne Worte* 6) Pergolese: Siciliana: *Tre giorni* (Bettelheim)

			7) Schumann: *Zigeunerleben* (Mixed Chorus) 8) Chopin: Rondo for Two Pianos
1866-05-21	Düsseldorf *43rd Niederrheinisches Musikfest* *Second Day*	Jenny Lind-Goldschmidt Frls. V. Edelsberg Rothenberger Daberkow Julius Stockhausen Gunz Choir and Orchestra of the Allgemeinene Musik-Vereins	1) Tausch, Jul. Overture 2) Hiller: Pfingsten, Chorus 3) Schumann: Piano-Concerto 4)[Gluck]: From *Armida*: a) Duett Act II, Second Scene, Recitative and Aria, Rinald, Aria, Najade and Chorus b) Act III, Third Scene: Aria, Armida Duet, and Scene: Armida, Furie des Hasses 5) Bach: Double Chorus 6) Mendelssohn: Music to *Athalia*
1866-07-23	Baden-Baden Maison de Conversation *Second Séance musicale of the Quartet of Jean Becker*	Jean Becker Enrico Masi Luigi Chiostri Frederigo Hilpert	1) Lachner, Vinzenz: String Quartet in E flat, Op. 27 2) Schumann: Piano Quartet 3) Beethoven: String Quartet, C-Major, Op. 59, Nr. 3
1866-08-17	Baden-Baden Maison de Conversation *Concert to the benefit of the habitants of the l'Odenwald, organized Pauline Viardot-Garcia*	Viardot-Garcia Natalie Serger Hrn. Zucchini Wallenreiter Krüger Peruzzi	1) Beethoven: *Sonata quasi fantasia*, C#-Minor 2) Mozart: Aria from *The Magic Flute* (Wallenreiter) 3) Gluck: Finale First Act, *Alceste* (Viardot) 4) Krüger: Harp Fantasy, *The last Rose* 5) Bellini: Aria from *Puritanern* (Serger) 6) Fioravanti: Aria from *Columella* (Zucchini) 7) a) Schumann: Novellette b) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* c) Weber: Scherzo 8) Donizetti: Duet from *Liebestrank* (Viardot and Zucchini) 9) Schubert: a) *Der Newgierige* b) *Ungeduld* (Wallenreiter) 10) Chopin: Two Mazurks, Arranged (Viardot)
1866-10-26	Karlsruhe r. Museums-Saal *First Abonnement-Concert of the Hoforchestra*	Hr. Brandes Großh. Hof-Orchestra	I 1) Cherubini: Overture to *Anakreon* 2) Schumann: Piano-Concerto 3) Beethoven: An die ferne Geliebte 4) a) Kirchner: Andante F-Major b) Schubert: Moment Musical, Nr. 5 (Hungarian) c) Weber: Scherzo A flat-Major II

			5) Beethoven: Second Symphony, D-Major
1866-11-09	Frankfurt a. M. großer Concert-Saal *Third Museums-Concert*	Carl Hill Ltg.: C. Müller	I 1) Haydn: Symphony, C-Major *Der Bär* 2) Gluck: Recitative and Aria from *Iphigenie in Aulis* 3) Schumann: Piano-Concerto II 4) Schubert: Two Zwischenacte to *Rosamande* 5) a) Schubert: *Harfners Lied* b) Schumann: *Der Spielmann* c) *Der Soldat* 6) a) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohn Worte*, A-Major b) Kirchner: Andante from Op. 2 c) Weber: Scherzo, A flat-Major 7) Weber: Overture to *Abu Hassan*
1866-11-13	Mannheim Hof-Theater Gr. Saal *Großes Concert of Clara Schumann*	Frl. Reiser Hoftheater-Orchestra	I 1) Mendelssohn: Overture *Die Hebriden* 2) Beethoven: Concert-Aria, *Ah perfido* 3) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, G-Major II 4) Cherubini: Overture to *Medea* 5) a) Brahms: Variations over an Original Theme, Op. 21, Nr. 1 b) Scarlatti: Temp di Ballo c) Handel: Passacaglia 6) Schubert: Lieder 7) Schumann: a) *Noevellette*, Op. 99, Nr. 9 b) *Romanze*, F#-Major, Op. 28, Nr. 2 c) Mendelssohn: Capriccio E-Major, Op. 33, Nr. 2
1866-11-17	Frankfurt a. M. kleiner Concertsaal des Saalbaues *Fourth Quartet-Soirée*	Hugo Heermann Ruppert Becker Ernst Welcker Louis Lübeck	1) Brahms: Piano Quartet, A-Major, Op. 26 2) Mozart: Quartet, Nr. 8 F-Major 3) Schumann: *Carnaval*, Op. 8 [sic! Op. 9]
1866-11-20	Bremen *Second Privat-Concert*	Hermine Rudersdorff	I Haydn: Symphony, D-Major Randegger, A.: Aria, *Save me, oh God* (Manuscript) Schumann: Piano-Concerto II Schumann: Overture to *Genoveva* Bach, John. Chr.: Aria from *La Clemenza di Scipione* a) Brahms: Variations over a Thema,

			Op. 21, Nr. 1 b) Hiller: *Zur Guitarre* c) Weber: Scherzo, A flat-Major Haydn: a) Canzonette: *Stets barg sie ihre Liebe* b) Pastorelle: *My Mother bids me bind my hair* Beethoven: *Fest*-Overture, C-Major, Op. 124
1866-11-23	Oldenburg Casino *First Abonnement-Concert of the Hofcapelle*		I Mendelssohn: Overture to the *schönen Melusine* Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major, Op. 73 Schubert: Overture to *Rosamande* Solo Pieces for the Pianoforte: a) Brahms: Ballade D-Major b) Hiller: *Zur Guitarre* c) Chopin: Polonaise A flat-Major II Schumann: Third Symphony, E flat-Major, Op. 97
1866-11-24	Oldenburg Hof-Concert *Soirée*		Beethoven: Piano Sonata, C#-Minor Solo for Violin Chopin: Impromptu, Mazurka, Etude Solo for Cello Mendelssohn: Caprice II Schumann: Romanzes: *Warum*?, *Traumeswirren* Solo for Violin Rameau: Gigue-Musette. Tambourin Brahms: Waltz for Four-Hands
1866-12-13	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Eighth Abonnement-Concert*	S. Jadassohn Gewandhaus-Orchestra Ltg.: C. Reinecke-Jadassohn	I Jadassohn: Second Concert-Overture, D-Major (New, Manuscript, with Ltg.) Mendelssohn: Second Piano-Concerto, D-Minor Schubert: Two movements of the *Unfinished* Symphony B-Minor (Manuscript, The First Time) Kirchner: Prelude, Op. 9 G-Major Schumann: Scherzo, *Traumes Wirren* II Schumann: First Symphony, B-Major
1866-12-15	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Fourth Abend-Unterhaltung for Kammermusik*	Ferdinand David Röntgen Hermann Hegar Gumpert	Schubert: String Quartet, A-Minor, Op. 29 Brahms: Horn Trio, Op. 40 (New, The First Time) Schumann: String Quartet, F-Major Schumann: Fantasy for Pianoforte in

			Three Movements, Op. 17
1866-12-18	Köln Concert- Gesellschaft Fifth Gürzenich- *Concert on the Birthday of Carl Maria von Weber*	Emilie Wagner Frau Ernst Ltg.: F. Hiller	Weber: 1) Overture and Introduction from *Oberon* 2) *Concertstück* 3) Cavatina from *Euryanthe* 4) Adagio and Scherzo from the Sonata, A flat-Major 5) a) *Das Mädchen an das First Schneeglöckchen* b) *Unbefangenheit* 6) Overture to *Freischütz* II 7) Vollständige Music to *Preciosa*, With words by Sternau
1866-12-20	Bonn Goldener Stern *Third Abonnement-Concert*	Ltg.: C.J. Brambach	I 1) Beethoven: Overture, Op. 115 2) Schumann: Piano-Concerto, A-Minor 3) Mendelssohn: *Verleih uns Frieden* 4) a) Chopin: Impromptu A flat-Major b) Hiller: *Zur Guitarre* c) Weber: Scherzo A flat-Major 5) Mozart: *Preis Dir, Gottheit'* Hymn with Orchestra II 6) Schubert: Symphony, C-Major
1866-12-21	Koblenz Königliches Gymnasium *Fourth Abonnement-Concert*	A. Ruff Ltg.: Max Bruch	I 1) Schubert: Two Entr'Actes to *Rosamande* 2) Weber: Aria from *Euryanthe* 3) Bruch: *Die Flucht der hl. Familie* for Chorus and Orchestra 4) Beethoven: Fifth Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major II 5) Mozart: *Maurerische Trauermusik* 6) Schumann: *Zigeunerleben* 7) Schubert: a) *Am Meer* b) *Der Newgierige* 8) a) Kirchner: Three Pieces from the *Albumblättern*, Op. 7 b) Schumann: *Des Abends*, Op. 12, Nr. 1 c) Weber: Scherzo: A flat-Major 9) Mendelssohn: Overture to *Ruy Blas*
1867-01-09	Krefeld Auf der Oelmühle *Second Abonnement-*	Marie Büschgens Ltg.: Herm. Wolff	I 1) Schumann: Overture to *Manfred* 2) Beethoven: Scene and Aria, *Ah perfido* 3) Schumann: Piano-Concero 4) a) Haydn: *Pastorella*

	Concert of the Singvereins		b) Schumann: *Waldesgespräch* c) Werner, W.: *Mein Herz ist ein Spielmann* 5) a) Chopin: Impromptu b) Hiller: *Zur Guitarre* c) Mendelssohn: Two *Lieder ohne Worte* II 6) Cherubini: Requiem for Choir and Orchestra
1867-07-12	Kreuznach Kursaal *Concert of Clara Schumann*	Anna Regan Kur-Orchestra	1) Cherubini: Overture to *Medea* 2) Weber: Scene and Ari from *Freischütz* 3) Mendelssohn: Piano-Concerto, G-Minor II 4) Reißiger: Overture *Yelva* 5) Mozart: Susanna's Aria from *The Marriage of Figaro* 6) Schumann: a) Novellette B-Minor, Op. 99, Nr. 9 b) *Nachtstücke* from Op. 23 c) *Traumes Wirren*, Op. 12, Nr. 7 7) a) Mendelssohn: *Das [erste] Veilchen* b) Schumann: *Die Lotosblume* c) *Du meine Seele* 8) a) Chopin: *Impromptu* b) Henselt: *Berceuse* c) Chopin: Etude, G flat-Major
1867-07-19	Wiesbaden Kursaal *Third Concert of the Administration-Armen-Concert*	Ilma von Murska Theodor Wachtel Pallat Camillo Sivori Theater-Orchestra Ltg.: W. Jahn	I 1) Schumann: Overture to *Genoveva* (The First Time) 2) Boieldieu: Aria from *Weißen Dame* (Wachtel) 3) Sivori: Réminiscence from *Norma* 4) Mozart: Aria, "Ach ich liebte" from *Entführung* (Murska) 5) Schumann: Piano-Concerto, A-Minor II 6) Meyerbeer: Scattentanz from *Dinorah* (Murska) 7) Sivori: Fantasy of a Motive from *Maskenball* 8) Rossini: Aria from *Tell*, Abt: *Gute Nacht, du mein herziges Kind* 9) Schumann: *Traumes Wirren*, Op. 12, Nr. 7, Chopin: Nocturne, Henselt: Etude, *Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär*
1867-09-16	Baden-Baden Maison de Conversation *Soirée of Mad.*	Pauline Viardot-Garcia Quatuor Florentin Peruzzi	I 1) Ernst: String Quartet, B-Major 2) de Musset, Alfred: *Stances à la Malibran*

	Ernst (Declamation)	Enrico Masi Luigi Chiostri Frédéric Hilpert	3) Ernst-Heller: *Pensées fugitives* for Pianoforte and Violin 4) Schubert: *Erlkönig* II 5) Ernst: String Quartet, A-Major (Manuscript) 6) Hugo, Victor: légende: *Les pauvres Gens* 7) Mendelssohn: Rondo capriccioso 8) Dessauer: a) *Felice Donzella* b) *Ouvrez* 9) Ernst: Elegy
1867-07-31	Baden-Baden *Second Soirée*	Jean Becker Masi Chiostri Hilpert	1) Haydn: String Quartet, D-Minor 2) Schumann: Piano Quintet, Op. 44 3) Beethoven: String Quartet, F-Minor, Op. 95
1867-09-23	Baden-Baden Maison de Conversation *Concert for the Reconstruction of the Dome of Francfort*	Viardot-Garcia Léonard Lindner Schneider	1) Creizenach, Th.: Prologue 2) Mendelssohn: Piano Trio, C-Minor 3) Gluck: Scene from *Alceste* II 4) Viotti: Allegretto from the 24th Concerto 5) Chopin: Polonaise, A flat-Major 6) a) Schubert: *Gretchen am Spinnrad* b) Schumann: *Der Hidalgo* 7) Schumann: Andante and Variations for Two Pianoforte
1867-10-18	Hamburg Wörmer'scher Saal First Abend-*Unterhaltung of Clara Schumann and Stockhausen*	Julius Stockhausen	1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, D-Minor, Op. 29 [Op. 31, Nr. 2] 2) Schubert: *Der Zwerg* 3) Schumann: Fantasy, Op. 17 4) a) Martini: *Plaisir d'amour* b) Buononcini: *Per la gloria d'adorarvi* 5) a) Schubert: *Moment Musical*, Nr. 1 b) Hiller: *Zur Guitarre* c) Chopin: Polonaise, A flat-Major 6) Schumann: *Aus den Myrthen*, *Widmung*, *Freisinn*, *Nußbaum*, *Jemand*, *Schenkenbuck-Lieder*, *Lotos-blume*, *Gottes ist der Orient*
1867-10-22	Lübeck *Soirée of Clara Schumann and Julius Stockhausen*	Julius Stockhausen	1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, Op. 53 2) Schumann: *Blondels Lied* 3) a) Chopin: Impromptu b) Schubert: *Moment Musical*, F-Minor c) Schumann: *Traumes Wirren* 4) a) Martini: *Plaisir d'amour* b) Buononcini: *Per la gloria* 5) a) Schumann: *Schlummerlied* b) Mendellsohn: Rondo capriccioso, Op. 14

			6) Schubert: Lieder from the *Schönen Müllerin*
1867-10-25	Hamburg Wörmer'scher Saal *Second Abend-Unterhaltung of Clara Schumann and Stockhausen*	Julius Stockhausen Brandt Beer Gowa Damenchor of the Sing-Akademie	1) Mozart: Piano Quartet, G-Minor 2) Schubert: From *Winterreise*: *Im Dorfe*, *Der stürmische Morgen*, *Täuschungen*, *Der Wegweiser*, *Der Frülingstraum* 3) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses*, Op. 54 4) a) Isourad, Nicolo: Romanze from *Joconde* b) Rossini: Tarantella from *Soirées musicales* 5) Schumann: *Carnaval*, Op. 9 6) Five Frauenchöre Pieces: a) Brahms: *Minnelied* b) Schumann: *Soldatenbraut* c) Brahms: *Die Nonne* d) Schumann: *Die Capelle* e) Schumann: *Der Wassermann*
1867-11-05	Hamburg Gr. Wörmer'scher Saal *Third Abend-Unterhaltung of Clara Schumann and Stockhausen*	Julius Stockhausen Gebrüder Müller	1) Schumann: Piano Quintet, Op. 44 2) Beethoven: Irish and Italian Folk Lieder with Pianoforte and Cello Accompaniment 3) Brahms: Two Ballades in D-Major and B-Minor from Op. 10 4) Schubert: Variations from the String Quartet, D-Minor 5) a) Bach: Préambule, Courante, Sarabande, Menuett from the G-Major Partita b) Handel: Passacaille from the G-Minor-Suite 6) Boieldieu: Kavatine from *La fête du village* 7) Mendelssohn: Rondo capriccioso, Op. 14 8) Schumann: Die Hütte: *Warnung*, *Der Bräutigam*, and *die Birke* from Op. 119
1867-11-10	Kiel Räume der Harmonie *Concert of Clara Schumann and Stockhausen*		1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, D-Minor 2) Schubert: a) *Aufenthalt* b) *Ständchen* 3) Schumann: a) *Warum*? Op. 12, Nr. 3 b) *Nachtstück* from Op. 20 [Op.23] c) Chopin: Polonaise 4) a) Isouard, Nicolo: Romanze from *Joconde* b) Buononechi [Buononcini]: *Per la gloria* 5) a) Hiller: *Zur Guitarre*

			b) Mendelssohn: Rondo capriccioso 6) Schumann: Cycle from *den Myrthen*
1867-11-12	Hamburg Wörmer'scher Saal *Fourth and Last Abend-Unterhaltung of Clara Schumann and Stockhausen*	CM L. Auer	1) Beethoven: *Kreutzer*-Sonata, Op. 47 2) Stradella: Aria di chiesa, *Se i miei sospiri* 3) Schumann: a) Romanze, Op. 32, Nr. 3 b) Nachtstück F-Major from Op. 23, *Traumes Wirren*, Op. 12, Nr. 7 4) a) Schubert: *Auf der Brücke* b) Brahms: Romanze from Tieck's *Schöner Magelone* Book Two 5) a) Grädener; Romanze for Violin (Manuscript) b) Bach: Bourrée and Double 6) a) Chopin: Etude, G flat-Major b) Kirchner: Andante from Op. 2 c) Weber: Scherzo, A flat-Major 7) Schumann: From the Album *eines Malers von Reinick* a) *Dichters Genesung* b) *Sonntags am Rheine* c) *An den Sonnenschein*
1867-11-16	Berlin Singakademie *Third Philharmonisches Concert*	Gesangverein der Newen Akademie der Tonkunst	Handel: Suite for Orchestra, C-Minor Gade: *Frühlingsbotschaft* for Chorus and Orchestra Schumann: Piano-Concerto, A-Minor Scholz, B.: *Gesang des Waldes* for Choir with Orchestra Schubert: *Moments musical*, Nr. 1 and 5 Chopin: Scherzo, B-Minor Mendelssohn: Overture to *Ruy Blas*
1867-11-21	Schwerin Großherzogl. Schauspielhaus *Second Abonnement-Concert*	Hrn. André Sedlmayer	1) Bargiel: Overture to *Medea* 2) Spohr: Duet from *Jessonda* 3) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, E flat-Major 4) Mozart: Aria from *The Magic Flute* (Sedlmayer) 5) a) Schumann: *Arabeske* b) Chopin: Polonaise, A flat-Major II 6) Lachner, F.: Suite, Nr. 2, E-Minor
1867-11-23	Rostock Apollo-Saal *Third Großes Abonnement-Concert*		I 1) Jensen, Ad.: *Der Gang nach Emmaus* 2) Beethoven: Piano-Concerto, G-Major, Op. 58 3) Handel: First Movement from the Concerto for String Instruments 4) Mendelssohn: Rondo capriccioso, E-Minor

			II 5) Gade: Symphony, C-Minor
1867-11-24	Rostock Apollo-Saal Fourth *Kammermusik-Soirée: Schumann-Abend*	Fr. Müller-BergHaus Gebrüder Müller	Schumann: 1) String Quartet, Op. 41, Nr. 3 2) a) *Romanze*, D-Minor, Op. 32, Nr. 3 b) *Warum*? c) *Traumes Wirren*, Op. 12, Nr. 3, 7 3) *Frauenliebe und Leben*, Op. 42 4) Piano Quintet, E flat-Major Op. 44
1867-11-26	Schwerin Hoftheater *First Soirée for Salon- and Kammermusk*	A. Schmitt CM Zahn MD Härtel Kupfer Bellmann	1) Schmitt, A. sen.: Piano Trio, E flat-Major (The First Time) (Pianoforte: Schmitt) 2) Schumann: *Sinfonische Etudes* 3) Cherubini: String Quartet, E flat-Major 4) Schumann: a) *Warum*? Op. 12, Nr. 3 b) *Nachstück*, F-Major Op. 23 c) *Kreisleriana* Nr. 8
1867-12-02	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe *Concert of Clara Schumann and Stockhausen*	Marie Chmelick Julius Stockhausen	1) Beethoven: *Appassionata*, F-Minor, Op. 57 2) Boieldieu: Aria from *Rothkäppchen* (Stockhausen) 3) Schumann: Fantasy, Op. 17 4) Rossini: "La partenza" from the *Soirées musicales* (Chmelick) II 5) Méhul: Duet from *Joseph* 6) a) Schubert: *Moment musical*, C#-Minor b) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte,* F-Major c) Henselt: Etude, *Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär* 7) Schumann: a) *Sonntags am Rhein* b) *Du bist wie eine Blume* c) *Fluthenreicher Ebro*
1867-12-05	Köthen Saal d. Prinz of *Preußen Concert of Clara Schumann and Stockhausen*		I 1) Beethoven: Sonata, D-Minor, Op. 31, Nr. 2 2) Schumann: *Die beiden Grenadiere* 3) Schumann: a) *Romanze*, Op. 32, Nr. 3 b) *Warum*? c) *Traumes Wirren*, Op. 12, Nr. 3, 7 II 4) Schubert: *Liebe Farbe and Böse Farbe* (Müller-Lieder) 5) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* b) Rondo capriccioso, Op. 14 6) Beethoven: Liederkreis: *An die ferne Geliebte*

1867-12-07	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Soirée of Clara Schumann and Stockhausen*	Julius Stockhausen	Beethoven: Sonata *Les Adieux*…Op. 81 Brahms: Romanzen from Tieck's *Schöne Magelone* Schumann: Symphonische Etudes, Op. 13 Martini: *Plaisir d'amour* Buinoncini: *Per la gloria d'adorarvi* Hiller: Gavotte from Op. 115 Chopin: Etude, C#-Minor, Scherzo B-Minor Mendelssohn: Lieder Schumann: From Op. 24 (Heine): *Es treibt mich hin...*, *Ich wandelte unter den Bäumen*, *Schöne Wiege meiner Leiden*
1867-12-10	Berlin Sing-Akademie *Concert of Clara Schumann and Julius Stockhausen*	Julius Stockhausen Acc.: B. Scholz	1) Schumann: *Blondels Lied* 2) Beethoven; Sonata *Les Adieux*… Op. 81 3) a) Martini: *Plaisir d'amour* b) Buononcini: *Per la gloria d'adorarvi* 4) Schumann: *Symphonisches Etudes*, Op. 13 5) Beethoven: a) *Wonne der Wehmuth* b) *Neue Liebe, Neues Leben* 6) a) Hiller: Gavotte from Op. 115 b) Chopin: Etude C#-Minor (Andante) 7) Mendelssohn: a) *Lieblingsplätzchen* b) *Vergangen ist der lichte Tag* c) *Es brechen im schallenden Reigen*
1867-12-17	Köln gr. Gürzenich *Fifth Abonnement-Concert on Beethoven's Birthday*	Julius Stockhausen Choir and Orchestra of the Concert-Gesellschaft Köln Ltg.: Ferdinand Hiller	Beethoven: 1) Overture to *Leonore*, Nr. 3 2) Piano-Concerto, G-Major 3) *Mailied-Wonne der Wehmuth*; *Neue Liebe*, *Neues Leben* 4) Elegy Song for Choir and String Quartet: *Sanft, wie du lebtest* 5) Liederkreis: *An die ferne Geliebte*
1867-12-19	Elberfeld Casino: große Saal *Soirée of Clara Schumann and Stockhausen*		1) Beethoven: Piano Sonata, F-Minor, Op. 57 2) Stradella: *Aria di chiesa*, B-Minor with Organ: Pieta Signore 3) Schumann: a) *Arabeske* b) *Nachtstück* c) *Botschaft* d) *Traumes Wirren* 4) Beethoven: Lieder Cycle: *An die ferne Geliebte* 5) a) Hiller: Gavotte b) Schubert: *Moment musical*, C#-Minor c) Mendelssohn: Rondo capriccioso 6) Schumann: a) *Nußbaum*

			b) *Jemand* c) *Widmung*
1868-04-17	Krefeld Königsburg *Fourth Abonnementskonzert of the Singvereins*	Dr. Phil. Bernays Ltg. Königl. Muiskdirektor Herm. Wolff	I 1) Mendelssohn: Concerto for Pianoforte in G-Minor 2) Bach: Choir-Aria and Choral *Friede sei mit Euch* 3) Scarlatti: Allegrissimo and Tempo di ballo 4) Handel: Passacaglia for Pianoforte II Schumann: *Manfred*, Op. 115
1868-10-09	Frankfurt a. M. *Große Konzertsaal First Museumkonzert*	Aglaja Orgeni Ltg. C. Müller	I 1) Schubert: Symphony in C-Major 2) Haydn: Arif from the Oratorio *Die Schöpfung* 3) Mendelssohn: Concerto for Pianoforte in G-Minor II 1) Schumann: *Ich wandre nicht*, *Mondnacht'* (Orgeni) 2) Mendelssohn: *Frühlinglied* (Orgeni) 3) Schumann: Arabeske, Op. 18 4) Chopin: Scherzo in B-Minor 6) Julius Rietz: Concert Overture in A-Major
1868-10-30	Oldenburg Casino	Kathinka Engel Brahms Herren Egel I. and II Herr Ebert Franz Schmidt	I 1) Schumann: Quintet for Pianoforte and String Instruments 2) Albert Dietrich: Two Lieder: *Scheiden* from Op. 17, *Spanisches Lied* from Op. 7 3) Chopin: Andante; Ballade in G-Minor II 1) Beethoven: Sonata in D-Minor, Op. 31 2) Schumann: *Mignon* from Op. 98a 3) Schubert: *Heidenröslein* from Op. 3 4) Schumann: Arabeske, Op. 18 5) Brahms: Walzer for Four Hands
1868-11-03	Bremen *First Privat-Concert*	Carl Wallenreiter	I 1) Mozart: Symphony in E flat-Major 2) Schubert: Recitativee and Aria from *Auferstehung des Lazurus* 3) Beethoven: Concerto for Pianoforte in C-Minor II 1) Schumann: Overture to *Genoveva* 2) Schumann: Six Lieder from the *Eichendorffschen* Cycle: a) *In der Fremde*

			b) *Intermezzo* c) *Waldesgespräch* d) *Die Stille* e) *Mondnacht* f) *Frühlingsnacht* 3) Schubert: Two Impromptus: Nr. 1 from Op. 90, Nr. 4 from Op. 142 4) Beethoven: Overture to *Egmont*
1868-11-10	Breslau *Abonnements-konzert of the Breslau Orchestra -Vereins*	Ltg. Dr. Leopold Damrosch	1) Beethoven: Overture to *Leonore*, Nr. 1 2) Beethoven: Piano Concerto in G-Major (Allegro moderato-Andante con moto-Rondo) 3) Schubert: Entr'acte in B-Minor to *Rosamande* (The First Time) 4) Schumann: *Arabeske*, Op. 18 5) Chopin: Scherzo in B-Minor 6) Schumann: Fourth Symphony in D-Minor (Introduction -- Allegro -- Romanze -- Scherzo -- Finale)
1868-11-15	Breslau *Dritte Soirée of the Vereins for Kammermusik*	Dr. L. Damrosch Fräulein Elsbeth Doniges Otto Lüstner Louis Lüstner Herr Philipsen	1) Beethoven: Sonata in A-Major, Op. 47 for Pianoforte and Violin (Adagio sostenuto -- Presto -- Andante con Variazioni -- Presto) 2) Mozart: *Das Veilchen* 3) M. Bruch: *Der Hochlandsbursch*, Scottish Lied 4) Chopin: Nocturne in B-Major 5) Th. Kirchner: *Albumstück* from Op. 7 6) Schumann: *Traumes Wirren* 7) Schumann: *Intermezzo* 8) Schumann: *Mondnacht* 9) Schumann: Quintet for Pianoforte, Two Violins, Violas, and Violincellos, Op. 44 (Allegro brillante -- In modo d'una marcia -- Scherzo -- Allegro ma non troppo)
1868-11-21	Wien *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*	Helen Magnus	1) Beethoven: Trio in E flat-Major, Op. 70 2) Rob. Franz: *Ihr Auge*, Op. 1, *Widmand*, Op. 14, *Im Herbst*, Op. 17 3) Bach: Préambule, Courante, Sarabande, Gigue from the Suite in G-Major 4) Handel: Passacaglia from the Suite in G-Minor 5) Schumann: Etudes in the Form of Variations, Op. 13

			6) Schumann: *Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt*, *Der Nußbaum*, *An den Sonnenschien* 7) Chopin: Nocturne in B-Major 8) Mendelssohn: Two *Lieder ohne Worte* in D-Major and A-Major from Book Eight
1868-11-22	Wien k.k. Hof-Operantheater	k.k. Hof-Operan-Kapellmeister Otto Dessoff k.k. Hof-Operan-Kapelle	1) Goldmark: Overture to *Sakuntala* 2) Mendelssohn: Concerto for Pianoforte in G-Minor 3) Schubert: Symphony in C-Major
1868-11-28	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde *Second Concert Clara Schumann k.k. Kammervirtuosin*	Frau Wilt Johann Brahms Prof. Schlesinger Kupfer Prof. Kleinecke	1) Schumann: Sonata, G-Minor, Op. 22 2) Brahms: *Liebestreu* from Op. 3 (Frau Wilt), *Parole* from Op 7 (Frau Wilt) 3) Schubert: Two Impromptus from Op. 90 and 142 4) Schumann: Andante with Variations, Op. 46 for Two Pianoforte, Two Violincellos, and French Horn), Schubert: *Suleika* 5) Clara Schumann: Lieder from *Jucande* by H. Rollett 7) Schumann: *Ich Grolle Nicht* 8) Scarlatti: Allegrissimo 9) Kirchner: Andante from Op. 2 10) Brahms: Waltz for Two Hands
1868-12-05	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde *Third Concert of Clara Schumann k.k. Kammervirtuosin*	Gustav Walter k. k. Kammer- and Hofoperansänger	1) Beethoven: Sonata in A-Major, Op. 101 (Alegretto ma non troppo--Vivace à la Marcia--Adagio and Finale) 2) Schubert: *Liebesbotschaft* 3) Riedel: *Du fragst, warum ich liebe?* 4) Schumann: Sketch in D flat-Major from Op. 58, Canon in A flat-Major and Canon in B-Minor from the Studies for the Grand Piano, Op. 56 5) Chopin: Ballade in G-Minor 6) Schumann: *Märzveilchen*, *Wanderlied* 7) Hiller: Gavotte in E-Major, Op. 115 8) Mendelssohn: Rondo capriccioso, Op. 14
1868-12-20	Wien Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde *Fourth and Last Concert of Clara Schumann k.k. Kammervirtuosin*	Lousie Dustmann	1) Beethoven: Sonata in E flat-Major Op. 27 2) Schumann: *Stille Liebe*, Op. 35, Nr. 8, *Loreley*, Op. 53, Nr. 2, *Schöne Fremde* 3) Chopin: Scherzo in B-Minor, Op. 32 4) Schumann: Fantasy, Op. 17 5) Winderberger: *Neid der Sehsucht*, *Frühlingsglaube*, Op. 31, 3

			6) Schumann: *Arabeske*, Op. 18 7) Schubert: Impromptu Op. 142
1869-10-06	Karlsruhe grosser Museums-Saal	Frl. Hausmann Fr. Hauser Hr. Kürner Hr. Brulliot	I 1) Mendelssohn: Overture to *schönen Melusine* 2) Beethoven: Piano Concerto, Nr. 4 in G-Major 3) Brahms: *Liebeslieder*, Waltz for Four Voices and Piano for Four-Hands 4) Schumann: *Aufschwung* from Op. 12, *Nachtstück* from Op. 23, *Traumes Wirren* from Op. 12 II 1) Schumann: Symphony Nr. 4 in D-Minor (Introduction -- Allegro -- Romanze -- Scherzo and Finale)
1869-11-28	Berlin Sing-Akademie	Joseph Joachim Amalie Joachim Herr de Ahna Wilhelm Müller	1) Schumann: Quartet for Pianoforte, Violin, Viola, and Violincello in E flat-Major, Op. 47 2) Handel: Aria from *Jephta* 3) Schubert: Impromptu, Op. 90 4) Chopin: Scherzo in B-Minor, Op. 31 5) Brahms: *Ewige Liebe* 6) Mendelssohn: Two *Lieder ohne Worte* from Op. 102 7) Schumann: *Warum*?, *Traumes Wirren* from Op. 12 8) Schubert: *Memnon* 9) Schumann: *Die Soldatenbraut* 10) Beethoven: Sonata for Pianoforte and Violin in C-Minor, Op. 30
1869-12-07	Berlin Sing-Akademie	Joseph Joachim	1) Mozart: Sonata for Pianoforte and Violin in E-Minor (Allegro -- Tempo di Menuetto) 2) Bach: Prelude in B-Minor on the Grand Piano 3) Schumann: Canon in A flat-Major from the Sketches, Op. 58 4) Schubert: Impromptu in F-Minor, Op. 124 [Op. 142] 5) Bach: Chaconne for Violin 6) Schumann: Nr. 1, 2, and 8 from *Kreisleriana*, Op. 16 7) Beethoven: Sonata for Pianoforte and Violin in A-Major
1869-12-11	Wien Musikvereinssaal (Tuchlauben) *First Konzert of Clara Schumann,*	J.M. Grün Konzertmeister D. Popper Thoma Börs Meta Börs	1) Schumann: Trio for Pianoforte, Violin, and Violincello in D-Minor, Op. 63 2) Reinecke: Aria from the Opera *Manfred* (Thoma Börs)

	k.k. Kammervirtuosin		3) Beethoven: Variations, C-Minor, Op. 36 [80] 4) Schumann: *Waldszenen*, Op. 82, *Eintritt*, *Jäger auf der Lauer*, *Einsame Blumen*, *Freandliche Landschaft*, *Herberge*, *Vogel als Prophet*, *Jaglied*, *Abschied* 5) Rubinstein: Duet, *Der Engel* 6) Schumann: Duet *Nelkeln wind ich und Jasmin* from the *Spanischen Liederspiel* 7) Chopin: Andante spianato, Op. 22 8) Mendelssohn: Scherzo (Presto) in E-Minor
1869-12-22	Wien Musikvereinssaal (Tuchlauben) *Second Konzert of Clara Schumann, k.k. Kammervirtuosin*	Louise Dustmann	1) Beethoven: Sonata in C-Major, Op. 53 2) Brahms: *Am Sonntag* and *Wiegenlied,* Op. 49 *Wie bist du, meine Königin,* Op. 32 3) Kirchner: Andante Nr. 10 from the Preludes 4) Hiller: *All 'antico* for Pianoforte 5) Chopin: Impromptu in C#-Minor 6) Schumann: *Geisternähe* by Halm, Op. 77, *Volksliedchen*, Op. 51, Nr. 2, *Ich wand're nicht* Op. 51, Nr. 2 7) Schumann: *Carnaval*, Op. 9: *Préambule-Pierrot-Arlequin-Valse noble-Papillons-Lettres dansantes-Chiarina-Chopin-Reconnaissance-Pantalon et Colombine-Valse-Allemande et Paganini-Aveu-Promenade-Pause-Marche* des *'Davidsbündler' contre les Philistins*
1870-01-05	Wien kk. kleine Redouten-Saal *Third and Last Konzert of Clara Schumann, k.k. Kammervirtuosin*	Louise Dustmann Rosa Girzick Gustav Walter Emil Kraus	1) Beethoven: Sonata *Les Adieux,* Op. 81a (Les Adieuz--L'Absence--Le retour) 2) Schumann: *Nußbaum* (Walter) 'Wanderlied' (Walter) 3) Schumann: Nr. 1, 2, 5, 6, and 8 from *Kreisleriana*, Op. 16 4) Brahms: *Liebeslieder*, *Walzer* for Four Voices with Pianoforte for Four-Hands 5) Schubert: *Moment musical* in C#-Minor 6) Chopin: Notturno in G-Minor, Polonaise in A flat-Major 7) Brahms: *Liebeslieder* (Second Part)
1870-01-19	Wien kleine Saal of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde *By Request:*	Anna Boße Prof. Kleineck J.M. Grün: Konzertmeister	1) Brahms: Trio for Pianoforte, Violin, and French Horn, Op. 40 (Andante -- Scherzo -- Adagio -- Finale) 2) Schubert: *Die junge Nonne* 3) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses*, Op. 54

	Abschiedskonzert of Clara Schumann, k. k. Kammervirtuosin		4) Brahms: *Liebestreu*, Op. 1 [Op. 3, Nr. 1], *Sehnsucht*, Op. 49 5) E. Rudorff: *Fantasiestück*, Op. 10, Nr. 1a 6) Chopin: Notturno in C-Minor, Impromptus in A flat-Major 7) Schumann: *Dein Angesicht so lieb und schön*, Op. 127, *Er, der Herrlichste*, Op. 42 8) Schumann: *Fantasiestücke*, Op. 12: *Des Abends*, I*n der Nacht*, *Grillen*, *Warum*, *Aufschwung*
1870-01-25	Köln Große Gürzenich-Saal	Music-Director: Franz Weber Wilhelmine Schwartzkopff Carl Hill Florian Franke Frl. Kneip	1) Neils W. Gade: Symphony in B-Major 2) Max Bruch: *Schön Ellen,* Ballade by Geibel for Soprano, Baritone, Chorus, and Orchestra (Hill, Schwartzkopff) 3) Beethoven: Piano Concerto in C-Minor 4) Beethoven: *An die ferne Geliebte* (Hill) 5) Hiller: A*ll'Antico* 6) Schubert: Impromptu in F-Minor, Op. 142 7) Mendelssohn: *Die erste Walpurgisnacht,* Ballade by Goethe, for Choir, Soloists, (Hill, Franke, Kneip) and Orchestra
1870-01-31	Köln Hôtel Disch *Musikalische Soirée of Frau Dr. Clara Schumann*	Agnes Schönerstedt Otto von Königslow Prof. Rensburg	1) Beethoven: Trio in B-Major, Op. 97 2) Schumann: *Waldszenen* 3) Reinecke: Romanze for Violin (von Königslöw) 4) Brahms: Hungarian Dances for Four Hands (Clara and Schönerstedt) 5) Mendelssohn: Capriccio in E-Major, Op. 33 6) Schumann: *Arabeske* 7) Chopin: Polonaise in A flat-Major
1870-02-03	Düsseldorf Tonhalle	Director: Julius Tausch Josephine Daberkow Choir	I 1) Schumann: Overture to *Genoveva* 2) Haydn: Motet for Chorus, *Du bist, dem Ruhm and Ehre gebühret* 3) Mendelssohn: Concerto for Pianoforte in G-Minor 4) Mendelssohn: Hymn for Soprano Solo, Chorus and Organ [*Hör' mein Bitten, Herr*] 5) Schumann: *Nachtstück* in F-Major 6) Chopin: Polonaise in A flat-Major II Beethoven: Symphony Nr. 4 in B-Major

1870-07-14	Kreuznach Krusaal *Clara Schumann veranstaltet*	Marienne Brandt Preussian Hofoperansängerin, Berlin	1) Beethoven: Sonata, Op. 53 in C-Major 2) Handel: Recitative and Aria from the Opera *Rinaldo* 3) Schumann: Novellette in F-Major, Sketches in D flat-Major, Aufschwung 4) Pauline Viardot: *Rätsel*, *Das ist ein schlechtes Wetter* 5) Chopin: Scherzo B-Minor 6) Schumann: *Er, der herrlichste von allen*, *Schöne Fremde*, *Waldesgespräch* 7) Bennett: *La fontaine*, *Le lac* 8) Mendelssohn: Presto in E-Minor
1870-10-21	Frankfurt a. M. große Concert-Saal	Natalie Haenisch Dir: C. Müller	I 1) Franz Lachner: Suite for Orchestra, Nr. 2 in E-Minor (Introduction and Fugue – Andante – Menuett – Intermezzo -- Gigue) 2) Mozart: Aria, "Ich grausam? O mein Geliebter" from *Don Giovanni* 3) Beethoven: Concerto for Pianoforte in C-Minor II 1) Mendelssohn: *Auf Flügel des Gesanges* 2) Bach: *Willst du dein Herz mir schenken* 3) Schumann: Andante from the *Bunten Blättern*, Novellete in E-Major, Op. 21 4) Mendelssohn: Scherzo, Op. 16 5) Beethoven: Symphony Nr. 8 in F-Major
1870-10-27	Leipzig Gewandhaus	Anna von Asten	I 1) Cherubini: Overture to *Lodoiska* 2) Mozart: Recitativee and Aria from *Idomeneo* ("Solitudine amiche" and "Zeffiretti lusinghieri") 3) Beethoven: Concerto for Pianoforte in G-Major II 1) Schumann: Symphony Nr. 4 in D-Minor 2) Mendelssohn: *Schilflied* 3) Schumann: *Nachtigall* (O Ihr Herren) 4) Schubert: *Heidenröslein* 5) Schumann: Sketches in D flat-Major, Op. 58, Novellette in E-Major Op. 21 6) Mendelssohn: Scherzo (Presto) Op. 16

1870-10-29	Leipzig Gewandhaus	Ferd. David Röntgen Hermann Thümer Hegar	1) Mozart: Quintet in G-Minor 2) Schumann: *Humoreske* Op. 20 (The First Time) 3) Leclair: Largo and Chaconne for Violin with Bass, for Violin and Pianoforte, Arranged by Ferdinand David 4) Beethoven: Großes Trio for Pianoforte, Violin, and Violincello in B-Major, Op. 97
1870-12-01	Berlin Sing-Akademie	Rob. Radecke Hr. Schelper Joseph Joachim Anna von Asten	I 1) Beethoven: Overture to "*Coriolan*" 2) Beethoven: Piano Concerto in C-Minor 3) Weber: Aria from *Euryanthe* 4) Joachim: Romanze from the Hungarian Concerto 5) Schumann: *Schlummerlied* 6) Hiller: *All'Antico* 7) Mendelssohn: Scherzo, Op. 16 II 1) Joachim: March for Orchestra 2) Schubert: *An Anselmos Grabe* 3) Schumann: *Schneeglöcken*, *Marienwürmchen* 4) Beethoven: Violin Concerto
1870-12-05	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe	Paula Swab Theodora Schmid Franz Schubert Franz Schubert jun.	1) Beethoven: Sonata for Pianoforte and Violin in C-Minor, Op. 30, Nr. 2 (Clara, Schubert) 2) Mozart: Aria from the *Entführung* (Schmid) 3) Bach: Prelude 4) Alwin Wieck: *Addio* 5) Chopin: Walzer, Op. 64, Nr. 1 6) Pauer: *La cascade* (Swab) 7) Bériot: Adagio and Rondeau russe for Violin (Schubert) 8) Chopin: Scherzo in B-Minor 9) Weber: Cavatina from *Der Freischütz* (Schmid) 10) Schumann: *Wienlese, fröhliche Zeit* (Swab) 11) Chopin: Nocturno in E flat-Major, Op. 9 (Swab) 12) Seeling: *Loreley* (Swab) 13) Reißiger: *Felice notte* (Schmid) 14) Mendelssohn: *Frühlingslied* (Schmid) 15) Schumann: Romanze in D-Minor from Op. 32, Nachtstück in

			F-Major, Op. 23 16) Mendelssohn: Scherzo (Presto) Op. 16
1870-12-07	Berlin Concertsaal des königl. Opernhauses	Jachmann-Wagner Frl. v. Asten Schelper Fricke Wilhelm Müller Königlciher Operanchor	1) Beethoven: Sonata in C-Major, Op. 53 2) a) G. Reichardt: Series of Fatherland Compositions by G. Reichardt in Historical Order, with Prefatory and Associated Remarks, Last Composition by G. zu Putlitz (Jachmann-Wagner) a) *Der alte Fritz*, Bass Solo with Choir b) *Der Feldmarschall*, Choir c) *Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland*?, Choir 3) Beethoven: Sonata in A-Major for Pianoforte and Violincello (Clara, Wagner, Müller) 4) a) Fourth *Dem Könige Wilhelm*, Baritone-Solo with Chior (Schelper) 5) *An der Wiege,* Lied for Soprano 6) *Norddeutsche Bandeshymne*, Choir 7) *Deutsche National-Hymne*
1870-12-16	Hamburg großer Saal of the Convent-Gartens	Prussian Hofoperansängerin: M. Brandt	I Beethoven: 1) Third Symphony (*Eroica*) Op. 55 (Allegro con brio -- Marcia funebre -- Scherzo: Allegro vivace -- Finale: Allegro molto) II 1) Scene and Aria from Op. 65 2) Piano Concerto Nr. 5 in E flat-Major, Op. 73 3) Schottische Lieder with Accompaninment by Pianoforte, Violin, and Violincello, Op. 108: a) *Die holde Maid bon Inverness* b) *Der Schönste Bub' war Hennie* c) *Der treue Johnnie* 4) Variations for Pianoforte, C-Minor, Op. 36 5) Overture Nr. 3 to *Leonore*, Op. 72
1870-12-20	Bremen *Fourth Privat-Concert to Celebrate the Hundred Year Birhday of Ludwig van Beethoven*		Beethoven: I 1) *Fest*-Overture *Zur Weihe des Hauses* in C-Major, Op. 124 2) Piano Concerto Nr. 4 in G-Major, Op. 48 3) March and Chorus "Schmückt die Altäre" from the *Ruinen von Athen*, Op. 114

			4) Fantasy for Pianoforte, Chorus, and Orchestra in C-Minor, Op. 80 II First Symphony in C-Minor Nr. 5, Op. 67
1871-01-03	Breslau *Sixth Abonnement-Concert of the Breslauer Orchestra –vereins*	Dr. Leopold Damrosch	1) Beethoven: Symphony, Nr. 7 in A-Major (Poco sostenuto, Vivace -- Allegretto -- Scherzo -- Finale) 2) Schumann: Piano Concerto in A-Minor 3) Wagner: "The Ride of the Walküries" from *Die Walküre* (The First Time) 4) Chopin: Impromptu in C#-Minor 5) Bennet: *Le lac* 6) Mendelssohn: Scherzo (Presto), Op. 16
1871-01-17	Köln Große Gürzenich-Saal	Ferdinand Hiller	1) Wagner: Vorspiel to *Die Miester von Nürnberg* 2) Schumann: Piano Concerto in A-Minor 3) Niels W. Gade: *Beim Sonnenuntergang*, Poem by A. Munch, Concert Piece for Mixed Chorus and Orchestra 4) Chopin: Impromptu in C#-Minor 5) Sterndale-Bennett: *Der See* 6) Mendelssohn: Scherzo (Presto), Op. 16 7) Cherubini: "Credo" and "Agnus Dei" from the *Krönungsfeier Karl's XX* *Composition Mass* 8) Albrecht Dietrich: Symphony (ander Ltg. Des Komp)
1871-01-20	Krefeld Saal der Königsburg	Alfred Volkland Marie Büschgens Singverein	I 1) Weber: Overture to *Euryanthe* 2) Beethoven: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra in G-Major 3) Max Bruch: *Die Flucht nach Ägypten*, *Morgenstande* for Soprano-Solo, Frauenchor, and Orchestra (Erstaufführung) 4) Chopin: Impromptu in C#-Minor 5) Schumann: *Nachtstück* in F-Major 6) Mendelssohn: Scherzo (Presto), Op. 16 II 1) Schumann: Overture, Scherzo, and Finale for Orchestra, Op. 52

1871-02-12	Frankfurt a. M. kleine Concert-Saal *Concert to help the Relatives*	Elise Schumann HH. Heermann Becker Welker Müller Amalie Joachim Julie Lachner	1) Schumann: Quintet for Pianoforte and String Instruments 2) Schumann: Lieder from *Frauenliebe und Leben*, Nrs. 1-4 3) Beethoven: Sonata in C#-Minor (Elise Schumann) 4) Schumann: Variations from the D-Minor String Quartet 5) Schubert: *An die Leyer* 6) Mendelssohn: *Gruß* 7) Brahms: Hungarian Dances for Four-Hands (Elise Schumann, Julie Lachner)
1871-10-03	Baden-Baden *Maison de Conversation*	Mlle. M. Schroeder N. Verger C. Sivori B. Cossman Ltg. Koennemann	1) Mozart: Overture to *The Marriage of Figaro* 2) Tito Mattei: *Non tornò* (Verger) 3) C. Sivori: Morceau de Concert from *La Traviata* (Sivori) 4) Mozart: Aria from *The Marriage of Figaro* (Schroeder) 5) Mendelssohn: Concerto in G-Minor 6) *Chanson espagnole* (Verger) 7) Cossmann: Fantasy over the Motives from *Guillaume Tell* 8) Verdi: *Cavatina d'Ernani* (Schroeder) 9) C. Sivori: *Carnaval de Venise*: Introduction 10) Paganini: Variations burlesques (Sivori) 11) Donizetti: Duet from *Don Pasquale* (Schroeder, Verger)
1871-10-19	Leipzig Gewandhaussaal *Third Abonnement-skonzert*	Amalie Joachim	I 1) Woldemar Bargiel: Overture to *Medea* 2) Bach: Recitative and Aria from the *Pfingst-Cantate* 3) Schumann: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra , A-Minor 4) Schubert: *Suleika* 5) Mendelssohn: *Gruß* (*Leise zieht Durch mein Gemütt)* 6) Gluck-[Brahms]: Gavotte 7) Schumann: Andante in F-Major 8) Schubert: Impromptu in F-Minor, Op. 142 II Schumann: Symphony Nr. 3 in E flat-Major

1871-10-23	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Given by Clara Schumann and Amalie Joachim*	Louise Hauffe Amalie Joachim	1) Schumann: Sonata in G-Minor, Op. 22 2) Handel: Aria from *Jeptha* 3) Bach: Preludein B-Minor, for the Grand Piano 4) Mendelssohn: Variations in E flat-Major Op. 82 5) Schumann: Nr. 1, 2, 3, and 4 from *Frauenliebe und Leben,* Op. 42 6) Chopin: Notturno in B-Major Scherzo in B-Minor 7) Schubert: *Du bist die Ruh*, *Frühlingsglaube* 8) Brahms: Nr. 1, 3, 5, 7, 6, from the Hungarian Dances for Four Hands
1871-10-26	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Fourth Abonnements-konzert*	Amalie Joachim	I 1) N. W. Gade: Symphony, Nr. 4 in B-Major 2) Beethoven: Aria, *Ah! Perfido* 3) Beethoven: Concerto, Nr. 3 in C-Minor II 1) Carl Goldmark: Scherzo for Orchestra (Erstaufführung) 2) Schubert: *An die Musik*, *Geheimes'* (Goethe) *Über meines Liebchens Äugeln*, *Die Taubenpost* 3) Schumann: *In der Nacht* from the *Fantasiestücken*, Op. 12, Nr. 4 from the *Nachtstücken*, Op. 23, Scherzino from the *Faschingsschwank* 4) Beethoven: Overture Nr. 3 to *Leonore*
1871-10-28	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe *Konzert of Amalie Joachim and Clara Schumann*	Amalie Joachim Julie von Asten	1) Beethoven: Sonataa in C-Major, Op. 53 2) Schubert: *An die Leyer* 3) Schumann: *Waldszenen*, Op. 82: *Eintritt*, *Jäger auf der Lauer*, *Einsame Blumen*, *Freandliche Landschaft*, *Herberge, Vogel als Prophet*, *Jagdlied*, *Abschied* 4) Beethoven: *Mignon* 5) Chopin: Notturno in B-Major, Polonaise in A flat-Major 6) Mendelssohn: *Jagdlied* 7) Schumann: *Widmung* 8) Mendelssohn: *Gruß* 9) Brahms: Nr. 1, 3, 5, 7, 6, from the Hungarian Dances for Four Hands

1871-11-01	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe *Second Konzert of Amalie Joachim and Clara Schumann*	Amalie Joachim Julie von Asten	1) Schumann: Sonata, G-Minor, Op. 22 2) Handel: Aria from *Rinaldo*, "Lascio chiò pianga" 3) Bach: Prelude for the Grand Piano in B-Minor 4) Mendelssohn: Scherzo in B-Minor 5) Schumann: Nr. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, from *Frauenliebe und Leben* 6) Schumann: Andante and Variations for Two Pianos 7) Schubert: *Der Landenbaum* 8) Schumann: *Die Soldatenbraut* 9) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* 10) Gluck [Brahms]: Gavotte 11) Schumann: Scherzino from the *Faschingsschwank*
1871-11-05	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Erste Kammermusik*	Ferdinand David Konzertmeister Röntgen Hermann and Thümer Hegar	1) Mozart: String Quartet in D-Major 2) Schubert: Sonata in A-Minor 3) Lecair: Sarabande and Tambourin for Violin and Bass, with Pianoforte Accompaniment, Directed by the Herrn Concertmeister David (The First Time) 4) Mendelssohn: Trio for Pianoforte, Violin, and Violincello in C-Minor
1871-11-07	Bremen *Privat-Concert*	Amalie Joachim Männerchor	I: 1) Beethoven: Symphony Nr. 8 in F-Major 2) Mozart: Recitative and Rondo with Pianoforte 3) Schumann: Concerto for Pianoforte in A-Minor II 1) Cherubini: Overture to *Lodoiska* 2) Brahms: Rhapsody for Alto Solo and Männerchor 3) Chopin: Scherzo in B-Minor 4) Schumann: *Sonntags am Rhein* 5) Schubert: *Geheimes* 6) Mendelssohn: *Gruß* 7) Weber: Overture to *Oberon*
1871-11-10	Oldenburg großer Casino-Saal *First Abonnements-konzert der Großhzgl. Hofkappele*	Großherzogl. Hofkapelle	I 1) Weber: Overutre to *Oberon* 2) Beethoven: Concerto Nr. 3 in C-Minor 3) Joseph Joachim: Two Marches for großes Orchestra (New, The First Time) 4) Schumann: *Warum*, *Traumes Wirren* 5) Gluck [-Brahms]: Gavotte 6) Chopin: Notturno

			II 1) Beethoven: Nr. 7 in A-Major (1st Poco sostenuto. Vivace – 2nd Allegretto – 3rd Scherzo. Presto – 4th Finale. Allegro con brio)
1871-11-14	Quedlinburg	Choir	1) Beethoven: Sonata in C-Major, Op. 53 2) Schumann: *Der träumende See'* (Choir) 3) Alb. Schröder: *Mein Herz ist im Hochland* (Choir) 4) Schumann: *Fantasiestücke*, *Des Abends*, *Aufschwung*, *Warum*?, *Traumeswirren* 5) Chopin: Notturno in B-Major, Scherzo in B-Minor 6) Schumann: *Schön Rohtraut*, *Haidenröslein* 7) Gluck [-Brahms]: Gavotte 8) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte*, Scherzo Op. 16
1871-11-17	Hamburg große Saal des Convent-Gartens	Amalie Joachim Männerchor	I 1) Philip Emanuel Bach: Symphony, in D-Major (a. Allegro di molto – b. Largo -- c. Presto) 2) Handel: Recitative and Aria from *Semele* 3) Schumann: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra, Op. 54 (a. Allegro affettuoso – b. Intermezzo: Andantino grazioso – c. Allegro vivace) 4) Brahms: Alto Rhapsody for Soloist, Männerchor and Orchestra, Op. 53 5) Gluck [-Brahms]: Gavotte 6) Mendelssohn: Scherzo, Op. 16 7) Schumann: *Ich grolle nicht*, *An den Sonnenschein* II 1) Mozart: Symphony in C-Major (with the Closing Fugue) (a. Allegro vivace – b. Andante cantabile – c. Menuett: Allegretto – d. Finale: Allegro molto)
1871-11-19	Hamburg große Saal des Convent-Gartens Matinée of Amalie Joachim and Clara Schumann	Amalie Joachim Wilhelmine Marstrand	1) Beethoven: Sonata in D-Minor, Op. 31, Nr. 2 2) Bach: Aria from *Weihnachtsoratorium*: "Nun wird mein liebster Bräutigam" 3) Bach: Chromatic Fantasy with Fugue 4) Schubert: *Colma's Klage* 5) Chopin: Nocturno in B-Major, Scherzo in B-Minor

			6) Schumann: *Ständchen*: *Komm' in die stille Nacht*, *Loreley*, *Es flüstern and Rauschen*, *Widmung*, *Du meine Seele* 7) Schumann: Nr. 1 from the *Humoreske*, *Warum*?, *Aufschwung* from the *Fantasiestücken*
1871-11-23	Münster *Konzert for the Cäcilien-Fest*	Choir Amalie Joachim Anna Bowinkelmann Adolph Schulze Richard Barth	I 1) Beethoven: Overture to *Egmont* 2) Gluck: Furies-Szene from *Orpheus and Eurydike* 3) Beethoven: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra, Nr. 5 in E flat-Major 4) Haydn: Bass-Aria from the *Schöpfung* 5) Dessauer: *Lockung* 6) Lindblad: *Auf dem Berge* 7) Hiller: *Im Maien* 8) Schumann: Novellete 9) Gluck [-Brahms]: Gavotte 10) Mendelssohn: Scherzo II 1) Mendelssohn: Concerto for Violin 2) Schumann: *Die Stille* 3) Schubert: *Geheimes* 4) Mendelssohn: *Gruß* 5) Handel: "Halleluja Chorus" from *Messiah*
1871-11-27	Berlin Singakademie *Konzert of Clara Schumann and Amalie Joachim*	Amalie Joachim Julie von Asten	I 1) Beethoven: Sonata, Op. 101 (Allegretto ma non troppo -- Vivace alla marcia -- Largo and Allegro) 2) Bach: Aria from the *Weihnachtsoratorium* 3) Schubert: Impromptus, Op. 90 in C-Minor 4) Mendelssohn: Variations, Op. 82 5) Schumann: Nr. 1-5 from *Frauenliebe und Leben* II 1) Gluck [-Brahms]: Gavotte 2) Schumann: Novellette Nr. 1 from Op. 21, Scherzino from the *Faschingsschwank* 3) Schubert: *Erstarrung* from *Winterreise* 4) Brahms: *Ein Sonnet*, *Wiegenlied* 5) Brahms: Nr. 1, 3, 5, 7, 6 from the Hungarian Dances for Four Hands
1871-12-04	Berlin Singakademie *Konzert*	Joseph and Amalie Joachim as "valued artists and dilletant"	1) Schumann: Fantasy, Op. 17 (Allegro -- -- Marsch -- Finale (Andante)) 2) Schubert: *Ständchen* for Alto-Solo and

	veranstaltet of Clara Schumann		Frauenchor 3) Bach: Italian Concerto (Allegro -- Adagio-- Presto) 4) Schumann: *Blondels Lied* 5) Chopin: Notturno in B-Major 6) Schubert: Impromptu, Op. 142 7) Mendelssohn: *Hirtenlied* 8) Schubert: *Geheimes* 9) Schumann: Widmung 10) Beethoven: Sonata in A-Major for Pianoforte and Violin
1871-12-16	Frankfurt kleiner Concert-Saal des Saalbaues *Konzert of Clara Schumann and Amalie Joachim*	Amalie Joachim	1) Beethoven: Sonata in C-Major 2) Stradella: *Aria di chiesa* 3) Mendelssohn: Variations, Op. 82 4) Schubert: from *Die schöne Mullerin*: *Wohin*?, *Halt*, *Danksagung an den Bach*, *Mein*, *Pause*, *Eifersucht und Stolz*, *Die liebe Farbe*, *Die böse Farbe* 5) Schumann: Novellette in F-Major, Scherzino from the *Faschingsschwank* 6) Schumann: *Sonntags am Rhein*, *Widmung* 7) Gluck[-Brahms]: Gavotte 8) Schubert: Impromptu, Op. 142
1871-12-21	Düsseldorf Tonhalle *Fourth Konzert Under the Direction of the Königlichen Musik-Direktor Herr Julius Tausch*	Julius Tausch Amalie Joachim Choir	I 1) Cherubini: Overture to *Wasserträger* 2) Brahms: Rhapsody (Fragment from Goethe's *Harzreise im Winder*) for Alto Voices, Männerchor and Orchestra (The First Time) 3) Beethoven: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra in G-Major 4) Niels W. Gade: *Beim Sonnenuntergang* (A. Munch) Konzertstück for Chorus and Orchestra 5) Beethoven: Scene and Aria 6) Schumann: Novellette in F-Major 7) Gluck [-Brahms]: Gavotte 8) Mendelssohn: Scherzo, Op. 16 9) Schumann: *Die Stille* 10) Schubert: *Geheimes* 11) Mendelssohn: *Gruß* II 1) Schumann: Overture, Scherzo, and Finale [Op. 52]
1872-01-02	Kassel Kgl. Schauspiele *Fourth Abonnementskonz*	Herr Schmitt Frau Zottmayr	I 1) Niels. W. Gade: Overture to *Nachklänge from Ossian* 2) Alessandro Stradella: *Kirchnaria*

	ert The Members of the Kgl. Theater-Orchestras To Benefit their Endowment Fund		3) Beethoven: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra, Nr. 4 in G-Major 4) Brahms: *Von ewiger Liebe* 5) Schumann: *Der Sänger* 6) Schubert: *Frühlingstraum* 7) Schumann: *Schlummerlied* 8) Gluck [-Brahms]: Gavotte 9) Mendelssohn: Scherzo, Presto Op. 16 II 1) Schumann: Symphony Nr. 4 in D-Minor (Introduction -- Allegro -- Romzane -- Scherzo and Finale)
1872-01-05	Frankfurt a. M. grosser Concert-Saal *Seventh Museumskonzert*	Anna Regan Director: C. Müller	I 1) Spohr: Symphony Nr. 3 in C-Minor (Andante grave Allegro -- Larghetto -- Scherzo -- Finale: Allegro) 2) Mozart: Aria from the Opera *L'oca del Cairo* 3) Beethoven: Concerto for Pianoforte in G-Major; II 1) Rossini: Canzonette *La partenza* 2) Nicolo Jomelli: Ariatta from the Opera *Il Pasataghio* 3) Schumann: Canon from the Studies for Grand Piano 4) Mendelssohn: Rondo capriccioso, Op. 14 5) Schubert: *Der Schiffer*, *Der Musensohn* 6) Anton Rubinstein: Concert Overture in B-Major (The First Time)
1872-01-20	Barmen große Saal der Concordia	Music-Director Anton Krause	I 1) Schubert: Overture to *Rosamande* 2) Schumann: Konzert for Pianoforte and Orchestra in A-Minor 3) Schumann: *Zigeunerleben* for Mixed Chorus and Orchestra 4) Schumann: Novellette in F-Major 5) Gluck [-Brahms]: Gavotte 6) Mendelsson: Scherzo, Op. 16 II 1) Beethoven: Symphony Nr. 2 in D-Major
1872-10-11	Frankfurt a. M. große Concert-Saal *First Museumkonzert*	Amalie Kling Dir: C. Müller	I 1) Beethoven: Overture to the *Weihe des Hauses* in C-Major, Op. 124 2) Gluck: Recitative and Aria from the Opera *Orpheus*, "Ach, was hab' ich getan?" and "Ach, ich habe sie verloren"

			3) Schumann: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra in A-Minor 4) Schubert: *Frühlingstraum* from *Winterreise* 5) Brahms: *Liebestreu*, *Sandmännchen* 6) Chopin: Notturno Op. 62 in B-Major 7) Mendelssohn: Scherzo from the *A Midsummer Night's Dream* II 1) Beethoven: Symphony Nr. 5 in C-Minor (Allegro con brio -- Andante con moto – Allegro -- Allegro)
1872-10-16	Stuttgart Saal der Liederhalle *First Konzert von Clara Schumann and Julius Stockhausen*	Julius Stockhausen	1) Beethoven: Sonata in C-Major Op. 53 2) Handel: Recitative and Aria of Polyphem from *Acis and Galatea* 3) Schumann: Five Pieces from the *Kreisleriana*, Op. 16 4) Schubert: *Der Wanderer* 5) Brahms: *Sonntag* 6) Chopin: Nocturne in B-Major Op. 62 7) Gluck: Gavotte, arranged by Brahms 8) Mendelssohn: Presto in E-Minor from Op. 16 9) Beethoven: *An die ferne Geliebte*, Op. 98
1872-10-19	Stuttgart Saal der Liederhalle *Second Konzert of Clara Schumann and Julius Stockhausen*	Julius Stockhausen	1) Schumann: Fantasy, Op. 17 2) Schubert: *Willkommen and Abschied*, *An die Leyer* 3) Beethoven: Variations C-Minor, Op. 36 [sic! 80] 4) Schumann: *Dichterliebe*, Op. 48, First Book 5) Schumann: *Nachstück* in F-Major, Op. 23, Scherzino from the *Faschingsschwank*, Op. 26 6) Mendelssohn: Scherzo from the *A Midsummer Night's Dream* 7) Schumann: *Dichterliebe*, Second Book
1872-10-22	Köln Große Gürzenich-Saal	Ferdinand Hiller Thekla Friedländer Choir	1) Weber: Overture to *Euryanthe* 2) Beethoven: Concerto for Pianoforte in G-Major 3) Brahms: *Schicksalslied* by Friedr. Hölerlin for Choir and Orchestra 4) Schubert: *Liebesbotschaft* 5) Mendelssohn: *Frühlingslied* 6) Schumann: Canon in A flat-Major from the Studies for the Grand Piano, Op. 56 7) Mendelssohn: Scherzo from the

			A Midsummer Night's Dream 8) Schumann: Symphony Nr. 2 in C-Major
1872-10-26	Elberfeld Casino	Music-Director: Hermann Schornstein Marie Sartorius Choir	1) Schumann: Symphony in B-Major 2) Beethoven: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra in G-Major 3) Mendelssohn: *114th Psalm* for Double Choir and Orchestra 4) Friedrich Gernsheim: *Waldmeisters Brautfahrt* Overture for große Orchestra 5) Brahms: *An ein Veilchen* 6) Schubert: *Suleika* 7) Schumann: Novellette in F-Major 8) Mendelssohn: Scherzo from *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* arranged by the Composer 9) Schubert: *Mirjams Siegesgesang* for Solo, Choir, and Orchestra
1872-11-07	Düsseldorf Tonhalle	Julius Stockhausen Julius Tausch Choir	I 1) Gluck: Overture to *Iphigenia in Aulius* 2) Handel: Aria from *Acis and Galatea* 3) Max Bruch: *Römische Leichenfeier*, Poetry by Hermann Lingg, for Choir and Orchestra (The First Time) 4) Schumann: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra in A-Minor 5) Schumann: *Die Löwenbraut* 6) Chopin: Notturno in B-Major Op. 62 7) Mendlessohn: Scherzo from the *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Arranged by the Composer 8) Schubert: *Der Musensohn*, *Der Schiffer* II 1) Haydn: *Oxford*-Symphony in G-Major (The First Time)
1872-11-11	Heidelberg Museum große Saal *Given by Clara Schumann and Amalie Joachim*		1) Beethoven: Sonata in C-Major Op. 53 2) Handel: Aria from *Jephta* 3) Schumann: Eight Pieces from the *Davidsbündlertänzen* Op. 6 4) Schumann: *Blondels Lied* 5) Schubert: Impromptu in C-Minor, Op. 90 6) Gluck: Gavotte, Arranged by Brahms 7) Schumann: *Des Sonntags am Rhein* 8) Schubert: *Geheimes* 9) Mendelssohn: *Gruß* 10) Mendelssohn: Scherzo from *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* Arranged by the Composer

1872-11-20	Wien kleiner Musikvereinssaal *Organized by Clara Schumann and Amalie Joachim*		1) Beethoven: Sonata Op. 101 2) Schubert: *Kolmas Klage* 3) Schumann: Ten Pieces from the *Davidsbündlertänzen* Op. 6 4) Schumann: *Blondels Lied* 5) Chopin: Notturno in B-Major Op. 62 6) Mendelssohn: Scherzo from the *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Arranged by the Composer 7) Brahms: *Sonett* 8) Schubert: *Geheimes* 9) Brahms: *Wiegenlied*
1872-11-24	Wien großer Musikvereinssaal *Monstre-Concert for the Purpose of the Establishment of a Musikal Fund to Assist the Sick*	Prof. Carl Heissler Prof. Eduard Kremser Dr. Emil Kraus Josef Hellmesberger J.M. Grün 250 Musicians	1) Beethoven: Overture to *Egmont* 2) Mendelssohn: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra in G-Minor 3) Bruch: "Frithjofs Abschied von Nordsand," Fourth Scene from the *Frithjof-Sage* for Soloist, Choir and Orchestra (Solo: Dr. E. Kraus) 4) Berlioz: "Rákoczy-Marsch" from *Faust's Verdammung* 5) Mozart: Concerto for Violin and Viola with Orchestra (First Movement, Candence by Hellmesberger, Grün and Hellmesberger) 6) Wagner: *Kaisermarsch* (New)
1872-11-26	Wien kleiner Musikvereinssaal *Second Konzert of Clara Schumann and Amalie Joachim*	Amalie Joachim	1) Schubert: Sonata in A-Minor Op. 42 (Moderato -- Andante -- Scherzo -- Rondo) 2) Handel: Aria from *Jephta* 3) Brahms: Balladen Op. 10, Nr. 2 (Andante), Nr. 3 (Intermezzo) 4) Bach: Prelude and Fugue for Organ in E-Minor 5) Schumann: *Frauenliebe und Leben*, Nr. 1-5 6) Chopin: Scherzo in B-Minor Op. 31 7) Schubert: Nr. 2 from *Ellens Gesängen* 8) Mendelssohn: *Gruß* 9) Gluck: Gavotte, Arranged by Brahms 10) Schumann: Scherzino from the *Faschingsschwank*, Op. 26
1872-12-03	Wien	Amalie Joachim	1) Schumann: Sonata in G-Minor, Op. 22 (Allegro -- Andantino -- Scherzo -- Rondo) 2) Beethoven: *Mignon* 3) Schubert: Impromptu in C-Minor, Op. 90

			4) Scarlatti: Andante and Allegrissimo 5) Schubert: From the *Müllerliedern*: *Wohin*, *Halt*, *Danksagung an den Bach*, *Mein*, *Pause*, *Eifersuch und Stolz, Die liebe Farbe*, *Die böse Farbe* 6) Beethoven: Variations, C-Minor, Op. 36 [sic! 80] 7) Schumann: *Sonntags am Rhein*, *Die Soldatenbraut* 8) Schumann: Arabeske, Op. 18 9) Mendelssohn: Two *Lieder ohne Worte* in D-Major and A-Major, Op. 102
1872-12-18	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe *Konzert of Clara Schumann and Amalie Joachim*	Amalie Joachim Herr P. Papst	1) Schubert: Sonata in A-Minor Op. 42 (Moderato -- Andante -- Scherzo -- Rondo) 2) Bach: Aria from the *Weihnachts*-Oratorio 3) Beethoven: Variations, C-Minor Op. 36 [80] 4) Schumann: From *Dichterliebe*, Op. 48: *Im wanderschönen Monat Mai, Aus meinen Tränen sprießen, Die Rose, die Lilie, die Taube, Wenn ich in deine Augen seh, Ich will meine Seele tauchen, and wüßten's die Blumen, Ich grolle nicht* 5) Schumann: Arabeske, Op. 18, Novellette Nr. 1 in F-Major from Op. 21 6) Schubert: *Wohin* 7) Brahms: *Wiegenlied* 8) Mendelssohn: Scherzo from the *A Midsummer Night's Dream*
1872-12-28	Berlin Sing-Akademie *Konzert of Clara Schumann and Amalie Joachim*	Amalie Joachim Prof. Rudorff	1) Schubert: Sonata in A-Minor Op. 42 (Moderato -- Andante -- Scherzo -- Rondo) 2) Handel: Aria from *Alcina* 3) Beethoven: Variations, C-Minor, Op. 36 [80] 4) Schubert: *Suleika* 5) Schumann: Ten Pieces from the *Davidsbündlertänzen*, Op. 6 6) Haydn: *Schäfer-Lied* 7) Schumann: *Sonntags am Rhein*, *Loreley* 8) Mendelssohn: Scherzo from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Arranged by the Composer

1873-01-05	Berlin Singakademie *Konzert of Clara Schuman and Amalie Joachim*	Amalie Joachim Prof. Rudorff	1) Beethoven: Sonata in C-Minor, Op. 30 for Pianoforte and Violin 2) Schubert: *Waldesnacht* 3) Schumann: *Kreisleriana* Nr. 1, 2, 5, 6, 8 4) Schumann: Lieder from the *Dichertliebe* 5) Schubert: Impromptu in F-Minor, Op. 142 6) Gluck: Gavotte 7) Mendelssohn: *Wartend*, *Sonntagslied*, *Frühlingslied* 8) Brahms: Hungarian Dances, for Violin (Joachim)
1873-01-16	Leipzig Gewandhaus	Kammersänger Franz Bachbaur J. O. Grimm	I 1) Weber: Overture to *Euryanthe* 2) Mozart: Aria from *Cosi fan tutte*, "Un' aura amorosa" 3) Schumann: *Konzertstück* Op. 92 (Introduction and Allegro appassionato) 4) Boieldiue: Cavatina from *Die weiße Dame*: "Komm, o holde Dame" 5) Schumann [Schubert]: Impromptu in C-Minor Op. 90 6) Mendelssohn: Scherzo from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* II 1) J.O. Grimm: Symphony (New, Manuscript, Under the Direction of the Composer) (Introduction and Allegro – Trauermarsch -- Scherzo -- Finale, Allegro marziale)
1873-01-18	Leipzig Gewandhaus	Ferdinand Davd Röntgen Hermann Hegar	1) Beethoven: Serenade for Violin, Viola, and Violincello, Op. 8 (Marcia -- Adagio -- Menuetto -- Adagio, Scherzo -- alla Polacca -- Andante con Variazioni -- Marcia) 2) Schumann: Two Character Pieces for Pianoforte from Op. 6, *Davidsbündler* 3) Schumann: String Quartet, Op. 41, Nr. 3 in A-Major 4) Schumann: Trio for Pianoforte, Violin and Violincello in F-Major, Op. 80
1873-07-03	Aachn Jubelfeier of the 50th Niederrheinisch en Musikfestes	Caroline Gomperz Max Hubert Marie Wilt Johannes Lauterbach Choir	I 1) Rietz: Jubiläums-Overture Op. 53 2) Gluck: Scene from *Orpheus and Euridice* (Orpheus: Gomperz) 3) Schumann: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra [Op. 54]

			4) Weber: Aria and Duet from *Euryanthe* (Adolar: Hubert, Euryanthe: Wilt) 5) Handel: "Halleluja! Chorus" from the *Messiah* II 1) Mendelssohn: Overture to Shakepeare's, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* 2) Mozart: Aria of Constanze from *Die Entführung from the Serail* (Wilt) 3) Spohr: Concerto for Violin Nr. 9 in D-Minor (Luterbach) 4) Schubert: *Waldesnacht* (Gomperz) 5) Schubert: *Der Wegweiser* (*Winterreise*) (Hill) *Aufenthalt* 6) Schumann: *Wanderlied* 7) Haydn: Chorus, "Die Himmel erzählen die Ehre Gottes" from *Die Schöpfung*
1873-08-17 1873-08-18 1873-08-19	Bonn	HH. V. Koenigsloew Straus Linder Diener Müller Prof. Rudorff Joseph Joachim Julius Stockhausen Frau Wilt Amalie Joachim	Schumann: <u>On the 17th</u> 1) Symphony Nr. 4 in D-Minor 2) *Das Paradies and die Peri* <u>On the 18th</u> 1) Overture to *Manfred* 2) Konzert in A-Minor for Pianoforte and Orchestra 3) Nachlied for Chorus and Orchestra 4) Symphony Nr. 2 in C-Major 5) Scenes from Goethe's *Faust* (Third Part) <u>On the 19th</u> 1) String Quartet Nr. 3 in A-Major 2) *Stille Tränen* and *Aufträge* (Wilt) 3) *Der Speilmann* and *Wanderlied* (Diener) 4) Andante and Variations for Two Pianoforte (Clara, Rudorff) 5) *Wehmut* and *Sonntags am Rhein* (A. Joachim) 6) *Die Löwenbraut* (Stockhausen) 7) Piano Quintet
1873-09-09	Baden-Baden Conversationsh aus große Saal	Désirée Artot de Padilla Herr de Padilla Prof. August Wilhelm Herr Kinze Kapellmeister Koennemann	1) Weber: *Jubel*-Overture 2) Handel: Aria, *Lascia ch'io pianga* (Artot de Padilla) 3) Mendelssohn: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra Nr. 2 in D-Minor 4) Meyerbeer: Ballade from the *Afrikanerin* (de Padilla)

			5) F. Hegar: Concerto for Violin and Orchestra (The First Time) (Wilhelmj) 6) Hungarian National Lied: *Ez a világ* 7) Schumann: Romanze in F#-Major, Op. 28, Scherzino from the *Faschingsschwank*, Op. 26 8) Schubert: Impromptu in F-Minor, Op. 142 9) Guercia: *Non m'ami più* 10) Scudieri: Serenade *Dormi pure* (de Padilla) 11) Arditi: Walzer *L'incontro* (New) (Artot de Padilla) 12) A. Wilhelm: Romanze for Violin and Orchestra, Notturno by Chopin, for Violin with Claiver Accompaniment 13) Rossini: Duet from the *Barbier von Sevilla* 14) Liszt: German Victory March, *Vom Fels zum Meer*
1873-10-24	Frankfurt a. M. große Concert-Saal *Second Museums-Concert*	Director: C. Müller Members of the Cäcilienvereins	I 1) Spohr: Overture to the Opera *Faust* 2) Mendelssohn: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra in D-Minor 3) Schumann: Requiem of Mignon, from Göthe's *Wilhelm Meister* for Choir, Solo Voices, and Orchestra II 1) F. Wüllner: Choral Lieder for Women's Voices with Orchestral Accompaniment (The First Time) 2) Schumann: Arabeske, Op. 18 3) Schubert: Impromptu, Op. 142 in F-Minor 4) Schumann-P. Grädener: *Zigeunerleben*, Instruments by Grädner 5) Mozart: Symphony in G-Minor (Allegro molto -- Andante -- Menuetto Allegro -- Finale: Allegro assai)
1873-10-27	Frankfurt a. M. kleiner Concert-Saal	HH. Concert Master Hugo Heermann Ruppert Becker Ernst Welcker Valentin Müller	1) Brahms: Quartet for Pianoforte Violin, Viola, and Violincello, Op. 25 in G-Minor (Allegro -- Intermezzo -- Andante con moto--Rondo alla Zingarese) 2) Beethoven: Quartet, Op. 74 in E flat-Major (Poco Adagio Allegro-Adagio-Presto-Allegretto con. Variazioni) 3) Schumann: Ten Character Pieces

			from Op. 6 *Die Davidsbündler*
1873-10-30	Mannheim grosser Concertsaal des Hoftheaters	Ltg. Kapellmeister: Ernst Frank Ottilie Ottiker	I 1) Beethoven: Symphony Nr. 2 in D-Major Op. 36 II 1) Schumann: Piano Concerto in A-Minor Op. 54 2) Hauptmann: Sung Scene, *Gretchen vor der Mater Dolorosa* 3) Schubert: Impromptu in C-Minor Op. 90 4) Mendelssohn: Scherzo from the *A Midsummer Night's Dream* for Pianoforte 5) Brahms: *Leibestreu* 6) Schumann: *Ich hab' im traum geweinet*, *Allnächtlich im Traume*, *Aufträge* 7) Berlioz: Große Overture to *Benvenuto Cellini*
1873-11-18	Bremen Privat-Concert	Georg Heschel	I 1) Schumann: Symphony Nr. 2 in C-Major 2) Handel: Aria from the Cantata *Alexanders Fest* 3) Mendelssohn: Concerto for Pianoforte Nr. 2 in D-Minor II 1) Cherubini: Overture to *Faniska* 2) C. Löwe: Ballade *Heinrich der Vogler* 3) Schumann: Novellette Nr. 1 from Op. 21, Scherzino from the *Faschingsschwank*, Op. 26 4) Gluck: Gavotte, for Pianoforte Arranged by Brahms 5) Brahms: *Die Mainacht* 6) Schumann: *Geständnis* 7) Weber: Overture to *Euryanthe*
1873-11-21	Hamburg großer Saal des Convent-Gartens	Thekla Friedlaender	I 1) C. G. P. Grädener: Overture to Paul Heyse's *Die Sainerinnen* 2) Handel: Aria for Soprano from *Acis and Galatea* 3) Schumann: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra in A-Minor 4) Brahms: *Liebestreu* 5) E. Lassen: *Es war ein Traum* 6) Mendelssohn: *Frühlingslied* 7) Schubert: Impromptu in C-Minor Op. 90

			8) Beethoven: Scherzo from the *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Arranged for Pianoforte by the Composer II 1) Beethoven: Symphony Nr. 4 in B-Major, Op. 6 (Adagio. Allegro vivace -- Adagio -- Scherzo. Allegro vivace -- Finale. Allegro ma no troppo)
1873-11-25	Schwerin Großhzgl. Schauspielhaus: Concertsaal	Frl. Gung	1) R. Volkmann: Symphony in D-Minor (The First Time) 2) Beethoven: Concerto for Pianoforte in G-Major 3) Mendelssohn: Concert Aria 4) Schumann: Novellette in F-Major, Scherzino from the Faschingsschwank 5) Mendelssohn: Scherzo from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* for Pianoforte, Arranged by the Composer 6) Weber: Overture to *Oberon*
1873-12-04	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Seventh Abonnement-Concert*	Ferr Schott Kgl. Preuß Hofoperansänger	I 1) Schumann: Overture to *Genoveva* 2) Mozart: Aria from the Opera *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* ("Constanze, Constanze, dich wieder zu sehen") 3) Brahms: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra 4) Schubert: *Gefrorene Tränen* 5) Schumann: *Wanderlied* ('Wohlauf noch getrunken') 6) Schumann: Canon in A flat-Major from the Studies for Grand Piano Romanze in D-Minor Op. 32 II 1) Beethoven: Symphony Nr. 4 in B-Major
1873-12-06	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Third Kammermusik*	Concert Master Röntgen Hr. Haubold Hr. Hermann Hr. Cossmann	1) Haydn: Quartet for String Instruments in D-Major 2) Schumann: Romanze in F#-Major 3) Chopin: Barcarole in F#-Major 4) Beethoven: Trio for String Instruments in C-Minor Op. 9 5) Schumann: Quartet for Pianoforte and Stringinstruments in E flat-Major, Op. 47
1875-03-18	Kiel Saal der Harmonie *Musikalische Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Marie Fillunger	1) Beethoven: Sonata in C-Major Op. 53 (Allegro con brio -- Adagio molto -- Rondo) 2) Mendelssohn: Aria "Höre Israel" from *Elias* 3) Schumann: *Kreisleriana*,

			Op. 16 Nr. 1, 2, 5, 6, 8 4) Schubert: *Rastlose Liebe*, Op. 5, Nr. 1 5) Brahms: *Liebestreu,* Op. 3, Nr. 1, *Wiegenlied*, Op. 49, Nr. 3 6) Chopin: Notturno in B-Major Op. 62, Nr. 1 7) Schubert: *Moment musical* in C#-Minor, Op. 94, Nr. 4 8) Gluck-Brahms: Gavotte 9) Schumann: *Lust der Sturmnacht*, Op. 35, Nr. 1, *Mondnacht,* Op. 39, Nr. 5, *Widmung*, Op. 25, Nr. 1 10) Schumann: *Warum*? from the *Fantaisestücken*, Op. 12, Novellette in F-Major Op. 21, Nr. 1 11) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* in C-Major
1875-07-27 1875-07-28	Kiel Wriedt'scher Saal *Erstes Schlewwig-holsteinisches Musikfest*	Joseph Joachim Fr. Schmitt Frl. Amalie Kling Hr. von Witt Hr. Rusack Hr. Krolop Georg Henschel	<u>On the 27th</u> Handel: *Samson*, Oratorio in Three Parts <u>On the 28th</u> 1) Weber: Overture to *Oberson* 2) Mozart: Aria from *Don Giovanni* (Fr. Schmitt) 3) Bach: Chaconne 4) Mozart: Concert Aria (Hr. von Witt) 5) Schumann: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra in A-Minor 6) Mendelssohn: *Die erst Walpurgisnacht* 7) Beethoven: Symphony in C-Minor
1875-10-10	Düsseldorf großer Saal der Städt Tonhalle	Dir: Wilhelm ScHauseil Frl. May Moss Choir	1) Bach: *Gib dich zufrieden,* Lied 2) Brahms: *In stiller Nacht*, Choir without Accompaniment 3) Mendelssohn: *Herbslied,* Choir without Accompaniment 4) Bach: Chromatic Fantasy for Pianoforte 5) Mozart: *Laudate dominum* for Soprano-Solo, Choir, and Organ Accompaniment 6) Rheinberger: *Ein Stündlein wohl vor Tag* and *Es glänzt die laue Mondennacht*, Choir 7) Beethoven: Sonata in C-Major, Op. 53 8) Cherubini: Choir from *Blanche de Provence*, for Frauen Voices with Organ Accompaniment 9) Französiches Volkslied *So schön wie sie ist keine*, Chorus 10) Deutsches Volkslied: *Die Vögelein, sie sangen*, Choir without Accompaniment

			11) Schumann: *Abendlied*, Op. 85, Canon in A flat-Major Op. 56, Novellette in E-Major Op. 21 12) Brahms: Liebeslieder for Quartet, with Four-Hands Pianoforte Accompaniment 13) Mendelssohn: *Scheidend* 14) Brahms: *Wiedenlied* 15) Schumann: *Der Nußbaum* 16) Bach: Motet, *Komm, Jesu, komm*, for Double Choir withour Accompaniment
1875-10-28	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Third Abonnement-Concert*	Fr. Peschka-Leutner	I 1) Beethoven: Overture Nr. 2 to *Leonore* 2) Spohr: Recitative and Aria from *Jessonda* 3) Mendelssohn: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra Nr. 2 in D-Minor 4) A. Rubinstein: *Es blinkt der Tau* 5) Albert Trottmann: *Seit ich dich, Lieb, erkoren* 6) Schumann: Canon in B-Minor from the Studies for Grand Piano, Romanze in F#-Major Op. 28, Novellette in E-Major Op. 21 7) Brahms: Serenade Nr. 2 in A-Major for Orchestra (Allegro moderator -- Scherzo vivace -- Adagio non troppo -- Quasi Minuetto -- Rondo)
1875-10-31	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Second Kammermusik*	Concert Master: Röntgen Hr. Haubold Concert Master Schradieck Hr. Bolland Hr. Schröder	1) L. Grill: Quartet for String Instruments in E flat-Major Op. 9 (The First Time) (Allegro moderato -- Andante con motto, quasi Allegretto -- Allegro -- Finale, Allegro molto vivace) 2) Beethoven: Trio for Pianoforte and String Instruments in D-Major 3) Mozart: Quintet for String Instruments in D-Major 4) Schumann: Four Pieces from the *Kreisleriana*
1875-11-05	Frankfurt a. M. großer Concert-Saal *Second Museums-Concert*	Elisabeth Lawrowska Director: C. Müller	I 1) Robert Volkmann: Symphony Nr. 2 in B-Major (The First Time) (Allegro vivace -- Allegretto -- Andantino -- Allegro vivace) 2) Gluck: Aria, "Che farò senza Eruidice" from *Orfeo ed Euridice* 3) Beethoven: Concert for Pianoforte Nr. 3 Op. 37 in C-Minor (Allegro con

			brio -- Largo -- Allegro vivace) II 1) Schumann: *Kreisleriana*, Op. 16 Nr. 2, 5, 6, and 8 2) Schubert: *Gretchen am Spinnrade* 3) Schumann: *Ich grolle nicht* 4) Weber: Overture to *Euryanthe*
1875-11-09	Köln großer Gürzenich-Saal	Ferdinand Hiller Fenene Arnim Friederich Gernscheim Choir	1) Beethoven: Overture Op. 124 2) Handel: Aria from *Admet*, "Cangio d'aspetto" 3) Schumann: Concerto for Pianoforte in A-Minor 4) J.S. Hassler: *Jungfaur, dein schön Gestalt* 5) Volkslied from the Time of the Thirty Years War: *Sichers Teutschland, schläfst du noch?* 6) Brahms: *Lebestreu* 7) Clara Schumann: *Der Mond kommt still gegangen* 8) Christian Seidel: *Mein Herz, tu' dich auf* 9) Hiller: Alla Polacca and Intermezzo from the Modern Suite 10) Mendelssohn: Scherzo Op. 16 11) Friedr. Gernsheim: Symphony (New, Under the Direction of the Composer)
1875-11-11	Bonn Beethoven- Halle *First Abonnment Konzert*	Kgl. Dir: v. Wasielewski Marie Fillunger State Gesang-Verein	1) Cherubini: Overture to *Die Abenceragen* 2) Max Bruch: *Die Flucht nach Ägypten* for Soprano Solo, Frauenchor and Orchestra 3) Beethoven: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra Nr. 4 in G-Major 4) Mendelssohn: Hymn *Hör mein Bitten* for Soprano-Solo, Choir, and Orchestra 5) Schumann: Novellette in F-Major Op. 21, Romanze in D-Minor Op. 32 6) Gluck: Gavotte, for Pianoforte by Brahms 7) Schumann: Symphony Nr. 3 in E flat-Major
1875-11-23	Breslau Second Abonnment *Konzert of the Breslauer Orchestra – Vereins*	Kgl: Bernhard Scholz	1) Beethoven: Overture *Die Weihe des Hauses* 2) B. Scholz: Capriccio for Pianoforte and Orchestra, Op. 35 3) Mendelssohn: Overture to the *Märchen von der schönen Melusine* 4) Schumann: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra in A-Minor

			5) R. Volkmann: Symphony Nr. 2 in B-Major Op. 53 (Allegro vivace -- Allegretto -- Andantino --Allegro vivace)
1875-11-25	Breslau *Third Kammermusik-Abend*	HH. Himmelstoss and Erlekam Hr. Trautmann Hr. Kretschmann	1) Schumann: Piano Quartet in E flat-Major, Op.47 (Sostenuot assai. Allegro ma non troppo -- Scherzo -- Andante cantabile -- Finale) 2) Beethoven: Variations in C-Minor 3) Beethoven: Quartet in C-Major, Op. 59, Nr. 3 (Introdution -- Allegro vivace -- Andante quasi -- Allegretto -- Menuetto -- Allegro vivace)
1875-12-04	Hannover Logenhaus of the Königlichen Theaters *Second Abonnements-konzert*	Hr. Bletzacher	I 1) Cherubini: Overture to the Opera *Der Wasserträger* 2) C. Reinthaler: Arioso from *In der "Wüste* (Psalm 63) 3) Schumann: Concerto in A-Minor 4) Schumann: *Belsatzar*, *Ich wandre nicht* 5) Gluck: Gavotte (for Piano composed by J. Brahms) 6) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* in F-Major, Scherzo Presto Op. 16 II 1) Schubert: Symphony in C-Major (Andante -- Allegro ma non troppo -- Andante con moto -- Scherzo -- Finale)
1875-11-00	Berlin *Kammermusik-Abend of the Stern'schen Gesangsvereins*	Fr. Schultzen von Asten Frl. Schmidtlein Julius Stockhausen Hr. Elmblad Concert Master de Ahna HH. Holländer Rampelmann R. Hausmann Hummel Lehmann Loebel Stern'scher Gesangverein	1) Beethoven: *Elegischer Gesang* for Four Singers with Accompaniment by Violin, Viola, and Violincello, Op. 118 (von Asten, Schmidtlein, Stockhausen, Elmblad) 2) Beethoven: Variations for the Pianoforte in C-Minor 3) Beethoven: *Trocknet nicht, Neues Liebe*, *Neues Leben* (Stockhausen) 4) Schumann: Quintet, Op. 44 (Clara, De Ahna, Holländer, Rampelmann, Hausmann) 5) Schumann: *Familiengemälde* 6) Brahms: *Vor der Tür* (Schultzen von Asten, Stockhausen) 7) Brahms: Songs for Frauenchor, Op. 17, with Harp and Horn Accompaniment (Hummel, Lehmann, Loebel) 8) Volkslieder for Mixed Choir: *Ich far dahin*, *In stiller Nacht* 9) M. Bruch: *Waldpsalm*, Op. 38

1875-12-27	Berlin Sing-Akademie	Anna Schultzen-Asten Julie von Asten Joseph and Amalie Joachim Julius Stockhausen	1) Schumann: Sonata for Pianoforte and Violin in D-Minor (Joachim, Frl. von Asten) 2) Mozart: Duet from *The Marriage of Figaro* (Stockhausen, Fr. Schultzen-Asten) 3) Schumann: *Nachtstück* 4) Mendelssohn: Lied in A-Major 5) Chopin: Valse in A flat-Major (Frl. von Asten, Fr. Schultzen-Asten) 6) Schumann: *An den Abendstern* 7) Mendelssohn: *Das Ährenfeld*, Duet 8) Brahms: *Die Schwestern*, Duet (Duet: Fr. Joachim, Fr. Schultzen-Asten) 9) Brahms: Variations over a Theme by Haydn for Two Pianoforte (Clara, Fr. von Asten) 10) Beethoven: *Ich liebe dich* 11) Mendelssohn: *Schilflied* 12) Taubert: *Wiegenlied* 13) Schumann: *So wahr die Sonne scheinet* 14) Schumann: *Familiengemälde* 15) Schubert: Rondo in B-Minor (Joachim, Frl. Asten)
1876-01-03	Chemnitz *Organized by Joachim*	Joseph Joachim Hermann Scholtz	1) Beethoven: *Kreutzer*-Sonata for Pianoforte and Violin (Andante sostenuto-Presto -- Adadnte con Variazioni -- Presto) 2) Schumann: Novellette Nr. 1, Op. 21, *Warum*?, *Traumes Wirren* 3) Tartini: *Le trille du diable* for Violin 4) Hiller: *Zur Guitarre* 5) Mendelssohn: Scherzo (Presto) 6) Spohr: Barcarole for Violin-Solo 7) Brahms-Joachim: Three Hungarian Dances
1876-01-13	Berlin Palais Ihrer Kaiserlichen and Königlichen Majestäten	Herr de Ahna Herr Betz Frl. Hauk	1) Nardini: Larghetto and Allegro (De Ahna) 2) Wagner: Arioso from *Tannhäuser* 3) Beethoven: Sonata in C#-Minor 4) Mozart: *Voi che sapete* 5) Verdi: Duet from *Violetta* (Hauk, Betz) 6) Hiller: Alla polacca 7) Gluck-Brahms: Gavotte 8) Mendelssohn: Scherzo, Presto 9) Schubert: *Liebesbotschaft* (Betz) 10) Ernst: Elegie (de Ahna) 11) Delibes: Romanze from *Le roi l'a dit*

			12) Gounod: Ariette from *Romeo and Juliet* (Hauk)
1876-01-18	Braunschweig Fourth *Abonnesmenskonz et des Vereins for Concert- Musik*	Hr. C. Link Hugo Müller	I 1) Mendelssohn: Symphony Nr. 3 in A-Minor (Introduction and Allegro Agitato-Scherzo assai vivace -- Adagio cantabile -- Allegro guerriero and Finale maestoso) II 1) Schumann: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra in A-Minor 2) Gluck: Aria from *Iphigenie auf Tauris*, "Nur einen Wunsch, nur ein Verlangen (Link) 3) Schumann: Novellette in F-Major Op. 21 4) Hiller: *Zur Guitarre* 5) Mendelssohn: Scherzo (Presto) Op. 16 6) Schubert: *Frühlingsglaube* 7) Schumann: *Ich wand're nicht* 8) Rubinstein: Ballet Music for Orchestra from the Opera, *Feramours*: a) *Bajaderentanz* b) *Lichtertanz der Bräute von Kaschmir*
1876-01-29	Berlin Festsaal des Rathauses *Concert To help the Monument on the Niederwald*	Joseph Joachim HH. Schieber Rampelmann Müller Herr Barth Frl. Hauck	1) Schubert: Variations for String Quartet 2) Weber: Two Nummern from *Abu Hassan*: a) Ariatta b) Aria (Hauck) 3) Beethoven: Sonata Op. 47, Second and Last Movements (Clara, Joachim) 4) Schumann: *Schlummerlied* 5) Hiller: *Zur Guitarre* 6) Mendelssohn: Rondo capriccioso 7) Wagner: *Träume* 8) Chopin: Mazurka (both Hauck) 9) Brahms-Joachim: Hungarian Dances in G-Minor, F-Major, B-Major
1876-02-14	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe	Frl. M. L. Schmidte Hr. E. Krantz	1) Beethoven: Sonata Op. 101 in A-Major (Allegro ma non troppo -- Vivace all marcia-Adagio -- Allegro) 2) Handel: Aria from *Rodelinda*, "Ah perchè giusto ciel" 3) Schumann: From *Kreisleriana* Op. 16 Nr. 2, 5, 4, and 8 4) Mozart: Recitative and Aria by the Queen of the Night from the *The Magic Flute*,

			"O zitt're nicht, mein lieber Sohn" 5) Chopin: Notturno in B-Major Op. 62, Nr. 1 6) Hiller: Impromptu *Zur Guitarre* 7) Chopin: Walzer in A flat-Major Op. 42 8) Clara Schumann: *Er ist gekommen* 9) Reinh. Becker: *Das macht, es hat die Nachtigall* 10) Mendelssohn: *Major den Wald, den dunklen*
1876-10-21	Hannover Logenhaus des Königlichen Theaters *First* *Abonnements-* *konzert*	Fr. Zimmermann	I 1) Berlioz: Overture to *König Lear* 2) Weber: Aria from the Opera *Oberon* 3) Beethoven: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra in G-Major 4) Schumann: *Er, der Herrlichste von allen*, *Du meine Seele, du mein Herz* 5) Schumann: Novelletten in B-Minor and F-Major 6) Chopin: Walzer in A flat-Major II 1) Mendelssohn: Symphony Nr. 3 in A-Minor (a. Introduction and Allegro agitato -- b. Scherzo assai vivace -- c. Adagio cantabile-d. Allegro guierriero and Finale maestoso)
1876-10-00	Barmen großer Saal of Concordia	Städt Singverein Liedertafel Music Director: Anton Krause Hrr. Je. Heinen	I 1) Schumann: Overture to *Genoveva* 2) Beethoven: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra in G-Major 3) Carl Reineck: *Ein geistliches Abenlied* (G. Kinkel) for Tenor Solo, Chorus, and Orchestra 4) Wagner: "Trauermarsch beim Tode Siegfreieds" from the Musikdrama *Götterdämmerung* 5) Two Pieces for Männerchöre 6) Schuman: *Der Gondelfahrer* for Four Men's Voices, Instruments, by G. Hausmann 7) J. Herbeck: *Zum Walde* (Scheurlin) 8) Schumann: *Aufschwung*, *Nachtstück* in F-Major 9) Chopin: Walzer in A flat-Major II 1) Beethoven: Symphony in A-Major (Poco sostenuto. Vivace -- Allegretto --

			Presto -- Finale. Allegro con brio)
1876-11-03	Hamburg großer Saal des Convent- Gartens	Hr. Arnold von Senfft	I 1) Catel: Overture to *Semiramis* 2) Handel: Aria from the Opera *Lothario*, Orchestra Arranged by R. Franz 3) Schumann: Concerto in A-Minor 4) Rob. Franz: *Gewitternacht* Nr. 6 from Op. 8, *Weißt du nich, wie ich am Fels* from Op. 16, *Genesung* Nr. 12 from Op. 5 5) Schumann: Novellette in D-Major, Romanze in F#-Major 6) Chopin: Walzer in A flat-Major Op. 42 II 1) Beethoven: Symphony Nr. 5 C-Minor (Allegro con brio -- Andante con moto -- Scherzo. Allegro -- Finale. Allegro)
1876-11-07	Bremen *Privat-Concert*	Georg Henschel	I 1) Schumann: Symphony Nr. 1 in B-Major 2) Handel: Aria from the Opera *Rinaldo* 3) Mendelssohn: Concerto for Pianoforte Nr. 2 in D-Minor II 1) Beethoven: Overture to *Coriolan* 2) Schubert: *Memnon* 3) Schumann: Two Venetian Lieder: *Lies' rudern hier* and *Wenn Durch die Piazetta* 4) Franz: *Widmung* 5) Schumann: Novellette in D-Major, Nachtstück in F-Major 6) Chopin: Walzer in A flat-Major 7) Weber: Overture to *Euryanthe*
1876-11-22	Hamburg großer Saal des Convent- Gartens	C. Bargheer HH Gowa Lee Oberdörfer Schmahl J. and H. Schloming Vietzen	1) Spohr: Doppel-Quartet in E-Minor for Four Violins, Two Violas and Two Violincellos Op. 87 (Adagio and Allegro -- Andante con variazioni -- Scherzo Allegro -- Finale. Allegro molto) 2) Beethoven: 32 Variations for Pianoforte in C-Minor 3) Tartini: *Sonata ou le trille du diable* for Violin 4) Schumann: Quintet for Pianoforte, Two Violins, Violas, and Violincellos (Allegro brillante -- Un poco largamento (in modo d'una marcia) -- Scherzo -- Allegro ma non troppo)

1876-11-30	Leipzig Gewandhaus	Fr. Hofkapellmeister Cornelia Schmitt-Czany	I 1) Cherubini: Overture to the Opera *Des Wasserträger* 2) Mozart: Recitative and Aria from *Don Juan* ("O nicht doch, nich solche Worte" and "Glaube nicht, o mein Getreuer") 3) Schumann: Concerto for Pianoforte 4) Schubert: *Die junge Nonne*, *Lachen and Weinen* 5) Hungarian Folk Lieder 6) Mendelssohn: Variations Op. 82 7) Chopin: Walzer Op. 42 II 1) S. Jasassohn: Symphony Nr. 3 in D-Minor (The First Time, Under the Direction of the Composer)
1876-12-04	Leipzig Gewandhaus	Concert Master: Röntgen HH Haubold Thümer Schröder Landgraf	1) Beethoven: Serenade for Violin, Viola, and Violincello Op. 8 in D-Major (Marcia, Allegro -- Adagio -- Meuetto -- Adagio. Scherzo, Allegro molto -- Allegretto alla Polacca -- Andante quasi Allegretto -- Marcia Allegro) 2) Brahms: Quintet for Pianoforte and String Instruments in F-Minor, Op. 34 (Allegro non troppo -- Andante, un poco Adagio -- Scherzo, Allegro -- Finale, poco sostenuto. Allegro non troppo) 3) Mozart: Quintet for Clarinet and String Instrumnets in A-Major (Allegretto -- Larghetto -- Menuetto -- Allegretto, Tema con variazioni) 4) Schumann: *Carnaval* Op. 9: *Préambule-Pierrot-Arlequin-Valse noble-Papillons-Letrees dansantes-Chiarina-Chopin-Reconnaissance-Pantalon et Colombine-Valse-allemnade et Paganini-Aveu-Promenade-Pause-March des 'Davidsbündler' contre les Philistins*
1876-12-12	Breslau Fifth Abonnment *Konzert of the Breslauer Orchestra – Vereins*	Kgl. Director: Bernhard Scholz	1) Brahms: Serenade for Small Orchestra Op. 16 (Allegro moderato -- Scherzo -- Adagio ma non troppo -- Quasi Menuetto -- Finale) 2) Beethoven: Piano Concerto in G-Major 3) Schumann: Overture to Byron's *Manfred* 4) Schumann: Novellette in F-Major Op. 21 5) Chopin: Walzer in

			A flat-Major Op. 42 6) Weber: Overture to *Euryanthe*
1876-12-15	Breslau	HH. Himmelstoss Erlekam Traumann Schubert	1) Schumann: *Symphonische Etudes* Op. 13 2) Mozart: Quartet in D-Major Nr. 10 (Allegretto -- Minuetto -- Adagio -- Allegro) 3) Beethoven: Trio in B-Major Op. 97 (Allegro moderato -- Scherzo -- Andante con variazioni. Finale)
1877-01-09	Berlin Sing-Akademie	Anna Gerhardt Frl. Schmidtlein Julius Sturm Felix Schmidt Bach-Verein verstärkte Symphony-Kapelle	1) W. Bargiel: *Psalm XIII* for Choir and Orchestra, Op. 25 (The First Time) 2) Bach: Aria from the *New Year's Cantata* 3) Beethoven: Piano Concerto in G-Major 4) Bach: *Ein' feste Burg* (Kantate)
1877-01-25	Berlin Sing-Akademie *Konzert of Clara Schumann and Joseph Joachim*	Joseph Joachim Frl. Marie Fillunger Robert Hausmann Herr Hirschberg	1) Mozart: Sonata in E-Minor for Pianoforte and Violin (Allegro -- Tempo di Minuetto) 2) Schubert: *Allmacht* 3) Tartini: Sonata in G-Major for Violin solo (Andante -- Allegro -- Presto) 4) Bach: Sarabande and Bourée from the B-Minor-Suite (Violin solo) 5) Schumann: *Carnaval*, *Scène mignonnes*, Op. 9: *Prèambule-Pierrot-Harlqeuin-Valse noble-Papillions-Lettres dandanstes-Chiarina-Chopin-Reconnaissance-Pantalon et Colombine-Valse-allemande et Paganini-Aveu-Promenade-Pause-Marche des Davidsbündler contre les Philistins* 6) Schumann: *Stille Tränen* 7) Mendelssohn: *Der Mond*, Frühlingslied 8) Beethoven: Trio in D-Major Op. 70
1877-01-28	Berlin Sing-Akademie *Matinée of Clara Schumann and Joachim; To Help the Flooded in the Nogat-Niederung*	Joseph Joachim Fr. Schultzen-Asten Frl. Marie Fillunger HH. Hausmann Schiever	1) Schumann: Quartet for Pianoforte and String Instruments 2) Brahms: *Ruhe Süßlibchen* 3) Schumann: *Liebeslied*, *An den Sonnenschein* 4) Bargiel: Adagio for Violincello 5) Bach: Chaconne for Violin 6) Schubert: Impromptu in C-Minor Op. 90 7) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* in F-Major 8) Chopin: Walzer in A flat-Major Op. 42 9) Schumann: Three Duets: *Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär*, *An den Abendstern, Schön*

			Blümelein 10) Brahms-Joachim: Three Hungarian Dances for Violin
1877-09-08	Baden-Baden Großer Saal of the Conversationsh aus *große Fest-Concert of Kur-Comité*	Dir: Koennemann Fr. Proska-Schuch Pablo de Saraste Joseph Fehnenberger	1) Weber: *Jubel*-Overture 2) Schumann: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra in a-Minor Op. 54 (Allegro affettuoso -- Andantino grazioso -- Allegro vivace) 3) Rossini: Aria from the *Barber of Seville* 4) Raff: Suite for Violin and Orchestra (Preludio -- Minuetto -- Moto perpetuo) 5) Chopin: Notturno Op. 62, Nr. 1, Walzer in A flat-Major Op. 42 6) Proch: Concert-Variations (Proska-Schuch) 7) Sarasate: Fantasy over Gounod's *Faust* for Violin (Sarasate) 8) Taubert: *In der Fremde* 9) Rietz: *Die Elfe* (Proska-Schuch) 10) Wieniawsky: *Airs Russes*, Fantasy for Violin (Sarasate) 11) J. Rosenhain: *Festmarsch*
1877-10-19	Hamburg großer Saal des Convent-Gartens	Frl. Johanna David	I 1) Julius Rietz: Konzert-Overture in A-Major Op. 7 2) Rossi: Aria for Alto from *Mitrane* 3) Beethoven: Concerto in G-Major for Pianoforte and Orchestra 4) Tschaikowsky: Russische Romanze, *Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt*, Performed in Russian 5) Rubinstein: *Klinge mein Pandero* from Op. 76 (from the Spanisch Lieder Book by Geibel and Heyse) 6) Schumann: Romanze Nr. 3 from Op. 28, Canon from Op. 56 7) Chopin: Valse (Oeuvre Posthumous) II 1) Mendelssohn: Symphony in A-Minor Nr. 3 (Introduction and Allegro agitato -- Scherzo assai vivace -- Adagio cantabile -- Allegro guerriero and Finale maestoso)
1877-10-23	Schwerin Großhzgl. Schauspielhaus: *Concertsaal to help the Widows-Fund of the Hoftheater-*	Frl. Thoma Börs Carl Hill Dir: Alois Schmitt	1) Mendelssohn: Overture *Meeresstille and Glücklich Fahrt* 2) Schumann: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra 3) Goetz: Szene and Duet from *Die Widerspenstige*

	Capelle		4) Schubert: Two *Moments musical* 5) Chopin: Walzer (Posthumous) 6) Schumann: *Der arme Peter*, *Waldesgespräch* 7) Graedener: *Abendreih'n* (Hr. Hill) 8) Goldmark: Symphony *Ländliche Hochzeit*: *Hochzeitsmarsch* (Variations)-*Brautlied-Serenade Im Garten*-Tanz
1877-10-31	Berlin Singakademie *Konzert of Clara Schumann and Amalie Joachim*	Amalie and Joseph Joachim Marie Fillunger Robert Hausmann Johannes Schulze	1) Beethoven: Trio in E flat-Major, Op. 70, Nr. 2 for Pianoforte, Violin and Violincello 2) Handel: Aria from *Tolomeo*, Aria from *Alcina* 3) Schumann: *Symphonische Etuden*, Op. 13 4) Brahms: *O kühler Wald* from Op. 72, *Verzagen* from Op. 72, *Minnelied* from Op. 71, *Des Liebsten Schwur* from Op. 69 5) Schubert: *Moments musical*, Op. 94 in C#-Minor and F-Minor 6) Chopin: Walzer (Posthumous) 7) Schumann: Four Duets for Frauen Voices: From the Spanish Liebesliedern Op. 138: *Bedeckt mich mit Blumen*, *Frühlingslied* from Op. 103, *An die Nachtigall* from Op. 103, *Ländliches Lied* from Op. 29
1877-12-06	Berlin Sing-Akademie *Konzert of Clara Schumann and Amalie Joachim*	Joseph Joachim Rob. Hausmann Joh. Schulze	1) Schumann: Trio for Pianoforte, Violin, and Violincello in F-Major Op. 80 2) Beethoven: Lieder with Accompaniment by Pianoforte, Violin, and Violincello: *Die holde Maide von Inverness*, *Kommt schließt mir einen frohen Kreis*, *Trüb* and *Traurig schien die Sonne*, *Der treue Johnie* 3) Beethoven: Sonata in A-Major Op. 101 (Allegretto ma non troppo -- Vivace alla marcia -- Adagio and Allegro (Finale)) 4) Schubert: *Wehmut*, *Daß sie hier gewesen* 5) Weber: *Unbefangenheit* 6) Franz: *Mein Schatz ist auf der Wanderschaft* 7) Mendelssohn: *Gruß* 8) Schumann: Novellette, Nr. 4 from Op. 21 9) Brahms: Romanze (Manuscript) 10) Mendelssohn: Scherzo (Presto)

			Op. 16 11) Schumann: *Heiß mich nicht redden*, *Der Page*, *Ständchen*, *Lust der Sturmnacht*
1877-12-18	Breslau Fifth Abonnment *Konzert of the Breslauer Orchestra – Vereins*	Music Director: Bernhard Scholz	1) Cherubini: Overture to the Opera *Lodiska* 2) Mendelssohn: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra in D-Minor Op. 40 (Allegro appassionato -- Adagio -- Presto scherzando) 3) B. Scholz: Symphony in F-Minor (The First Time) (Allegro appassionato -- Andante con moto -- Allegro non troppo -- Allegro più tosto moderato) 4) Schumann: Canon in B-Minor from Op. 56, Romanze in F#-Major from Op. 28 5) Chopin: Walzer in E-Minor (Posthumous) 6) Beethoven: Overture to *Leonore*, Nr. 3
1877-12-21	Breslau *Fifth Kammermusik-Abend*	HH. Himmelstoss Erlekam Trautmann Schubert	1) Beethoven: Trio for Violin, Viola, and Violincello (Allegretto -- Andante quasi Allegretto -- Menuetto (Allegro) -- Rondo) 2) Clara Schumann: Piano Trio, Op. 17 (Allegro moderato -- Tempo di Minuetto -- Andante -- Allegretto) 3) Schubert: Variations from the Quartet in D-Minor 4) Schumann: *Carnaval*, Op. 9 *Préambule, Pierrot, Arlequin, Valse noble, Papillons, Lettres dansantes, Chiarina, Chopin, Reconnaissance, Pantalon et Colombine, Valse allemande et Paganini, Aveu, Promenade, Pause, Marche des 'Davidsbündler' conter les 'Philistins'*
1878-02-06	Düsseldorf Tonhalle: Kaisersaal	Fr. Sohn Fr. Weidenmüller Frl. Erk Ltg.: w. ScHauseil Bach-Verein	1) Bach: Three Choruses from the High Mass in B-Minor: a) *Et incarnatus est* b) *Crucifixus* c) *Gratias* 2) Schumann: Etudes in the Form of Variations, Op. 13 3) Corsi: *Adoramus te*, Choir a capella 4) Spohr: Terzet for Frauen Voices from the Opera *Zemire and Azor* 5) Schumann: Zigeunerleben, Choir with Pianoforte Accompaniment 6) Schubert: *Moments musical* in

			C#-Minor and F#-Minor 7) Chopin: Walzer in A flat-Major 8) Schumann: *Wenn ich in deine Augen seh* 9) Brahms: Romanze from Tieck's *Magelone*, *Heimkehr* 10) Gade: *Frühlingsbotschaft*, for Choir with Pianoforte Accompaniment
1878-02-12	Köln großer Gürzenich-Saal	State Capellmeister, Dr. Ferd. Hiller Margarethe Wohlers S. de Lange Chor	1) Berlioz: *Römischer Carneval,* Characterisic Overture 2) Mendelssohn: Piano Trio Nr. 2 in D-Minor 3) Mozart: Aria of Sextus from *Titus* 4) Schumann: Novellette in F-Major Op. 21, Aufschwung Op. 12, Nr. 2 5) Chopin: Walzer in A flat-Major 6) Handel: Große Anthem for Choir, Orchestra, and Organ (Organ part by F. Hiller, The First Time) 7) Schumann: Symphony in C-Major
1878-02-22	Frankfurt a. M. Großer Concert-Saal *10th Museums-Concert*	Frl. Hedwig Rolandt Director: C. Müller	I 1) Spohr: Symphony Nr. 3 in C-Minor (Andante grave. Allegro -- Larghetto -- Scherzo -- Finale. Allegro) 2) Mozart: Aria of the Queent of the Night from the *The Magic Flute* 3) Beethoven: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra in G-Major (Allegro moderato -- Andante con moto -- Rondo: Vivace) II 1) Haydn: Recitative and Aria from the Oratorio *Die Schöpfung* 2) Schumann: Novellette in F-Major from Op. 21, Aufschqung from den *Fantasiestücken*, Op. 12 3) Chopin: Walzer in A flat-Major 4) Schumann: Overture to Byron's *Manfred*
1878-02-26	Gießen Clubsaal	Dr. Mathilde Weiffenbach Herzogl. Sächs Meinigen'scher Quartettvereing Concert Master Fleischhauer Kammervirtuoso Friedrich Hilpert Hr. Funk	1) Beethoven: Sonata in C#-Minor Op. 27, Nr. 2 2) Schubert: *Liebesbotschaft*, Erstarrung from the *Winterreise* 3) Bach: Minuet and Gavotte for Solo-Violin 4) Schumann: Novellete in F-Major from Op. 21 5) Chopin: Walzer in A flat-Major 6) Jensen: *Lehn deine Wang*

		Hr. Unger	7) Schumann: *Auf dem Rhein*, *Ich wandre nicht* 8) E. Büchner: Romanze for Violincello Solo 9) Couperin: Scherzetto for Violincello Solo 10) Schumann: Quintet for Pianoforte, Two Violins, Violas, and Violincello (Allegro brillante -- un poco largamento in modo d'una marcia -- Scherzo -- Finale)
1878-03-14	Berlin Sing-Akademie. *Konzert of Clara Schumann and Amalie Joachim*	Marie Schulz Max Alvary Ernst Hungar	1) Beethoven: Sonata in E-Major, Op. 109 (Vivace ma non troppo -- Prestissimo -- Andante con variazioni 2) Schubert: *Waldesnacht* 3) Schumann: *Warum* from Op. 12, *Aufschwung* from Op. 12 4) Brahms: '*Ate* Liebe, Op. 72, *Mädchenfluch*, Op. 69, *Sonntag*, Op. 47 5) Mendelssohn: Scherzo capriccioso in F#-Minor 6) Schumann: *Spanische Liebeslieder*
1878-03-27	Hamburg großer Saal des Convent-Gartens *Soirée of Clara Schumann and Amalie Joachim*	Julius Spengel	1) Schubert: *Waldesnacht* 2) Beethoven: Große Sonata in C-Major, Op. 53 (Allegro con brio -- Introduzione, Adagio molto -- Rondo, Allegretto moderato – Prestissimo 3) Schumann: Duet for Soprano and Tenor from Op. 78: *Tanzlied*, *Wiegenlied*, *Familiengemälde* from Op. 34 4) Schubert: *Moment musical* in C#-Minor, Op. 94 5) Mendelssohn: *Lied Ohne Worte* in F-Major, From Three Fantasies or Caprices, Op. 16, Nr. 2 (Scherzo -- Presto) 6) Brahms: *Alte Liebe* from Op. 72, *Minnelied* from Op. 71, *Des Liebsten Schwur* from Op. 69 7) Schumann: *Carnaval*, *Scénes mignonnes* Op. 9 (*Préambule, Pierrot, Arlequin, Valse noble, Papillons, Lettres dansantes, Chiarina, Chopin, Reconnaissance, Pantalon et Colombine, Valse allemande, Paganini, Aveu, Promenade, Pause, Marche des Davidsbündler conter le Philstins*)

1878-02-30	Berlin Sing-Akademie *Konzert of Natalie Janotha*	Amalie Joachim Prof. Rudorff	1) Mendelssohn: Concert in G-Minor 2) Gluck: Aria from *Orpheus* 3) Bach: Gavotte in H-Minor 4) Chopin: Impromptu in F#-Minor 5) Clara Schumann: Scherzo [Op. 10 or Op. 14] 6) Schumann: Andante with Variations for Two Pianoforte 7) Schubert: *Ständchen* 8) Schumann: *Die Soldatenbraut* 9) Chopin: Largo and Finale from the F-Minor-Concerto
1878-04-10	Dresden Hôtel de Saxe *To help Gustav-Adolph-Frauenvereins*	Franz Diener Concert Master: Johann Lauterbach Vice- Concert Master: F. Hüllweck F. Grützmacher Herr F. Ries Eugen Krantz	1) Schumann: Quintet in E flat-Major Op. 44 (Allegro brillante -- Un poco largamento -- in modo d'una Marcia, scherzo. Molto vivace -- Allegro non troppo 2) Wagner: *Liebeslied* from *Die Walküre* for Tenor 3) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* 4) F. Ries: Romanze from Op. 27 for Viola 5) Rubinstein: *Es blinkt der Tau* 6) Schubert: *Der Doppelgänger* 7) Schumann: *Der Hidalgo* 8) Schumann: Novellette in B-Minor from Op. 99 Romanze in E-Major from Op. 28 [F#-Major Nr. 2] 9) Chopin: Walzer in E-Minor (Posthumous)
1878-05-25	Wiesbaden Curhaus	Herr Bulss Friedrich Grützmacher Capellmeister: Louis Lüstener Begl. Benno Voigt	1) J. Raff: Concert-Overture in F-Major (The First Time) 2) Schumann: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra in A-Minor 3) H. Hofmann: Piece from the Lyric Opera *Ännchen von Tharau* (Bulss) 4) J. Raff: Concerto for Violincello and Orchestra in D-Minor) Allegro ma non troppo – Larghetto -- Finale) 5) R. Wagner: Aria [?] from the Music Drama *Die Walküre* 6) Schumann: Romanze in D-Minor 7) Chopin: Notturno in B-Minor, Walzer in A flat-Major 8) Brahms: *Mainacht* 10) Schumann: *Ich grolle nicht* 11) Soli for Violincello and Pianoforte a) Romanesca, Melody from the 16th Century

			b) Scherzo from the *Frühlingsstücken* Op. 30 c) Mazurka from Op. 11
1878-09-26	Hamburg Fifty Year *Stiftungsfest of the Philharmonischen Gesellschaft*	Amalie Joachim Fr. Dr. Schramm Fr. Dr. Peschka-Leutner Hr. W. Candidus Hr. Pirk Hr. G. Henschel Hr. Kindermann Capellmeister Julius von Bernuth	1) Haydn: Symphony 2) Gluck: Scene and Aria from *Alceste* 3) Mozert: Piano Concerto in D-Minor 4) Cherubini: Sextet from the *Wasserträger* 5) F. W. Grand: Overture in D-Minor 6) Schumann: Symphony in C-Major
1878-10-24	Leipzig Gewandhaus	Fr. Schultzen von Asten	I 1) Overture to *Genoveva* 2) *Der Himmel hat eine Träne geweint*, *Marienwürmchen, Die Soldatenbraut* 3) Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra in A-Minor 4) *Mondnacht*, *Warum willst du Andre fragen* by Clara Schumann, *Ann den Sonnenschein* 5) Romanze in B-Major Op. 28, Novellette in B-Minor Op. 99 II 1) Symphony Nr. 2 in C-Major
1878-11-21	Bonn Beethovenhalle *Second Abonnements-Concert*	Director: Herr. V. Wasielewski	1) Schumann: Overture to *Genoveva* 2) Brahms: *Wie lieblich sind deine Wohnungen, Herr Zebaoth!* for Choir and Orchestra, from the *German Reqium* 3) Mozart: Concerto in D-Minor 4) Max Bruch: *Die Flucht der heiligen Familie* for Choir and Orchestra (The First Time) 5) Schumann: Novelette in B-Minor from Op. 99, Canon in A flat-Major Op. 56 6) Chopin: Valse in A flat-Major 7) Beethoven: Symphony Nr. 7 in A-Major (Poco sostenuto, Vivace – Allegretto – Presto -- Allegro con brio)
1878-11-30	München Kgl. Odeon Third Abonnements-*Concert of the Musikalischen Akademie*	Herr Reichmann	I 1) Schumann: Symphony Nr. 2 in C-Major (Sostenuto assai, Allegro ma non troppo -- Scherzo (Allegro vivace) -- Adagio espressivo -- Allegro molto vivace) II 1) Beethoven: Piano Concerto Nr. 4 in G-Major (Allegro moderato-Andante

			con moto-Rondo vivace) 2) Schumann: *Waldesgespräch*, Op. 39, Nr. 3, *Die alten, bösen Lieder*, Op. 48, *Ich grolle nicht*, Op. 48 3) Schumann: Novellette in F-Major Op. 21, Romanze in D-Minor Op. 32 4) Chopin: Walzer in A flat-Major 5) Beethoven: Overture to *König Stephan*
1879-01-22	Freiburg um Breisgau Stadttheater *Third Abonnment-Concert*	Concert Master: Bargheer Hr. Reutsch Hr. Trost Hr. Kahnt Choirs	1) Schumann: Quintet Op. 44 in E flat-Major for Pianoforte, Two Violins, Viola and Violincello (Allegro brillante -- Inmodo d'una Marcia – Scherzo -- Allegro ma non troppo) 2) Schumann: *An die Sterne*, for Mixed Choir 3) Viotti: Adagio from the 22nd Concerto for Violin and Pianoforte 4) Bach: Presto from the C-Major-Sonata for Violin and Pianoforte 5) Beethoven: Sonata Op. 27, Nr. 2 in C#-Minor (Adagio – Allegretto -- Presto agitato) 6) Schumann: *Der traurige Jäger*, Der Rekrut for Mixed Choir 7) Pietro Nardini: Larghetto for Violincello and Pianoforte 8) Schumann: *Stücke im Volkston* Op. 102, Nr. 2 (Kahnt) 9) Schumann: *Aufschwung, Warum?* 10) Chopin: Walzer in A flat-Major Op. 42 11) Schubert: Variations from the String Quartet Op. 125 12) Hauptmann: Two Songs for Mixed Choir
1879-02-14	Frankfurt a. M. großer Concert-Saal *10th Museums-Concert*	Cornelie Meysenheym Director: C. Müller	I 1) Mendelssohn: Symphony Nr. 4 in A-Major (Allegro vivace -- Andante con moto -- Con moto moderato -- Saltarello: Presto) 2) Mozart: Aria of the Fiordiligi "Come scoglio" from the Opera *Così fan tutte* 3) Schumann: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra in a-Minor (Allegro affetuoso -- Intermezzo: Andantino grazioso -- Allegro vivace) II 1) Schumann: *Intermezzo*, *Die Stille*, *Frühlingsnacht*

			2) Chopin: Impromptu in C#-Minor 3) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* in F-Major 4) Schumann: *Traumes Wirren* 5) Beethoven: Overture to the Trauerspiel *Coriolan*
1879-03-14	Koblenz Aula des Kgl. Gymnasiums *Sixth Abonnment Concert*	Director: Herr R. Maszkowski	1) Mendelssohn: Overture to the *Hebriden* 2) Beethoven: Piano Concerto Nr. 4 in G-Major 3) N.W. Gade: *Frühlingsbotschaft*, Choir 4) Chopin: Fantasy-Impromptu 5) Schumann: Novellette in F-Major Op. 21, *Traumes Wirren* 6) Schumann: Symphony Nr. 2 in C-Major (Sostenuot assai -- Allegro non troppo – Scherzo -- Adagio espressivo – Allegro molto vivace)
1879-03-28	Frankfurt a. M. kleiner Saal des Saalbaues	Marie Fillunger Concert Master Hugo Heermann Ernst Welcker Valetin Müller Dir: Ernst Frank	1) H. Götz: Quartet in E-Major for Pianoforte, Violin, Viola and Violincello, Op. 6 2) Schubert: *Die Allmacht*, Op. 79, Nr. 2 3) Schumann: Andante and Variations for Two Pianoforte Op. 46 4) Schubert: *Der Einsame*, Op. 41 5) Brahms: *Am Sonntagmorgen*, Op. 49, Nr. 1, *Von waldbekränzter Höhe*, Op. 57, Nr. 1 6) Mozart: Quartet in E flat-Major for Pianoforte, Violin, Viola, and Violincello
1879-10-10	Frankfurt a. M. großer Concertsaal *First Museums-Concert*	Max Alvary Herr Director C. Müller	I 1) Beethoven: Overture to *Egmont* 2) Weber: Aria of Adolar from *Euryanthe* 3) Mozart: Concerto for Pianoforte in D-Minor (Allegro – Romanze -- Rondo) 4) Schubert: *Frühlingsglaube'* 5) Schumann: *Der Himmel hat eine Träne geweint* 6) Schubert: *Die Allmacht* 7) Schumann: Romanze in F#-Major Op. 28 8) Mendelssohn: Scherzo capriccioso in F#-Minor II 1) Schubert: Symphony in C-Major (Andante -- Allegro ma non troppo -- Andnate con moto -- Scherzo: Allegro vivace -- Finale: Allegro vivace)

1879-11-13	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Sixth Abonnment Concert*	Emilie Brauwaert	I 1) Franz von Holstein: Overture *Frau Aventiure* (The First Time) 2) Gevaert: *Philips van Artevelde*, Ballade 3) Beethoven: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra in G-Major 4) De Mol: Concert Aria, *Droeve tyden* 5) Brahms: Capriccio Op. 76, Nr. 2, Intermezzo Op. 76, Nr. 6 6) Mendelssohn: Scherzo a capriccio II 1) Beethoven: Symphony *Pastorale*
1879-11-18	Breslau Third Abonnemnt *Concert of the Breslauer Orchestra – Vereins*	Dir: Bernhard Scholz	1) A. Dvorák: Serenade in D-Minor, Op. 44 for Blown-Instruments, Violincello, and Bass (Moderato quasi Marcia -- Tempo di minuetteo, presto -- Andante con moto -- Finale) 2) Beethoven: Piano Concerto in G-Major 3) Schumann: Novellete in B-Minor, Op. 99, Romanze in F#-Major Op. 28 4) Mendelssohn: Presto a capriccio in F#-Minor 5) Schumann: Overture, Scherzo, and Finale [Op. 52]
1879-11-21	Breslau Second Kammermusik-*Abend of the Breslauer Orchestra – Vereins*	HH Himmelstoss Frabe Trautmann Melzer	1) Beethoven: Sonata in A-Major Op. 101 (Allegretto, ma non troppo -- Vivace, alla Marcia -- Adagio, ma non troppo -- Allegro) 2) Schubert: Quartet in G-Major (Allegro molto moderato -- Andante un poco moto -- Scherzo, Allegro vivace) 3) Schumann: *Die Davidsbündler*, Op. 6
1879-12-13	Karlsruhe großer Saal of the Museum *Third Abonnment Konzert of Großhzgl.*	Hr. Harlacher	1) Mendelssohn: Overture *Meeresstille und Glückliche Fahrt* 2) Beethoven: Concerto Nr. 3 in C-Minor 3) Schubert: *Der Winterabend* 4) Brahms: *Minnelied* 5) Schumann: Novellete in B-Minor from Op. 99, Nachstück in F-Major from Op. 23 6) Chopin: Walzer in A flat-Major Op. 42 7) Schumann: Symphony Nr. 1 in B-Major

1880-01-16	Wiesbaden Curhaus	Alexander Alexy Concert Master: Louis Lüstner Begl. Benno Voigt Städt. Cur-Orchestra	1) Schumann: Overture to *Manfred* 2) Marschner: Aria from *Hans Heling*, "An jenem Tag" 3) Beethoven: Concerto in G-Major 4) Schumann: Scherzo for Orchestra from Op. 52 5) Robert Franz: *Es hat die Rose sich beklagt*, *Mädchen mit dem roten Mündchen*, *Stille Sicherheit* 6) Schumann: Novellete in F-Major from Op. 21, *Des Abends, Traumes Wirren* from Op. 12 7) Adolf Jensen: *Wießt du noch* 8) Schumann: *Marienwürmchen*
1880-01-27	Köln Gürzenich *Seventh Abonnment-Concert on Mozart's Birthday*	Hr. S. de Lange Hr. Henrik Wesberg James Kwasst Choir	W. A. Mozart: 1) Ouverture to *The Magic Flute* 2) Aria of Don Ottavio "Il mio Tesoro" from *Don Giovanni* (Westberg) 3) Piano Concerto in D-Minor 4) *Maurerische Trauermusick* 5) *Ave verum*, Hymn for Mixed Choir with Quartet Accompaniment 6) Aria of Ferrando, "Un'aura amorosa" from *Così fan tutte* (Westeberg) 7) Sonata for Pianoforte 8) Symphony in C-Major (With the Closing Fugue)
1880-02-02	Frankfurt a. M. Eighth *Kammermusik-Abend of the Museums-Gesellschaft*	Concert Master: h. Heermann Concert Master: N. Konig Hr. E. Welcker Hr. V. Müller	1) Haydn: Quartet in B-Major Op. 76, Nr. 4 (Allegro con spirito – Adagio -- Menuetto: Allegro -- Finale: Allegro ma non troppo) 2) Schumann: Quartet in E flat-Major Op. 47 for Pianoforte, Violin, Viola, and Violincello 3) Beethoven: Quartet in F-Minor Op. 95 (Allegro con brio -- Allegretto ma non troppo -- Allegro assai vivace ma serioso -- Larghetto espressivo -- Allegro agitato, Allegro)
1880-03-15	Koblenz Aula d. kgl. Gymnasiums	Hr. Rob. Heckmann Concert Master: O. Forberg Th. Alekotte Rich. Bellmann	1) Mendelssohn: String Quartet in E flat-Major Op. 12 (Adagio – Allegro – Canzonetta -- Adagio -- Finale) 2) Beethoven: Sonata in C-Major Op. 53 3) Max Bruch: Adagio from the First Violin-Concerto 4) Schumann: *Abdendlied*, Arranged for Violin by Joachim 5) Schumann: Quintet in E flat-Major Op. 44 (Allegro brillante -- In modo

			d'una aarcia-un poco largamente -- Scherzo molto vivace-Allegro ma non troppo)
1880-04-06	Frankfurt a. M. kleiner Saal des Saalbaues	Marie Fillunger Concert Master: Hugo Heermann Carl Fälten	1) Beethoven: Sonata for Pianoforte in C-Major Op. 53 2) Handel: Aria from *Muzio Scevola*, Aria from *Acis and Galatea* 3) Brahms: Sonata for Pianoforte and Violin in G-Major Op. 78 (Vivace am non troppo – Adagio -- Allegro molto moderato) 4) Schumann: *Mignon* (*Kennst du das Land*) 5) Schubert: *Liebesbotschaft*, *Haudenröslein* 6) Schumann: *Carnavel* (*Scènes mignonnes*), Op. 9: *Préambule, Pierrot, Arlequin, Valse noble, Papillons, Lettres dansantes, Chiarina, Chopin, Reconnaissance, Pantalon et Colombine, Valse allemande et Paganini, Aveu, Promenade, Pause, Marche des 'Davidsbündler" contre les Philistins*
1880-05-16-17-18	Köln 57th *Niederrheinisches Musikfest*	Concert Master: Ferdinand Hiller Adele Asmann Joseph Joachim Dr. Emil Krauss S. de Lande Friedrich Lissmann Henrik Westberg	<u>On the 16th</u> 1) Beethoven: Overture Op. 124 *Zur Weihe des Hauses* 2) Handel: *Israel in Ägypten*, große Oratorio for Double Choir, Solo Singers, and Orchestra <u>On the 17th</u> 1) Beethoven: Symphony Nr. 8 in F-Major 2) Haydn: Andante for String Orchestra 3) Hiller: *Die Nacht* Hymn for Choir, Solo Voices, and Orchestra 4) Schumann: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra in A-Minor 5) Bach: *O ewiges Feuer*, Cantata for Solists, Choir, Orchestra, and Organ <u>On the 18th</u> Niels W. Gade: *Im Hochlande*, Overture 2) Mozart: Aria from *Così fan tutte* (Westberg) 3) Hiller: *Das Ständchen*, with Orchestra (Asmann) 4) Schubert: *Kreuzzug* (Asmann)
1880-10-08	Frankfurt a. M. großer Concert-Saal *First Museumkonzert*	A. Schott Director: C. Müller	I 1) Franz Lachner: Suite for Orchestra Nr. 2 in E-Minor (Introduction and Fuge – Andante – Menuett – Intermezzo -- Gigue) 2) Mozart: Aria of Ottavio in B-Major

			from *Don Giovanni* 3) Beethoven: Concerto for Pianoforte in E flat-Major (Allegro -- Adagio un poco mosso -- Rondo: Allegro) II 1) Beethoven: *An die ferne Geliebte* 2) Chopin: Scherzo in B-Minor 3) Schumann: Symphony in D-Minor Nr. 4 (Introduction, Allegro, Romanze, Scherzo and Finale)
1880-11-02	Frankfurt a. M. kleiner Saal of the Saalbaues *Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Herr. R. von Zur Mühlen Concert Master: J. Naret-Konig Valentin Müller Frl. Louise Bader	1) Beethoven: Sonata Op. 57 (*Appassionata*) 2) Schubert: *Der Newgierige*, *Eifersucht und Stolz*, *Die libe Farbe, Die böse Farbe* 3) Schumann: *Der Nußbaum*, *Und dem Rhein*, *Wanderlied* 4) Haydn: Trio for Pianoforte, Violin and Violincello in G-Major (Andante -- Poco Adagio -- Rondo à la hongroise)
1880-11-23	Stuttgart Königsbau *To help the Widow and Orphan fund of the Königlichen Hofkappele and the K. Hofbühne "Robert-Schumann-Abend"*	Schütky Frl. Löwe	Robert Schumann: 1) Prologue, Poem by Feodor von Wehl, Spoken by Frau Wahlmann-Willführ 2) Symphony in C-Major, Nr. 2 (Sostenuto assai, Allegro ma non troppo – Scherzo – Adagio -- Allegro molto vivace) 3) Scenes from Goethe's *Faust*: "Des Lebens Pulse schlagen frische lebendig" (Schütky) 4) Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra 5) *Ständchen*, N*ichts Schönerers*, *Die Soldatenbraut* 6) Romanze in B-Major Op. 28, Romanze in D-Minor Op. 32 7) Overture to the Opera *Genoveva*
1880-12-09	Frankfurt a. M., kleiner Saal of the Saalbaues *Second Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Marie Fillunger Babette Lobach	1) Schumann: Etudes in the Form Variations, Op. 13 2) Mendelssohn: Aria, "Höre Israel" from *Elias* 3) Bach: Prelude in B-Minor, Prelude and Fugue in E-Minor, both for Organ 4) Spohr: Adagio and Allegro for Violin from the Ninth Concerto (Lobach) 5) Schubert: *Suleika* 6) Schumann: *Meine Rose*, *Lust der Sturmnacht* 7) Chopin: Notturno in B-Major, Walzer in A flat-Major

1880-12-20	Frankfurt a. M. kleiner Concert-Saal *Fifth Kammermusik-Abend of the Museums-Gesellschaft*	Joseph Joachim Concert Master: N. Koning Hr. E. Welcker Hr. V. Müller	1) Haydn: Quartet in D-Major Op. 76, Nr. 5 (Allegretto --Largo mesto e cantabile-menuetto: Allegro -- Presto) 2) Brahms: Sonata for Pianoforte and Violin, Op. 78 in G-Major (The First Time) (Vivace ma non troppo --Adagio -- Allegro molto moderato) 3) Beethoven: Quartet in F-Major Op. 59, Nr. 1 (Allegro -- Allegretto vivace e sempre scherzando -- Adagio molto e mesto -- Allegro)
1881-01-29	Leipzig Gewandhaus *Fifth Kammermusik*	Concert Master: Röntgen Bolland Thümer Schröder	1) Beethoven: Quartet in A-Major Op. 18 (Allegro-menuetto -- Andante cantabile -- Allegro) 2) Brahms: Sonata for Pianoforte and Violin in G-Major Op. 78 (The First Time) (Vivace ma non troppo –Adagio -- Allegro molto moderato) 3) Haydn: Andante Cantabile for String Instruments 4) Schumann: *Symphonische Etuden*
1881-02-03	Leipzig Gewandhaus *15th Abonnment Konzert*	Concert Master: Nikisch	I: 1) Haydn: Symphony in C-Major, *L'ours* 2) Mozart: Concerto for Pianoforte in D-Minor II 1) Beethoven: Overture to *Coriolan* 2) Mendelssohn: *Variations sérieuses* 3) Schumann: Symphony in D-Minor Nr. 4
1881-02-11	Frankfurt a. M. kleiner Concert-Saal Eighth *Kammermusik-Abend of the Museums-Gesellschaft*	Concert Master: H. Heermann Concert Master: N. Konig Hr. E Welcker Hr. V. Müller	1) Haydn: Quartet in G-Major Op. 65, Nr. 1 (Allegro con spirito -- Adagio sostenuto -- menuetto: Presto --Allegro ma non troppo) 2) Schumann: Trio for Pianoforte, Violin, and Violincello F-Major Op. 80 (*Sehr lebhaft-Mit innigem Ausdruck-In mäßiger Bewegung-Nicht zu rasch*) 3) Mozart: Quartet in C-Major Nr. 6 (Adagio – Allegro -- Andante cantabile – Menuetto -- Allegro molto)
1881-10-07	Frankfurt a. M. First Museums-*Concert "Zur Erinnerung an das vor 60 jahrn dahier stattgehabte erste öffentliche Auftreten des*	Hiller Frl. Fides Keller Frl. Marie Fillunger Concert Master: Herr Heermann Damen des Cäcilien-Vereins	I 1) Second Concert-Overture Op. 101 in A-Major 2) Mozart: Concerto for Pianoforte in C-Minor (Hiller) (Allegro – Larghetto -- Allegretto) 3) *Gesang Heloisens und der Nonnen am Grabe Abälards*, for Alto, Frauenchor and

	Herrn Dr. Ferdinand von Hiller"		Orchestra, Op. 62) 4) *Auf der Wacht* (from the Soldatenlenden Op. 146) for Orchestra 5) Variations for Two Pianoforte over Weber's *Lützows Jagd* II 1) *Palmsonntag* for Soprano, Frauenchor, and Orchestra Op. 102 2) Adagio for Violin 3) Two Songs for Soprano and Alto: *Sehnsucht*, *Das Herz ist wie das tiefe Meer*, *Frühlingsglaube* 4) Overture to Schiller's *Demetrius*, Op. 145
1881-11-04	Hamburg grosser Saal des Convent-Gartens	Fr. Kock-Bossenberger	I 1) Ant. Rubinstein: Symphony in G-Minor Nr. 5 Op. 107 (The First Time) *Dem Andenken an die Großforstin Helene Paulowna* (Moderato -- Allegro non troppo --Andante -- Allegro vivace) II 1) Schumann: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra in A-Minor 2) Mozart: Recitative and Aria for Soprano from *Metastasio Demafonte* 3) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte* in F-Major From the Sixth Book, Scherzo Op. 16 4) Jensen: *Murmelndes Lüftchen* 5) Schubert: *Haidenröslein* 6) Eckert: *Echolied* 7) Beethoven: Overture to *Leonore* in C-Major
1881-11-12	Hannover Logenhaus des Königlichen Theaters *First Abonnements-konzert*	Hr. von Milde	1) Beethoven: Overture to *Leonore* Op. 78 2) Schumann: Lieder from the Cycle, *Dichertliebe* Op. 48 3) Schumann: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra, Op. 54 4) Schumann: *Flutenreicher Ebro* 5) R. Franz: *Widmung* 6) Haydn: Serenade 7) Chopin: Nocturne and Walzer in E-Minor (Posthumous Work) 8) Schumann: Symphony Nr. 1 in B-Major Op. 38
1881-12-14	München Kgl. Odeon Third	Victor Gluth Frl. Blank Frl. Herzog	I 1) Victor Gluth: Ballade for Orchestra (Manuscript, Ltg. D. Komp)

	Abonnements-*Concert of the Musikalischen Akademie*	Frl. Siegler Frl. Rosa Keyl Frl. Tyroler	2) Schumann: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra in A-Minor 3) Schubert: *Ständchen* for Alto-Solo with Two Soprano and Two Alto Voices, Op. 135 II 1) Beethoven: Overture to *Leonore*, Op. 72 2) Chopin: Nocturne in D flat-Major 3) Gluck-Brahms: Gavotte 4) Mendelssohn: Presto Op.16 5) Schumann: Symphony Nr. 4 in D-Minor Op. 120 (Introduction – Allegro – Romanze -- Scherzo and Finale in One Movement)
1882-01-06	Frankfurt a. M. großer Concert-Saal *Seventh Abonnment Concert*	Theodor Reichmann Director: C. Müller	I 1) Schubert: Symphony in C-Major: a) Andante-Allegro ma non troppo b) Andante con moto c) Scherzo: Allegro vivace d) Finale: Allegro vivace II 1) Mendelssohn: Concerto for Pianoforte in G-Minor a) Molto Allegro con fuoco b) Andante c) Presto-Molto Allegro e vivace 2) Marschner: Aria from the Opera *Hans Heiling* 3) Schumann: Romanze Op. 28 in B-Major, *Nachstück* Op. 23 Nr. 4a, Scherzino from the *Faschingsschwank* Op. 26 4) Brahms: *Von ewiger Liebe* 5) Schumann: *Wanderlied* 6) Schumann: Overture to *Genoveva*
1882-01-30	Stuttgart Liederhalle *Musikal-Soirée of Clara Schumann*	Johanna Klinckerfuss Herr. R. von Zur-Mühlen	1) Beethoven: Sonata in A-Major Op. 101 (Allegretto-Vivace alla marcia-Adagio-Allegro) 2) Schubert: *Wohin?, Der Newgierige, Die böse Farbe* 3) Bach: Prelude and Fugue in E-Minor for the Organ 4) Schumann: Canon in A flat-Major and Canon in B-Minor from the Studies for the Grand Piano Op. 56 5) Schumann: *Der Knabe mit dem Wanderhorn* 6) Clara Schumann: *Warum willst du andre*

			fragen?, Das ist ein Tag, der klingen mag 7) Schumann: Andante and Variations for Two Pianoforte 8) Schumann: *Mein Rose*, *Märzveilchen*, *Wanderlied* 9) Schumann: *Carnaval* (Scènes mignonnes) Op. 9: *Préambule-Pierrot-Arlequin-Valse noble-Papillons-Lettres dansantes-Chiarina-Chopin-Reconnaissance-Pantalon et Colombine-Valse allemande and Paganini-Promenade-Pause-Marsch der Davidsbündler gegen der Philister*
1882-10-27	Wiesbaden Curhaus	Concert Master: Louis Lüstner	1) Beethoven: Overture Op. 124, *Zur Weihe des Hauses* 2) Schumann: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra in A-Minor 3) Wagner: Vorspiel to *Parsifal* (Erstaufforung) 4) Chopin: Nocturne in D flat-Major Op. 27, Walzer in A flat-Major Op. 43 [sic! Op. 42] 5) Schumann: Symphony in E flat-Major Nr. 3
1882-11-21	Krefeld Stadthalle große Saal	Music Director: August Grüters Concert Master: Richard Barth	1) Mendelssohn: *Hebriden*-Overture 2) Schumann: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra in A-Minor 3) Beethoven: March and Chorus from *Die Ruinen von Athen* 4) Schumann: Fantasy for Violin and Orchestra, Op. 131 5) Chopin: Notturno in D flat-Major, Walzer in A flat-Major Op. 42 6) Beethoven: *Eroica*-Symphony Op. 55 (Allegro con brio --Marcia funebre, adagio assai – Scherzo, allegro vivace -- Finale, allegro molto)
1882-12-11	Mainz Frankfurter Hof	Concert Master: Carl Reiss Frl. Louise Meisslinger Kgl. Kapelle	1) Mozart: Symphony in C-Major (Allegro vivace -- Andate cantabile -- Menuetto (Allegro) -- Finale (Allegro molto)) 2) Schumann: Concerto for Pianoforte in A-Minor (Allegro effettuoso -- Intermezzo: Andantino grazioso -- Finale: Allegro vivace) 3) Donizetti: Recitative and Aria: "O, mein Fernand" from *Die Favoritin* 4) Reinecke: Entr'acte from *König Manfred* 5) Mendelssohn: Presto in E-Minor,

			Lied ohne Worte in F-Major 6) Chopin: Walzer in E-Minor (from the *Nachlaß*) 7) Lieder 8) Weber: Overture to *Euryanthe*
1883-02-18	Berlin Sing-Akademie	Fr. Müller-Ronneburger Fr. Newmann-Türke Frl. Hildebrandt Frl. Schmedes Hr. Waldner Hr. v. d. Meden Hr. Opitz Philharmonic Orchestra	1) Niels W. Gade: *Comala*, Dramatic Poem by Ossian for Choir, Soloist, and Orchestra 2) Schumann: Concerto in A-Minor for Pianoforte and Orchestra 3) Hiller: "Es fürchte te die Götter das Menschengeschlecht" from Göthe's *Iphigenie* for Choir and Orchestra 4) Beethoven: Fantasy for Pianoforte, Choir, Soloist, and Orchestra
1883-01-19	Frankfurt a. M. großer Concert-Saal *Eighth Museums-Concert*	Hr. Raimand von Zur-Mühlen Director: C. Müller	I: 1) Mendelssohn: Overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* 2) Mozart: Aria, "Un'aura amorosa" from *Cosi fan tutte* 3) Schumann: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra in A-Minor (Allegro affetuoso -- Intermezzo: Andantino grazioso -- Allegro vivace) 4) George Henschel: Two Lieder from the *Trompeter von Säkkingen*: a) *Nun schreit' ich from the Tore* b) *An wildem Klippenstrande* 5) Schubert: *Eifersucht und Stolz* 6) Scarlatti: Allegrissimo in G-Minor 7) Mendelssohn: *Lied ohne Worte*, Book Seven, Nr. 1 8) Chopin: Walzer in A flat-Major Op. 42 II 1) Beethoven: Symphony Nr. 6 in F-Major *Pastorale* a) Allegro ma non troppo--Erwachen heiterer Emfindungen bei der Ankunft auf dem Lande b) Andante molto molto-Szene am Bach c) Allegro--Lustiges Zusammensein der Landleute d) Allegro-Gewitter, Sturm e) Allegretto-Hirtengesang, Frohe and dankbare Gefühle nach dem Sturm

1883-03-10	Leipzig Gewandhaus	Concert Master: H Petri Hr. Bolland Hr. Thümer Schröder	1) Haydn: Quartet in G-Major Op. 76, Nr. 1 (Allegro con spirito-Adagio sostenuto-Menuetto, Presto-Finale, Allegro ma non troppo) 2) Beethoven: Sonata for Pianoforte in E flat-Major Op. 81a (Les Adiuex, Adagio, Allegro -- L'Absense, Andante espressivo -- Le retour, Vivacissimamente) 3) Fr. Kiel: Walzer for String Quartet Op. 73 (zum Ersten Mal) 4) Schumann: Quintet in E flat-Major Op. 44 (Allegro brillante -- In modo d'una marcia, un poco largamente -- Scherzo, molto vivace-Allegro ma non troppo)
1883-03-15	Leipzig Gewandhaus		I 1) Schumann: Overture to *Genoveva* 2) Mendelssohn: Concerto in G-Minor for Pianoforte 3) Schubert: Overture to *Fierabras* 4) Schumann: Auswahl from the *Davidsbündlertanzen* II 1) Schumann: Symphony Nr. 3 in E flat-Major
1883-10-26	Berlin Sing-Akademie Second Abonnment *Concert Hochschulkonzert*	Joseph Joachim	1) Mendelssohn: Overture to the *Märchen von der schönen Melusina* 2) Beethoven: Piano Concerto in G-Major Op. 58 3) Brahms: *Gesang der Parzen* by Goethe for Choir and Orchestra 4) Schumann: Symphony in D-Minor Op. 120 (Ziemlich langsam. Lebhaft – Romanze – Scherzo -- Langsam. Lebhaft)
1883-11-01	Berlin Sing-Akademie *Konzert of Clara Schumann and Joseph Joachim*	Joseph Joachim	1) Brahms: Sonata for Pianoforte and Violin Op. 78 (Vivace ma non troppo – Adagio -- Allegro molto moderato) 2) Tartini: Sonata in G-Major for Violin 3) Viotti: Adagio for Violin 4) Paganini: Capriccio in E-Major 5) Schumann: *Symphonic Etudes* 6) Spohr: Recitative and Adagio from the Sixth Violin Concerto 7) Chopin: Notturno in D flat-Major, Walzer in A flat-Major

1883-11-18	Frankfurt a. M. Loge Carl (Mozartplatz) Mozart-Feier	Dr. Scholz Concert Master: Hugo Heermann Fritz Bassermann Prof. Bernhard Cossmann Prof. Julius Stockhausen Hr. Lazzaro Uzielli Members of Dr. Hock's Conservatory James Kwast	W. A. Mozart: 1) Piano Quartet in G-Minor 2) *Adendempfindung*, *Dans un bois solitaire* 3) Moetet, *Ave verum corpus* 4) Concerto for Two Pianoforte with Orchestral Accompaniment Nr. 10 in E flat-Major 5) Motet, *Misericordias domini*
1883-11-24	Barmen großer Saal of the Concordia	Music Director: Anton Krause Choir	I) Cherubini: Overture to *Die Abenceragen* 2) Schumann: Piano Concerto in A-Minor 3) Hauptmann: Two Kirchenstücke for Mixed Choir: a) *Und Gottes Will ist dennoch gut* b) *Nicht so ganze wirst meiner du vergessen* 4) Scarlatti: Allegretto 5) Chopin: Notturno in D flat-Major 6) Schumann: *Traumes Wirren* 7) Mendelssohn: Overture to *Meeresstille and Glückliche Fahrt* II 1) Schumann: Symphony in B-Major (Andante un poco maestoso, Allegro molto vivace – Larghetto – Scherzo -- Allegro animato e grazioso)
1884-01-11	Wiesbaden Curhaus	Concert Mater: Louis Lüstner	1) Mendelssohn: Overture to the *March of the schöne Melusine* 2) Beethoven: Concerto Nr. 4 in G-Major for Pianoforte and Orchestra 3) Lassen: Symphonic Interlude to Calderon's Schauspeil *Uber allen Zauber Liebde* (The First Time) 4) Pagainini: Caprice for Pianoforte, Arranged by Schumann 5) Schumann: Romanze in F#-Major, Romanze in D-Minor 6) Schumann: Symphony Nr. 2 in C-Major
1884-11-14	Frankfurt a. M. Kl. Concert-Saal *Third Kammermusik-Abend of the*	Concert Master: Herr Heermann Concert Master: N Koning Hr. E Welcker Hr. V Müller	1) Haydn: Quartet Op. 71 Nr. 1 in B-Major (Allegro --Adagio -- Menuetto: Allegretto -- Vivace) 2) Schumann: Sonata for Pianoforte Op. 11 in F#-Minor (Introduzione and Allegro vivace – Aria – Scherzo --Finale)

	Museums-Gesellschaft		3) Beethoven: Quartet Op. 127 in E flat-Major (Maestoso, Allegro -- Adagio, ma non troppo e molto cantabile -- Finale)
1885-03-13	Frankfurt a. M. kleiner Concert-Saal *10th Kammermusik-Abend of the Museums-Gesellschaft*	Concert Master: Herr Heermann Concert Master: N Koning Hr. E Welcker Hr. V Müller H. Apel E. Schucht F. Thiele F. Sacher	1) Schumann: Quintet for Pianoforte, Violin, Viola, and Violincello in E flat-Major Op. 44 (Allegro brillante -- In modo d'una marcia-Scherzo: Molto vivace -- Allegro ma non troppo) 2) Haydn: Quartet in C-Major Op. 33, Nr. 3 (Allegro moderato-Scherzo: Allegretto – Adagio -- Finale: Presto) 3) Schubert: Octet for Two Violins, Viola, Violincello, Contrabass, Clarinet, Horn and Basoon in F-Major Op. 166 (Adagio, Allegro -- Andante un poco mosso --Scherzo: Allegro vivace-Andante molto, Allegro)
1885-03-26	Leipzig Altes Gewandhaus	Adele Asmann	I 1) Beethoven: Overture to *Coriolan* 2) Mozart: Aria *Ombra felice* 3) Schumann: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra 4) Schubert: *Wer nie sein Brot mit Tränen aß* 5) Schumann: *Auf dem Rhein* 6) Rubinstein: *Morgens* II 1) Beethoven: Symphony in C-Minor, Nr. 5
1885-04-17	Berlin Singakademie Fourth Concert *Series of the Königlichen Akademie der Künste*	Joseph Joachim Frl. Margarethe Schrödel	1) Beethoven: Overture to *Namensfeier*, Op. 115 2) Mozart: Piano Concerto in D-Minor (Allegro – Romanze -- Allegro assai) 3) Ernst H. Seyffardt: *Schicksals-Gesang* for Alto Solo, Choir, and Orchestra (New) 4) Schumann: Romanze in F#-Major, Canon in B-Minor from the Sketches for Grand Piano 5) Schubert: Symphony in C (for Piano Duet by J. Joachim) (Allegro – Andante – Scherzo -- Finale)
1885-04-24	Berlin Sing-Akademie *Konzert of Clara Schumann and Joseph Joachim*	Prof. Bargiel Joseph Joachim Philharmonic Orchestra	1) Beethoven: Overture to *Coriolan* 2) Schumann: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra in A-Minor 3) Bach: Prelude, Minuet, and Gavotte 4) Schumann: *Gartenmelodie und Am Springbrunnen*, for Violin with Orchestra Accompaniment, by E. Rudorff

			5) Chopin: Nocturne in G-Major, Op. 62 6) Brahms: Rhapsody in G-Minor, Op. 79 7) Joachim: Concerto for Violin
1885-10-30	Frankfurt a. M. kleiner Concert-Saal *Second Kammermusik-Abend of the Museums-Gesellschaft*	Concert Master: H. Heermann Concert Master: N. Konig Hr. E. Welcker Herr V. Müller	1) C. Reinecke: Quartet in F-Major, Op. 30 (The First Time) (Allegro con brio – Andante – Vivace -- Finale: Allegro molto vivace) 2) Beethoven: Sonata in C-Major, Op. 53 (Allegro con brio -- Adagio molto -- Rondo: Allegretto moderato) 3) Mozart: Quartet in E flat-Major Nr. 4 (Allegro ma non troppo -- Andante con moto -- Menuetto: Allegretto -- Allegro vivace)
1885-11-26	Leipzig Neues Gewandhaus	Martha Rückward	I 1) Schumann: Overture to *Genoveva* 2) Max Bruch: Aria from *Odusseus* 3) Chopin: Concerto for Pianoforte in F-Minor 4) Schumann: *Auf dem Rhein* (Immermann), *Waldesgespräch* 5) Gluck: Cavatina, *Holder Blütenmai* 6) Scarlatti: Allegrissimo 7) Schumann: Romanze in F#-Major Op. 28, Canon in B-Minor Op. 56 II 1) Beethoven: Symphony Nr. 2 in D-Major
1886-02-19	Frankfurt a. M. großer Concert-Saal *10th Museums-Concert*	Hermine Spies Director: C. Müller	I 1) Mozart: Symphony in E flat-Major (Adagio -- Allegro -- Andante con moto -- Menuetto: Allegro -- Finale: Allegro) 2) Bruch: Scene of the Andromache from *Achilleus* (The First Time) 3) Chopin: Concerto for Pianoforte in F-Minor (Maestos – Larghetto -- Allegro vivace) II 1) Weber: *Meine Lieder, meine Sänge* 2) Brahms: *Von ewiger Liebe* 3) Bruch: *Venetianische Serenade* 4) Schumann: Symphony Nr. 4 in D-Minor (Introduction – Allegro – Romanze – Scherzo -- Finale)

1886-11-19	Frankfurt a. M. kl. Concertsaal *Third Kammermusick-Abend of the Museums-gesellschaft*	Concert Master: H. Heermann Concert Master: N. Konig Hr. E Welcker Hr. V. Müller	1) Anton Dvorák: Quartet in C-Major, Op. 61 (The First Time) (Allegro -- Poco adagio -- Scherzo: Allegro vivo -- Finale: Vivace) 2) Beethoven: Trio for Pianoforte, Violin, and Violincello in B-Major Op. 97 (Allegro moderato-Scherzo: Allegro-Andante cantabile-Allegro moderato) 3) Haydn: Quartet in G-Major Op. 86, Nr. 1 (Minuet: Presto -- Finale: Allegro ma non troppo)
1887-02-04	Frankfurt a. M. großer Concert-Saal Eighth Museums Concert	Eugen Gura Jean Louis Nicodé Director: C. Müller	I 1) Schumann: Overture to *Genovenva* 2) Schumann: *Die Löwenbraut*, Blondels *Lied* 3) Mozart: Concerto for Pianoforte in D-Minor (Allegro – Romanze -- Rondo) 4) C. Loewe: *Hochzeitlied* 5) Jean Louis Nicodé: Symphonic Variations for Orchestra (Under the Direction of the Composer, The First Time) II 1) Brahms: Symphony in D-Major Nr. 2 (Allegro non troppo -- Adagio non troppo -- Allegretto grazioso (Quasi Andantino), Presto ma non assai -- Allegro con spirito)
1887-02-17	Leipzig Neues Gewandhaus	HH. Barge Schwedler Alma Fohström	I 1) S. Jadassohn: Serenade for Flute and String Orchestra (New, The First Time) (Intrata -- Allegro di marcia-Notturno – Menuetto -- Finale, Tarantella) 2) Handel: Aria from *Ezio* 3) Mozart: Concerto in D-Minor (Allegro – Romanza -- Rondo, Allegro assai) 4) Swedish Folk Lieder: *Die Siebzehjährige*, *Wermelands-Lied* 5) Verdi: Boléro from the *Sicilianischen Vesper* II 1) Niels W. Gade: Symphony in C-Minor Nr. 1 (Moderato -- Allegro-Scherzo -- Andante com moto --Molto Allegro)

1887-10-28	Frankfurt kleiner Concertsaal First Kammermusick -Abend of the Meuseums-gesellschaft	Concert Master: H. Heermann Concert Master: N. Konig Hr. E Welcker Hr. V. Müller	1) Haydn: Quartet in G-Major Op. 64 (Allegro con brio-Menuetto-Adagio-Finale: Presto) 2) Brahms: Trio in C-Minor for Pianoforte, Violin, and Violincello, Op. 101 (The First Time) (Allegro energico-Presto non assai-Andante grazioso-Allegro molto) 3) Beethoven: Quartet, Op. 74 in E flat-Major (Poco Adagio-Allegro-Adagio ma non troppo-Presto Allegretto con variazioni)
1887-12-16	Frankfurt a. M. Großer Concert-Saal	Hermine Spies Director: C. Müller	I 1) Mendelssohn: Overture to the *A Midsummer Night's Dream* 2) Haydn: *Ariadne auf Naxos*, Canta (von Ernst Frank) 3) Schumann: Concerto for Pianoforte in A-Minor (Allegro affettuoso -- Intermezzo: Andantino grazioso -- Allegro vivace) 4) Schumann: *Schöne Fremde*, *Die Stille* 5) Brahms: *Meerfahrt*, *O liebliche Wangen* II 1) Beethoven: Symphony Nr. 7 in A-Major (Poco sostenuto, Vivace -- Allegretto -- Presto, Assai meno presto -- Allegro con brio)
1888-01-10	Stuttgart Königsbau *To help the Widow and Orphanage Fund of the Königlichen Hofkappele and the K. Hofbühne*	Frl. Dietrich Frl. Hieser Hr. Baluff Hr. Hromada	1) Schumann: Overture, Scherzo, and Finale 2) Chopin: Concerto for Pianoforte in F-Minor 3) Schumann: Spanish Liederspiel 4) Brahms: Symphony Nr. 4 in E-Minor (The First Time)
1888-04-20	Frankfurt a. M. kleiner Concert-Saal *10th Kammermusik-Abend der Museums-Gesellschaft*	Concert Master: H. Heermann Concert Master: N. Konig Hr. E. Welcker Hr. V. Müller Hr. F. Bassermann	1) Mendelssohn: Quintet for Two Violin, Two Viola, and Violincello in B-Major Op. 87 (Nr. 16, Posthumous Works) (Allegro vivace -- Andante scherzando -- Adagio e lento -- Allegro molto vivace) 2) Brahms: Sconate for Violin and Pianoforte in A-Major Op. 100 (The First Time) (Allegro amabile --Andante tranquillo, Vivace (alternativo) -- Allegretto grazioso (quasi Andante) 3) Beethoven: Quintet for Two Violins, Two Violas, and Violincello in C-Major

			Op. 29 (Allegro moderato --Adagio molto espressivo -- Scherzo: Allegro-Presto)
1888-10-26	Frankfurt a. M. großer Saal des Saalbaues *First Museums-Concert Robert and Clara Schumann-Feier to the Sechzigjährigen Künstlerjubiläum von Clara Schumann*	Director: Müller Choir	I 1) Robert Schumann: Overture to *Genoveva*, Op. 81 2) Quartet for Mixed Choir: *Am Bodensee* Op. 59, Nr. 2, *Jägerlied*, Op. 59, Nr. 3, *Das Schifflein*, Op. 146 Nr. 5 3) Concertoo for Pianoforte and Orchestra in A-Minor Op. 54 II 1) Clara Schumann: March in E flat-Major 2) Robert Schumann: Quartet for Mixed Choir: *Sommerlied*, Op. 146, Nr. 4, *Gute Nacht*, Op. 59, Nr. 4, *Schön Rohtraur* Op. 67, Nr. 2 3) Symphony Nr. 2 in C-Major Op. 61
1889-01-23	Berlin Philharmonic Große Saal *Konzert of Clara Schumann and Joachim*	Prof. Woldemar Bargiel Joseph Joachim	1) W. Bargiel: Overture *Prometheus* 2) Schumann: Fantasy for Violin and Orchestra 3) Chopin: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra Nr. 2 in F-Minor (Maestoso -- Larghetto -- Allegro vivace) 4) Joachim: Concerto in the Hungarian Way for Violin and Orchestra (Allegro un poco maestoso -- Romanze, Andante -- Finale alla zingara, Allegro con spirito)
1889-02-22	Frankfurt a. M. kleiner Saal des Saalbaues *Eighth Kammermusik-Abend of the Museums-Gesellschaft*	Prof. H. Heermann Concert Master: Naret Koning E Wlecker V. Müller L. Borwick C. Greve C. Presse H. Voss E. Weinhardt	1) Mendelssohn: Andante and Scherzo for Two Violin, Viola, and Violincello, Op. 81 (Nr. 9 of the Posthumous Works) 2) Schumann: Sonata for Violin and Pianoforte in A-Minor Op. 105 3) Schumann: Andante and Variations Op. 46 for Two Pianoforte, Horn and Two Violincello 4) Mozart: Divertimento for Two Violin, Viola, Contrabass, and Two Horns in D-Major KV 334 (Allegro -- Andante con variazioni -- Minuetto (molto moderato) -- Adagio -- Minuetto -- Rondo: Allegro)
1889-03-07	Leipzig Neues Gewandhaus	Paul Homeyer	I 1) Weber: Overture to *Oberon* 2) Schumann: Concerto for Pianoforte in A-Minor

			3) Handel: Concerto for Organ and Orchestra, Op. 4, Nr. 3 in G-Minor (Adagio -- Allegro -- Adagio -- Allegro) II 1) Beethoven: *Pastorale* Symphony
1889-11-01	Frankfurt a. M. kleiner Saal of the Saalbaues *Second Kammermusik-Abend of the Museums-Gesellschaft*	Prof. H. Heermann Concert Master: N. Koning E. Welcker V. Müller	1) Mozart: Quartet for Two Violins, Viola, and Violincello in F-Major 2) Brahms: Sonata for Pianoforte and Violin, Nr. 3 in D-Minor Op. 108 3) Schubert: Quartet for Two Violin, Viola, and Violincello in G-Major Op. 161
1890-11-07	Frankfurt a. M. große Saal of the Saalbaues *Third Museums-Concert*	Dir: Carl Müller Eugen Gura A. Dvorák	I 1) Mendelssohn: Overture, *Meeresstille and Glückliche Fahrt,* Op. 27 2) Loewe: From the Cycle, *Bilder des Orients,* Op. 10: *Die Geister der Wüste*, *Der verschmachtende Pilger, Melek in der Wüste, Die Oasis, Melek am Quell* 3) Chopin: Concerto for Pianoforte and Orchestra, Nr. 2 in F-Minor Op. 21 II 1) A. Dvorák: Symphony Nr. 4 in G-Major (Manuscript, The First Time, Under the Direction of the Composer) 2) Schubert: *Die Sterne*, Op. 96, Nr. 1, *Greisengesang*, Op. 60, Nr. 1, *Prometheus* (Nachlaß) 3) Dvorák: *Husitská*, Dramatic Overture, Op. 67 (Under the Direction of the Composer)
1891-01-23	Frankfurt a. M. kleine Saal des Saalbaues *Sixth Kammermusik-Abend of the Museums-Gesellschaft*	Professor: Hugo Heermann Concert Master: Naret Konig Fritz Bassermann Ernst Welcker Hugo Becker	1) Cherubini: Quartet for Two Violins, Viola, and Violincello, Nr. 3 in D-Minor (Allegro commodo --Larghetto sostenuto -- Scherzo: Allegro -- Finale: Allegro risoluto) 2) Schumann: Quartet for Pianoforte, Violin, Viola, and Violincello in E flat-Major Op. 47 (Sostentuo assai: Allegro ma non troppo -- Scherzo: molto vivace --Andante cantabile -- Finale: Vivace) 3) Brahms: Quintet for Two Violins, Two Violas, and Violincello in F-Major Op. 88 (Allegro non troppo ma con brio -- Grave ed appassionata, Allegretto vivace, Presto -- Allegro energico, Presto)

1891-03-12	Frankfurt a. M. kleiner Saal des Saalbaues *Third Kammermusik-Abend of the Frankfurter Trio*	James Kwast Fritz Bassermann Hugo Becker Hr. E. Welcker	1) Mozart: Quartet in G-Minor for Pianoforte, Violin, Viola, and Violinccello (Allegro – Andante -- Rondo: Allegro) 2) Brahms: Variations for Two Pianoforte over a Theme by J. Haydn, Op. 56, Nr. 6 in B-Major 3) Beethoven: Trio for Pianoforte, Violin, and Violincello in E flat-Major Op. 70, Nr. 2 (Poco sostenuto -- Allegro ma non troppo -- Allegretto-Allegretto ma non troppo -- Finale: Allegro)

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